

Gc
929.2
D74502f
v.2
1628761

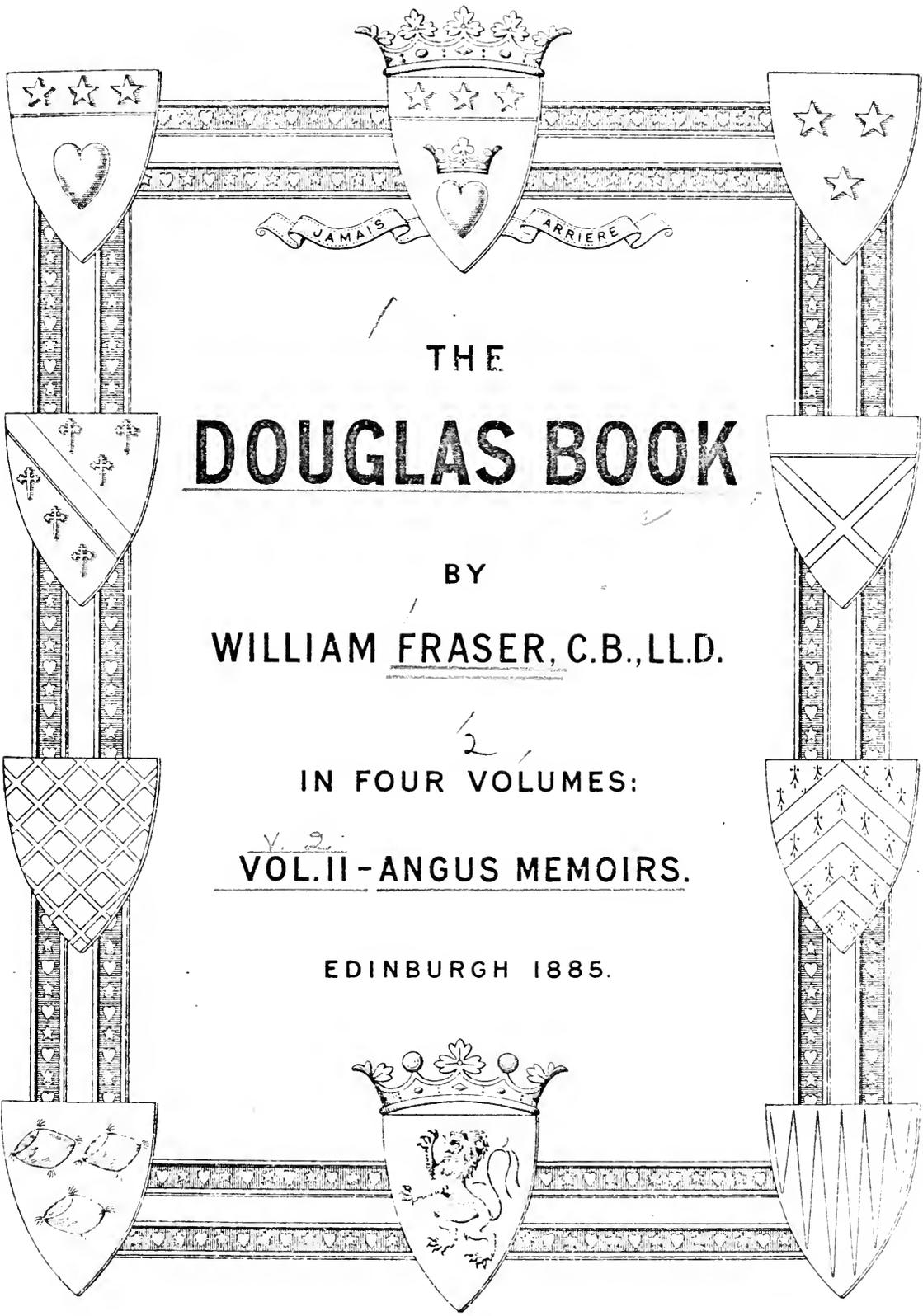
**REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION**

76

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01208 9782



JAMAIS ARRIERE

THE
DOUGLAS BOOK

BY
WILLIAM FRASER, C.B., LL.D.

2
IN FOUR VOLUMES:
v. 2.
VOL. II - ANGUS MEMOIRS.

EDINBURGH 1885.

1628761

Contents of Volume Second.

TITLE PAGE.	PAGE
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS,	i-ii
SUMMARY OF MEMOIRS OF EARLS OF ANGUS,	iii-xvi
MEMOIRS OF THE EARLS OF ANGUS:—	
THE CELTIC EARLS OF ANGUS,	1-6
THE NORMAN EARLS OF ANGUS,	7-9
THE STEWART EARLS OF ANGUS,	10-16
THE DOUGLAS EARLS OF ANGUS,	17-540
PEDIGREE OF THE EARLS OF ANGUS,	541-545
PEDIGREE OF THE DOUGLASES OF GLENBERVIE,	546-548
COLLECTED ARMORIAL SEALS, AND SIGNATURES,	549-574
LANDS AND BARONIES OF THE EARLS OF DOUGLAS AND ANGUS,	575-593
CASTLES AND MANSIONS OF THE EARLS OF DOUGLAS AND ANGUS,	594-617
ST. BRIDE'S CHURCH OF DOUGLAS, AND DOUGLAS TOMBS AND MONUMENTS THEREIN,	618-628

ARMORIAL SEALS. *Woodcuts of—*

Malcolm, Earl of Angus (1214-1242),	6	Isabella Sibbald (Balgony), his Countess,	65
Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Angus (1265- 1307),	9	Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus (1463-1514),	110
Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus (1353- 1361),	12	Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1516- 1522),	121
Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus (1374-1418),	16	George Douglas, Master of Angus (1469- 1513),	139
William, second Earl of Angus (1402- 1437),	36	Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech (1490-1552),	170
George, fourth Earl of Angus (1446-1463),	65	Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus (1514-1556),	288
		Margaret Maxwell, his Countess,	288

James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, Regent,	322
Elizabeth Douglas (Morton), his Countess,	322
Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus (1557- 1588),	367
William, ninth Earl of Angus (1588-1591),	379
William, tenth Earl of Angus (1591-1611),	380
William, eleventh Earl of Angus (1611- 1660),	412, 426

SIGNATURES.

George Douglas, fourth Earl of Angus (1446-1463),	65
Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Angus (1463-1514),	110
Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1516-1522),	121
Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie (1480- 1540),	124
George Douglas, Master of Angus (1469- 1513),	139
Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech (1490-1552),	170
Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus (1514-1556),	288
Margaret, Queen Dowager, his Countess,	288
Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox and Angus,	292
James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, Regent,	322
Archibald Douglas, eighth Earl of Angus (1557-1588),	367
Margaret Leslie (Rothes), his Countess,	367
Jean Lyon (Glamis), his third Countess,	367
William Douglas, ninth Earl of Angus (1588-1591),	379
The same, as Laird of Glenbervie,	379
William Douglas, tenth Earl of Angus (1591-1611),	411

	PAGE
George Douglas, first Earl of Dumbar- ton, 1686,	432
Archibald, Earl of Angus (1609-1655),	433
James, second Marquis of Douglas (1660-1700),	460
Lady Mary Ker, his second Countess,	460
James, Lord Angus (1692),	463
Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1700-1761),	472
Gold Key of the Duke of Douglas,	472

Woodcuts of—

Elizabeth Oliphant, his Countess,	411
William Douglas, eleventh Earl of Angus (1611-1660),	426
The same, as first Marquis of Douglas,	426
Margaret Hamilton, his first Countess,	426
Lady Marie Gordon, his second Coun- tess,	426
Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1609- 1655),	442
Lady Jean Wemyss, his Countess,	442
Archibald Douglas, Earl of Forfar (1653- 1712),	444
James Douglas, second Marquis of Douglas (1687),	460
Lady Barbara Erskine, his first Mar- chioness (1681),	460
Lady Mary Ker, his second Marchioness (1695),	460
James, Lord Angus (1688),	463
Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1752),	472
Margaret Douglas, Duchess of Douglas (1764),	472
Lady Jane Douglas Steuart (1746-1753),	522
Archibald Steuart Douglas, Lord Douglas (1788),	535
Lady Frances Scott, his second wife (1792),	535

SUMMARY

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE EARLS OF ANGUS.

THE EARLS AND EARLDOM OF ANGUS.

THE CELTIC EARLS OF ANGUS.

	PAGE
The Old Earldom of Angus, now Forfarshire, ruled by Mormaers,	1
GILLEBRIDE, FIRST EARL OF ANGUS: his father, GILCHRIST: his children,	2
ADAM, EARL OF ANGUS, and GILCHRIST, EARL OF ANGUS, sons of Earl Gillebride,	3
DUNCAN, EARL OF ANGUS: MALCOLM, EARL OF ANGUS, his son: Charters by them,	4
Earl Malcolm becomes EARL OF CAITHNESS: Magnus, Earl of Caithness,	5
Malcolm, the last Celtic Earl of Angus: Matilda, his only surviving child and heir,	6

THE NORMAN EARLS OF ANGUS.

MATILDA, COUNTESS OF ANGUS: marries first, John Comyn, secondly, Sir Gilbert Umfraville,	7
GILBERT UMFRAVILLE, first Norman Earl; GILBERT UMFRAVILLE, SECOND EARL,	7
ROBERT UMFRAVILLE, THIRD EARL: GILBERT, his son, fourth and last Earl,	9

THE STEWART EARLS OF ANGUS.

The Stewarts of Boncle: grant of Earldom of Angus by Bruce to Sir John Stewart,	10
Sir John Stewart, Earl of Angus, 1329: acquires Abernethy through marriage,	10
THOMAS STEWART, SECOND EARL OF ANGUS, succeeds his father in 1331,	11
Marries Margaret Sinclair: Chamberlain of Scotland: Murder of Catherine Mortimer,	11
Imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle: dies there in 1361. His Countess and daughters,	12

LADY MARGARET STEWART, COUNTESS OF ANGUS.

Her Marriage: her sister Elizabeth: assumes the style of Countess of Angus and Mar,	13
Resides at Tantallon Castle: her relations with William, first Earl of Douglas,	14
Resigns Earldom of Angus in favour of her son: grant of Ethie-beatoun and Broughty,	15
Marriages of her grandchildren: Dispute with Prior of Coltingham: her death,	16

THE DOUGLAS EARLS OF ANGUS.

I.—GEORGE DOUGLAS, FIRST EARL OF ANGUS.

PRINCESS MARY STEWART, HIS COUNTESS.

1389—1402.

	PAGE
His parentage : date of birth : receives earldom of Angus : styled Lord of Angus, . . .	17
Agreement with Sir Alexander Stewart : Arrangements for his marriage, . . .	18
Created Earl of Angus, 1397 : Agreement with Sir James Sandilands of Calder, . . .	19
His marriage : acquires lordship of Liddesdale : at battle of Homildon Hill, . . .	21
Made prisoner by the English : dies in captivity of the plague, . . .	22
His Countess : their children : her subsequent marriages, . . .	23

II.—WILLIAM DOUGLAS, SECOND EARL OF ANGUS.

MARGARET HAY (OF YESTER), HIS COUNTESS.

1402—1437.

Succeeds, while a minor, to earldom : Protest against recognition of Selkirk, . . .	24
Betrothed to Margaret Hay of Yester, 1410 : receives Easter Cluny, . . .	25
A proposed hostage for King James : security for payment of the English indemnity, . . .	26
A juror at the trial of Albany : makes grants of Easter Cluny and other lands, . . .	27
Takes part in celebration of the King's birthday in the Castle of St. Andrews, 1425, . . .	28
Accompanies the King against the Lord of the Isles : ambassador to England, 1430, . . .	29
Appointed Warden of the Middle Marches : defeats Henry Percy at Piperden, 1435, . . .	29
Takes possession of Castle of Dunbar : captures Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, . . .	30
Appointed protector of Coldingham Priory : his appointment recalled, . . .	32
His protection solicited by Abbot of Holyrood, and granted : his death, 1437, . . .	33
His Countess : her baronial court of Abernethy : litigation with her daughter-in-law, . . .	33
Their children : William Douglas of Cluny : armorial seals, . . .	34

III.—1. JAMES DOUGLAS, THIRD EARL OF ANGUS.

1437—1446.

Succeeds his father : dispute with Sir Alexander Home of Dunglas : Manor of Lintalee, . . .	37
His political life : betrothed to the Princess Jean : sentence of forfeiture, . . .	38
Bond by Sir Robert Fleming of Cumbernauld, 1445 : submission to King, . . .	39
Arbitrates between the Homes : the customs of North Berwick and Haddington, . . .	40
His death : Princess Jean, the "dumb lady of Dalkeith : " her residence in France, . . .	42

III.—2. GEORGE DOUGLAS, FOURTH EARL OF ANGUS.

ISABELLA SIBBALD (BALGONY), HIS COUNTESS.

1446—1463.

	PAGE
Succeeds his brother James : described by Godscroft as "The Great Earl :" his birth,	45
Not the uncle but the brother of James third Earl of Angus : various proofs of this,	45
Encounters with the English, 1448 : appointed conservator of the peace with England,	47
Attends Parliament : accompanies expedition against the Douglas estates,	48
Obtains a grant of Tantallon Castle and lands : permission to build Broughty Castle,	49
Aids King James against the Douglasses, 1455 : appends his seal to their forfeiture,	51
Invasion of England by the King : retaliation by the English : Angus defeats them,	52
Obtains Douglasdale and Eskdale : at siege of Roxburgh Castle : death of the King,	53
Reduction of Castles of Roxburgh and Wark : Angus crowns King James the Third,	54
Angus the foremost noble in Scotland : consolidates his possessions : his vassalage,	55
Builds the Castle of Broughty : influence and power over the entire south of Scotland,	57
Angus and Huntly enter into a confederacy : proposed marriage of their children,	58
Alliance between Angus and King Henry the Sixth : promise of English dukedom,	59
Angus relieves the French garrison in Alnwick : death of the Earl,	60
Buried at Abernethy : his life and character : his relations with the Earls of Douglas,	61
Isabella Sibbald, his Countess : her frequent law-suits : their children,	63

IV.—ARCHIBALD FIFTH EARL OF ANGUS, SURNAMED "BELL THE CAT."

ELIZABETH BOYD (KILMARNOCK), HIS FIRST COUNTESS.

CATHERINE STIRLING (KEIR), HIS SECOND COUNTESS.

1463—1514.

His birth : proposed marriage to Katharine Gordon : married to Elizabeth Boyd,	66
Succeeds his father : present in the Parliament which forfeited Lord Boyd, 1469,	67
Receives Tantallon Castle and lands : agreement with George Home of Wedderburn,	68
Relations of James the Third with his nobility,	69
Albany and Mar incarcerated : Angus burns Bamborough : Warden of the East Marches,	70
The Scottish army at Lauder : Angus and other nobles refuse to proceed,	72
Their petition refused : Angus undertakes to "Bell the Cat :" the favourites hanged,	73
The King lodged in Edinburgh Castle : Angus and Albany negotiate with England,	75
Albany proceeds to England : private transactions of the Earl of Angus, 1483-1488,	77
Dissatisfaction with the king : insurrection of the nobles : the prince won over,	79
Negotiations for peace : preparation for hostilities : defeat of the rebels at Blackness,	83
Pacification entered into : war renewed : battle of Sauchie Burn : death of the King,	84
His son proclaimed King of Scotland, 1488 : search for the late King's treasure,	85

	PAGE
Angus styled guardian of the King : he goes to England, 1489,	86
Rebellion of the Earl of Lennox : reasons of the rebellion : rout of the rebels,	88
Angus ordered to ward himself in Tantallon Castle, where he is afterwards besieged,	89
His alliance with King Henry the Seventh, 1489 : the King and Angus reconciled,	90
Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle exchanged for Kilmarnock, and again for Bothwell,	93
Angus appointed Chancellor of Scotland, 1493 : measures promoted by him,	93
With King James in West Highlands : submission of chiefs : with the King at Stirling,	95
Perkin Warbeck ; Angus rewarded with gifts of lands : marriages of his daughters,	96
Agreements with John Earl of Crawford, Hugh Douglas, Dean of Brechin, and others,	98
Relations with Janet Kennedy : marries Catherine Stirling of Keir,	99
Arbiter between families of Montgomerie and Cunningham about bailiary of Cunningham : transfers his estates to his sons, 1510-11 : Kirriemuir and Crawford Douglas,	100
Trial of William Douglas of Drumlanrig for murder of Crichton : a clerical intrusion,	102
Rupture with England : the battle of Flodden : Angus retires before the battle,	103
Return to Scotland : his death and burial : eulogium passed upon him by Godscroft,	106
His marriages and children,	107

V.—2. SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, KNIGHT, FIRST OF GLENBERVIE AND
BRAIDWOOD, SECOND SON OF "BELL THE CAT."

ELIZABETH AUCHINLECK (OF AUCHINLECK), HIS WIFE.

Circa 1472-1513.

His birth : gift of ward of lands of deceased James Auchinleck and his daughter,	111
Barony of Glenbervie : Elizabeth Auchinleck : William Douglas marries her,	112
Claim to a share of lands of Auchinleck : his possession of Glenbervie disputed,	113
Obtains lands of Grenane and Braidwood : receives knighthood : his death at Flodden,	114
His widow retires to the convent of St. John, near the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh,	115

VI.—3. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, SECOND OF GLENBERVIE.

AGNES KEITH (MARISCHAL), HIS FIRST WIFE.

ELIZABETH IRVINE (DRUM), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1510-1570.

Only son of Sir William of Glenbervie : allowed absence from the siege of Tantallon,	115
Marries Agnes Keith, 1544 : of weak health : taken prisoner by the English, 1548,	116
His death, 1570 : his second wife, Elizabeth Irvine of Drum : his children,	117

GAVIN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD.

1474-1522.

	PAGE
His birth and education : Provost of St. Giles, 1501 : keeper of the great seal, 1514, . . .	119
Obtains the See of Dunkeld : a rival claimant : ambassador to France and England, . . .	120
His death, 1522 : his will : his poetical works : he leaves a daughter, Margaret, . . .	121

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS OF KILSPINDIE, "GREYSTEEL"

ISOBEL HOPPER, HIS WIFE.

Circa 1480-circa 1540.

Keeper of Douglas Castle : Provost of Edinburgh : treasurer of Scotland, 1526, . . .	122
His forfeiture, 1528 : proceeds to England : his return : last interview with the King, . . .	123
His death in France : his wife : their son, Archibald ; also Provost of Edinburgh, . . .	123

V.—1. GEORGE DOUGLAS, MASTER OF ANGUS.

ELIZABETH DRUMMOND (OF DRUMMOND), HIS WIFE.

1469-1513.

His birth : proposed marriage with Margaret Oliphant : marries Elizabeth Drummond, . . .	125
His political life : Lordships of Eskdale and Ewesdale : warden of Eskdale, . . .	127
Labours on Borders : withdrawal of Anguses from Dumfriesshire and Middle Marches, . . .	130
Grants of estates : agreement with John Lord Fleming : reciprocal leases, . . .	131
Dispute with baillie of Boncle : decision by Lords of Council against Master of Angus, . . .	132
Litigation with Douglas of Cavers respecting the marriage of one of his daughters, . . .	134
Death at Flodden : his wife and children : Alison Douglas, Lady Wedderburn, . . .	135

VI.—2. SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS OF PITTENDRIECH, MASTER OF ANGUS,

FATHER OF THE REGENT MORTON.

ELIZABETH DOUGLAS (OF PITTENDRIECH), HIS WIFE.

1490-1552.

Second son of George, Master of Angus : his political influence : his marriage, . . .	140
Attack on Stirling : sojourn in France : returns to Scotland : supports his brother, . . .	141
With King James the Fifth at Corstorphine : defeat of Lennox at Avonbridge, . . .	143
Gets escheat of Sir John Stirling of Keir : escape of the King : fall of the Douglasses, . . .	144
An exile in England for nearly fourteen years : appointed captain of Edrington Castle, . . .	145
Death of King James the Fifth, 1542 : the Douglasses restored to their possessions, . . .	146
Policy of Sir George Douglas anent union with England : interview with Sadler, . . .	147

	PAGE
Ambassador to England : the scheming of Cardinal Beaton against the English Alliance, . . .	151
Ratification of treaties with England : Arran's defection from the English faction, . . .	153
Sir George Douglas warded in Edinburgh Castle, released on invasion by the English, . . .	154
Tried for treason : coalition between the two parties secured : Douglas is acquitted, . . .	155
Hostilities between England and Scotland : defeat of the English : treaty negotiations, . . .	156
Suggested removal of Cardinal Beaton : England invoked to give peace to Scotland, . . .	157
Douglas attached to the reformed faith : supports George Wishart : a Privy Councillor, . . .	159
A secret adviser to Arran : bail-fires revived : preparations for opposing invasion, . . .	160
Battle of Pinkie : England accepts Douglas's plan for reduction of Scotland, . . .	161
Lord Grey's advance : desultory warfare : peace established : Douglas visits France, . . .	163
The Douglasses of Pittendreich : marriage negotiations with James, fourth Earl of Morton, . . .	164
Plots against the Earl of Morton, who is deprived of his earldom : its restoration, . . .	166
The earldom of Morton conveyed to James Douglas, second son of Sir George, . . .	167
Resides at Dalkeith : acquires Cockburnspath and rebuilds the castle, . . .	167
Death of Sir George Douglas at Elgin : his children : Douglas of Parkhead, . . .	168

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, PRIOR OF COLDINGHAM, PROVOST OF METHVEN,
AND ABBOT OF HOLYROOD.

Circa 1495-1528.

Youngest son of George, Master of Angus : appointed Prior of Coldingham : the Priory, . . .	171
His right to Coldingham contested : he goes to Rome : the Pope decides in his favour, . . .	172
Opposition of Queen Margaret : appointed Abbot of Holyrood and Provost of Methven, . . .	172
Coldingham taken by the King : death and burial of William Douglas the Prior, 1528, . . .	173

JANET DOUGLAS, LADY GLAMIS, who was burned to death in 1537.

Daughter of George Master of Angus : marries John Lyon, sixth Lord Glamis, . . .	174
Accused of treason, and poisoning her husband : difficulty in obtaining a full assize, . . .	174
Charges abandoned : new charge of treason : burned on the Castlehill, Edinburgh, . . .	175
Falsehood of charges : remorse of accuser : her second husband and her sons, . . .	176

VI.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, SIXTH EARL OF ANGUS.

LADY MARGARET HEPBURN (BOTHWELL), HIS FIRST WIFE.

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, HIS SECOND WIFE.

MARGARET MAXWELL (OF MAXWELL), HIS THIRD WIFE.

1514-1556.

His parentage : marries Lady Margaret Hepburn : her death : becomes Earl of Angus, . . .	177
Marries Queen Margaret : Angus and the Queen described : their union infelicitous, . . .	178
Dissensions among Scottish nobles : King Henry refuses to support the Queen, . . .	180

	PAGE
Albany made Regent : Angus suspected : Gavin Douglas imprisoned,	181
The Queen and Angus retire to Stirling : she defies Albany : siege of Stirling Castle,	182
Submission of the Queen : her flight to England with Angus : birth of her daughter,	183
Angus and Queen declared traitors : mutual bond between Angus, Arran, and Home,	184
Reconciliation with Albany : Angus, Lord Home, and the Queen return to Scotland,	186
Albany departs to France : Angus appointed one of the Regents : designs of the Queen,	187
Angus and the Queen disagree : he is accused of infidelity : reconciliation,	188
Opposition of Arran and other lords : conflict of Angus and Arran for supremacy,	189
Raid of Jedwood Forest : "Cleanse the causeway : " Victory of Angus,	191
Return of Albany : forfeiture declared against Angus : negotiations with England,	193
Submission of Angus : he is arrested by Albany, and banished to France,	196
The Earl at the French Court : unpopularity of Albany : he leaves Scotland,	197
Angus escapes from France : opposes Queen Margaret : his return to Scotland,	198
The people of Scotland murmur at the Queen, and desire the return of Angus,	201
Convention between the Earl and George Douglas and Henry VIII. and Wolsey,	202
Detention of Angus in the North of England : excitement in Scotland : return of Angus,	204
Deposition of the Queen : Angus proceeds to Edinburgh, and issues proclamations,	205
Coalition with Archbishop Beaton and others : takes possession of Edinburgh,	207
Pacification arranged : duplicity of the Queen : she demands divorce from Angus,	211
Divorce proceedings at Rome : decision in Queen's favour : expenses fall upon Albany,	212
Angus settled in the Government and made Lieutenant of the East and Middle Marches,	215
His raid upon Liddesdale : enters into a bond with the Earls of Lennox and Argyll,	217
Parliament meets : Angus and the Queen's petition : she is deprived of authority,	218
The care of the King's person : troubles during the supremacy of Angus,	220
The intrigues of the Queen with France : peace secured with England, 1525,	221
The Earl continues guardian of the King, and defeats the expectations of the Queen,	222
Pacification of the Borders, 1526 : meeting of Parliament : supremacy of Angus,	223
Friendship of James for Lennox : withdrawal of Lennox and Argyll,	225
Defeat of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch by Angus at Melrose,	226
Attempt by Lennox to carry off the King : battle of Avonbridge,	228
Flight of Queen and Archbishop Beaton : Stirling surrenders and is restored to Queen,	229
Reconciliation of Angus and Beaton : withdrawal of Queen : Angus made Chancellor,	231
The Borders : unruly Armstrongs : Sir William Lisle : marriage of Queen Margaret,	232
Angus abandoned by James : narrative of incident by Lindsay of Pitcottie,	234
Bishop Lesley's account : the true story : Angus prohibited from coming to Court,	236
Ordered to ward himself : indicted for treason : protest and reply : forfeiture,	238
Asks shelter in England : partition of the Douglas lands : the King and courtiers,	241
Hostilities between King James and Angus : burning of Cranston and Cousland,	242
Angus at Coldingham : attack on priory : James chased to Dunbar,	244
Siege of Tantallon Castle : successful resistance : James returns to Edinburgh,	245
Angus captures the royal artillery : sends them to James : rage of the King,	245
Efforts at reconciliation : intercession of King Henry VIII. : Friar Andrew Cairus,	246

	PAGE
Negotiations with England : Magnus exhausts means for reconciliation of Angus, . . .	249
Charges by James against Angus : raids by Angus in Scotland : he retires to England, . . .	251
Angus at London : Arran on his deathbed urges James to reconciliation, . . .	252
James and Angus confer : Tantallon Castle rendered : severe measures against Angus, . . .	253
War between Scotland and England : raids by Douglases into Scotland, . . .	254
Peace secured : renewed efforts by Henry on behalf of Angus : bitterness of James, . . .	256
Sudden death of Queen Margaret : her remorse : death of King James the Fifth, . . .	258
Return of Angus to Scotland : restoration to honours and estates : barony of Abernethy, . . .	259
Angus supports English alliance : his political views : marriage to Margaret Maxwell, . . .	261
Lennox won over to Angus : he marries the Earl's daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, . . .	262
Withdrawal of Arran : hostilities against Angus : appropriation of French gold, . . .	263
Coalition with Regent : siege of Glasgow : Angus imprisoned in Blackness Castle, . . .	265
Invasion of Scotland : release of Angus : English attempts to acquire Tantallon, . . .	266
Destruction of Douglas lands by the English : opposition parliaments in Scotland, . . .	267
Angus Lieutenant of Scotland south of Forth : siege of Coldingham : rescues the guns, . . .	267
Raising of army : interview with Arran : anger of Angus at insolence of English, . . .	268
Battle of Ancrum Moor : fury of Henry the Eighth : reply by Angus to his threats, . . .	271
Invested with the Order of St. Michael, and receives pension from the King of France, . . .	272
Obligation to resist English invasions : Arran and the "assured Scots," . . .	273
Death of King Henry the Eighth : battle of Pinkie : defeat of Scots, . . .	276
Angus defeats English in the west : they retreat, but return : capture of Dalkeith, . . .	279
Arrival of French aid : message to Matthew, Earl of Lennox : peace with England, . . .	280
Charters of regrant, 1547, confirmed : Angus's interview with Queen-Dowager, . . .	282
Order to ward in Edinburgh Castle : refused admittance : the Queen asks Tantallon, . . .	283
Proposed dukedom for Huntly : Angus to be "Drake" : death of Earl Archibald, . . .	284
His character : his Countesses : his children, . . .	285

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

1515-1578.

Her birth : removal from her mother : residence in Berwick : at Court of King Henry, . . .	289
Proposals for her marriage : the Howards : married to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, . . .	289
Her claim to the Angus estates : imprisonment by Queen Elizabeth : Lord Darnley, . . .	290
Assassination of her husband : her death and burial : her grandchildren, . . .	291

GEORGE DOUGLAS, POSTULATE OF ARBROATH AND BISHOP OF MORAY.

Natural son of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus : legitimated : the Abbey of Arbroath, . . .	293
Murder of Rizzio : appointed Bishop of Moray : before the General Assembly, . . .	293

VII.—1. DAVID DOUGLAS, SEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS.

MARGARET HAMILTON (SAMUELSTON OR CLYDESDALE), HIS COUNTESS.

JANUARY TO JUNE 1557.

	PAGE
His birth and designation : succession to his uncle Earl Archibald : Tantallon Castle,	295
His marriage : his death : his children,	296

JAMES DOUGLAS, FOURTH EARL OF MORTON, AND REGENT OF SCOTLAND,
YOUNGER BROTHER OF DAVID, SEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS.

ELIZABETH DOUGLAS (OF MORTON), HIS COUNTESS.

Circa 1516–1581.

His birth and early years : marriage to a daughter of James, Earl of Morton,	298
Becomes Master of Morton : taken prisoner at Dalkeith and sent to Tower of London,	298
Becomes Earl of Morton, 1552 : tutor to his nephew Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus,	299
Attached to the Reformation : siege of Leith : signs Confession of Faith,	299
Privy Councillor : Chancellor of Scotland : dislike to Darnley : earldom of Angus,	301
Marriage of Queen Mary : Morton supports the Queen : share in Rizzio's death,	303
Flight to England : murder of Darnley : marriage of Queen Mary and Bothwell,	305
Engagement of Carberry Hill : imprisonment of Queen Mary : supremacy of Morton,	307
Assassination of Moray : Lennox appointed Regent : Morton an ambassador to England,	309
Assassination of Lennox : succession of Earl of Mar : the "Douglas Wars,"	311
Death of Regent Mar : Morton appointed Regent : the regalia and crown jewels,	313
Preference for Episcopacy : demission of Regency : King James assumes the government,	315
Morton regains supremacy : the policy of the Kirk : fall of Hamiltons,	316
Arrival of Esme, Lord d'Aubigny : made Earl of Lennox : Morton tried and beheaded,	317
His character : description of his person by Godscroft : his Countess and children,	319

VIII.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, EIGHTH EARL OF ANGUS AND
FIFTH EARL OF MORTON.

LADY MARY ERSKINE (MAR), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARGARET LESLIE (ROTHES), HIS SECOND WIFE.

THE HON. JEAN LYON (GLAMIS), HIS THIRD WIFE.

1557–1588.

Early years under tutelage of James, Earl of Morton : opposition to his succession,	323
Contract with Margaret, Countess of Lennox : education of the Earl,	324
Enters public life : Lieutenant-general south of Forth : dispute with Morton,	327

	PAGE
The brass pot of Tantallon as a Charter-chest : Hamiltons make public satisfaction, . . .	329
Morton demits regency : Angus made Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, . . .	332
Proceedings against the Hamiltons : efforts to save his uncle Morton, . . .	334
Charged with treason : his Countess : death of Morton : flight of Angus, . . .	336
Friendship with Sir Philip Sidney : Administration of Lennox and Arran, . . .	339
The Earl returns to Scotland : reconciled to King James, who delays his restoration, . . .	341
Schemes of the King against the Ruthven raiders : fall of the Gowrie administration, . . .	344
Angus warded in Morayshire ; alarm of King at the Earl's approach to Edinburgh, . . .	347
Seizure of Stirling Castle : flight of Angus and his confederates : Arran's rule, . . .	349
The banished lords in England : befriended by Queen Elizabeth : their accusers, . . .	351
Imprisonment of Arran : return of the banished lords : Stirling surrendered, . . .	355
Supremacy of Angus in Council : his relations to the Kirk : Warden of Marches, . . .	358
Is imprisoned : reconciliation of nobles : receives the earldom of Morton : his death, . . .	361
Burial at Abernethy : his testament : description of his appearance : his character, . . .	363
His marriages and issue : Jean Lyon, Lady Spynie : seals and signatures, . . .	365

VII.—2. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, NINTH EARL OF ANGUS,
FORMERLY SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE.
EGIDIA GRAHAM (MORPHIE), HIS WIFE.

1588—1591.

Succeeds as heir of entail : his birth and marriage : the battle of Corrichie, . . .	368
Becomes Laird of Glenbervie : interviews with the eighth Earl of Angus when dying, . . .	369
Opposition to his succession by King James the Sixth : law-suit : defeat of the King, . . .	370
The King's exactions : leads troops against Huntly : dispute with Lord John Hamilton, . . .	372
Borrows money for the King : Privy Councillor : Coronation of Queen Anne, . . .	374
Imprisoned in Edinburgh : his sentence of excommunication reduced : his death, . . .	375
His monument at Glenbervie : his children, . . .	376

VIII.—2. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, TENTH EARL OF ANGUS.
ELIZABETH OLIPHANT (OF OLIPHANT), HIS COUNTESS.

1591—1611.

His birth : education in Scotland and France : becomes a Roman Catholic : his marriage, . . .	380
Tumult in Aberdeen : unsuccessful efforts to restore him to the Reformed faith, . . .	381
Under censure : permitted to bury his father : succeeds to earldom of Angus, . . .	382
Contentends for ancient family prerogatives : he plots with Earls of Bothwell and Errol, . . .	383
Lieutenant in North of Scotland : submission of Huntly : the "Spanish Blanks," . . .	385
Imprisonment of Angus : escape from Edinburgh Castle : King James at Aberdeen, . . .	386
Excommunicated : waylays the King at Fala, who promises a fair trial at Perth, . . .	388

	PAGE
Act of abolition : refused by the Popish Lords : they threaten to burn Aberdeen, . . .	389
Battle of Glenlivet : Angus in south of Scotland : banishment of Huntly and Errol, . . .	391
Negotiations for reconciliation of Angus : his protest in the church of Kinneff, . . .	392
The Earl embraces the Reformed faith and is absolved : appointed Lieutenant on Borders, . . .	394
Labours on the Borders : renewal of claims for precedency : sickness of the Earl, . . .	396
Hasty gift of the ward and marriage of the Master of Angus : the Earl's remedy, . . .	397
Still a Roman Catholic : under surveillance by the Kirk : justiciary commission, . . .	398
Warded in Glasgow : excommunicated : dealings with his estates : Ker of Ferniehirst, . . .	400
Obtains permission to retire to France : endeavours to see King James in London, . . .	402
His life in Paris : dies there : his monument in the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, . . .	403
Funeral obsequies : his description and character : originator of history by Godscroft, . . .	407
His Countess and children : Douglas, Lord Mordington,	409

IX.—WILLIAM DOUGLAS, ELEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS, CREATED
FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

MARGARET HAMILTON (ABERCORN), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARY GORDON (HUNTLY), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1611-1660.

His birth and baptism : sustains accident while a hostage for his father,	412
Married at age of twelve years : succession to estates : dispute with Ker of Ferniehirst, . . .	413
Question of ranking : travelling in France and Italy : relations with the Kirk,	416
Created Marquis of Douglas : inclines to Episcopacy : Commissioner on the Marches,	419
The Service-book : hostilities with the Covenanters : capture of Douglas Castle,	420
The Marquis signs the Covenant : joins Montrose : imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle,	422
His liberation : fines imposed upon him : his death and burial at Douglas,	423
His Countesses and children : armorial seal and signatures,	424

LORD JAMES DOUGLAS, COLONEL OF THE REGIMENT OF
ROYAL SCOTS GUARDS IN FRANCE. 1617-1645.

His birth : receives barony of Wandell : Enters service of Louis the Thirteenth,	427
Appointed Colonel of the Scots Guards : increase of regiment : killed near Douay,	427
Burial in Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris : his monument there,	428

LORD WILLIAM DOUGLAS, EARL OF SELKIRK, DUKE OF HAMILTON, K.G.
1634-1694.

His birth : created Earl of Selkirk : his marriage : created Duke of Hamilton for life,	430
Extrication of Hamilton estates from debt : eminent political services : his death,	430

LORD GEORGE DOUGLAS, EARL OF DUMBARTON. c. 1636-1692.

	PAGE
His parentage : goes to France : appointed Colonel of Scots Guards,	431
Withdrawn to British service : created Earl of Dumbarton : acquires estate of Salton,	431
Campaign against Argyll : accompanies James the Seventh to France : his death,	431
His Countess : their son, George, second Earl of Dumbarton,	432

X.—ARCHIBALD, EARL OF ANGUS, ELDEST SON OF THE
FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY ANNA STEWART (LENNOX), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY JEAN WEMYSS (OF WEMYSS), HIS SECOND WIFE.

Circa 1609-1655. D.V.P.

His birth : designations : marriage : obtains charter of the Angus estates,	433
Goes abroad : appointed Privy Councillor as Lord Angus : takes part with Covenanters,	434
Signs the Covenant : retires from Scotland : removed from seat in Parliament,	436
An elder in the General Assembly : made Colonel of the Douglas regiment in France,	438
Welcomes King Charles the Second : created Earl of Angus and Ormond, etc.,	439
Tantallon Castle captured by Cromwell : ecclesiastical and military employments,	439
Death at Holyrood House : his testament : his Countesses and children,	440

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, EARL OF FORFAR.
ROBINA LOCKHART (OF LEE), HIS COUNTESS.
1653-1712.

His birth : created Earl of Forfar, Lord Wandell and Hartsyde,	443
Adheres to Prince of Orange : his death : monument at Bothwell : his Countess,	443
His son, Archibald, second Earl of Forfar : fatally wounded at Sheriffmuir,	444

XI.—JAMES DOUGLAS, SECOND MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY BARBARA ERSKINE (MAR), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARY KER (LOTHIAN), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1660-1700.

His minority : becomes Earl of Angus : debts on the estates : Lady Jean Wemyss,	445
Succeeds his grandfather as SECOND MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS : protests for precedency,	447
Funeral of Montrose : Dean's house at Holyrood : attains majority and is married,	448
Separation from Marchioness : Lawrie of Blackwood : apathy in public affairs,	450
Second marriage : estates embarrassed : measures of relief : dismissal of Blackwood,	454
Sale of Tantallon : illness and death of Marquis : burial at Douglas : Lady Mary Ker,	458

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF ANGUS, ELDEST SON OF JAMES, SECOND
MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

BORN 1671, DIED V.P. 1692.

	PAGE
His parentage, tutors, and education : proposals for marriage : offers aid to Government,	461
Raising of the Cameronian Regiment : death of Lord Angus at Steinkirk,	462

XII.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, THIRD MARQUIS AND FIRST
DUKE OF DOUGLAS.

MARGARET DOUGLAS (MAINS), HIS DUCHESS.

1700—1761.

His minority : protests for precedence and honours : created DUKE OF DOUGLAS,	464
Rebellion of 1715 : at battle of Sheriffmuir : Prince Charles Edward at Douglas,	466
His marriage, separation, and reunion : Douglas Castle : life in Edinburgh : death,	469

XII.—2. LADY JANE DOUGLAS.

SIR JOHN STEUART OF GRANDTULLY, BARONET.

1698—1753.

Birth and education : early disappointment in marriage : visit to France in 1721,	473
Return to Scotland : affection of her brother the Duke : provisions by him for her,	477
Change of the Duke's feelings towards his sister : circumstances leading to her marriage,	479
The Chevalier Johnstone : marriage of Lady Jane to Colonel Steuart : goes abroad,	482
Mrs. Hewit : sojourn on the Continent : birth of twin sons in Paris,	489
Efforts for reconciliation with the Duke : return of Lady Jane to England,	493
Pecuniary embarrassment : grant from King George the Second : residence at Chelsea,	497
Visit to Scotland : residence in Edinburgh : letter to the Duke of Douglas,	501
Visit to Douglas Castle : refused admittance : Lady Jane goes to London,	505
Death of her son Sholto : her grief : sickness in London : return to Edinburgh,	509
Her attachment to her surviving son : death in Edinburgh : estimates of her character,	513
Burial at Holyrood : remorse of the Duke of Douglas : Sir John Steuart,	517

XIII.—ARCHIBALD JAMES EDWARD STEUART DOUGLAS,
FIRST LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY LUCY GRAHAM (MONTROSE), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY FRANCES SCOTT (BUCCLEUCH), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1761—1827.

	PAGE
Birth and early life : acknowledged by his uncle the Duke of Douglas, . . .	523
Education at Rugby and Westminster : succession to the Douglas estates, . . .	526
The Douglas Cause : rejoicings at success of Mr. Douglas : further law pleas, . . .	529
Created LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS : his death : his wives and children, . . .	533

XIV.—1. ARCHIBALD, SECOND LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

1827—1844.

Birth and parentage : succession : political proclivities : improvements of estates, . . .	536
Death at Bothwell Castle : burial at Douglas,	536

XIV.—2. CHARLES, THIRD LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

1844—1848.

Birth : political contests : assailed and wounded at Lanark : tutor to Duke of Buccleuch, . . .	537
Succession to his brother : death and burial : offices held by him,	538

XIV.—3. JAMES, FOURTH LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

WILHELMINA MURRAY (ELIBANK), HIS WIFE.

1848—1857.

Birth : educated for church : Rector of Broughton and Marsh Gibbon,	539
Marriage : death at Bothwell without issue : burial at Douglas,	539

XIV.—4. THE HON. JANE MARGARET DOUGLAS, LADY MONTAGU.

Her birth : marriage to Lord Montagu : death and burial,	540
--	-----

XV.—LUCY ELIZABETH DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF HOME.

Her birth : marriage to Cospatricks, eleventh Earl of Home : he is created Baron Douglas of Douglas : her death and burial,	540
---	-----



THE EARLS AND EARLDOM OF ANGUS.

THE CELTIC EARLS OF ANGUS.

THE old earldom or county of Angus,¹ now known as Forfarshire, formed one of the ancient kingdoms into which it is alleged that Pictish Scotland, or Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde, was divided. Bounded by the river Tay on the south, the water of Isla on the west, the North Esk on the north, and with the ocean for its eastern defence, this district is one of the most fruitful and productive regions of the realm. On the consolidation of the kingdom under the Celtic *régime*, this province was ruled over by Mormaers, who were officers of sufficient importance to secure the commemoration of their names in the annals of their day.² The Mormaer held much the same position as the Earl, by whom he was superseded in the time of King Alexander the First, both titles being hereditary in their nature; but while Mormaer denoted more an official position, such as that of great or high steward, Earl signifies rather a personal dignity.³

¹ Angus is said to have got its name from Eneagus or Angus, the eldest of seven brothers, for whose sake Scotland was divided into its traditional seven ancient provinces. To Eneagus the district above described was given

along with Mearns or Kincardine. [Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii. p. 42.]

² Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. pp. 86, 87; Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 42-58. ³ *Ibid.* p. 60.

The first Earl of Angus who appears on record is GILLEBRIDE, who, if not himself Mormaer before the change of title, may have descended from the Mormaers of Angus. He flourished during the reigns of David the First, Malcolm the Fourth, and William the Lion, at whose Courts he frequently appeared between the years 1150 and 1187.¹ He took part in the wars of William the Lion with England, and was one of the leaders of that king's army when he sacked Warkworth in 1174.²

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he became a hostage, with other twenty of the nobles of Scotland, for the fulfilment of the treaty of Falaise, by which William the Lion regained his liberty, and Scotland for a time lost her independence. On their own release, the Scottish earls were required to leave their eldest sons as hostages for the fulfilment of this treaty.³

Earl Gillebride was alive in 1187,⁴ but probably died in that year. The name of this Earl's father has been given, on the authority of Martin of Clermont, as GILCHRIST, and he is said to have fought as Earl of Angus at the battle of the Standard in 1138. But in Aildred's account of this battle no mention is made of such an Earl, and he is not found in authentic record. Earl Gillebride had at least four sons, two of whom, Adam and Gilchrist, succeeded him in the earldom. The other two were Gilbert, from whom the Ogilvies of Airlie, Inverquharity, and others are descended,⁵ and William, of whom the only mention found is as a witness to a charter along

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 87, 364, 365; Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 550; Liber de Seon, pp. 8, 13; Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 9, 134; Registrum de Dunfermelyn, pp. 22, 24.

² Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 367.

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 30.

⁴ Registrum Brechinense, vol. ii. p. 269; Registrum Moraviense, pp. 7, 38.

⁵ Gilbert is frequently mentioned as brother of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus [Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 29-32]. He received from King William the Lion, between 1172 and 1177, as "son of the Earl of Angus," a charter of the lands of "Purin, Ogguluin, and Kinminnethen" [vol. iii. of this work, p. 349].

with his brother Adam.¹ Another son, named Angus, has been ascribed to Earl Gillebride, but it is difficult to affirm the relationship. Angus, son of the Earl, is the designation by which he appears as a witness to charters between the years 1204 and 1226,² and that the Earl of Angus is meant, can only be inferred from the fact that the charters refer to lands in the earldom. In one document, dated 1219, he appears to be called Angus, son of Earl Gillebride of Angus,³ but another reading throws doubt upon the alleged paternity, by making the entry refer to two distinct persons instead of one.⁴ Angus appears under the designation "son of the Earl" in charters both of Duncan and Malcolm, Earls of Angus,⁵ which shows that such a style had no special reference to the Earl who grants the charter. Angus had a son named Adam.⁶

ADAM, Earl of Angus, is mentioned as such in a charter granted in or about the year 1187 by King William the Lion.⁷ He is described as the son of Earl Gillebride, and with his father, at Court, in 1164, witnessed a charter by King Malcolm the Fourth;⁸ and he again appears as a witness along with his brother William in 1178.⁹ Earl Adam died in or before the year 1198, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Gilchrist.

GILCHRIST, Earl of Angus, first appears as witness to an agreement between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Arbroath, negotiated at the Court of King William the Lion in the year of King Alexander the Second's nativity, 1198.¹⁰ Earl Gilchrist was a liberal benefactor to the Abbey of Arbroath, and as his brother Gilbert is a witness to several of his

¹ *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.* pp. 33, 34, 36, 37.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 162, 163.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 91. The indefinite designation, "son of the Earl," is not unfrequent in charters of this period.

⁵ *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 33, 36.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 34, 37.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁸ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 365.

⁹ *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 103.

charters,¹ it is evident that this Earl was also the son of Earl Gillebride and the brother of Earl Adam. He was succeeded in the earldom of Angus by his son Duncan.

DUNCAN, Earl of Angus, is found on record only as a witness to charters by his father Gilchrist,² and as confirming the grants of lands and churches made by his father to the Abbey of Arbroath. In two charters of confirmation made by this Earl, the names of King William the Lion and his brother David are included as witnesses.³ These two charters were granted between the years 1204 and 1211. Earl Duncan left two sons, Malcolm and Hugh,⁴ the first of whom succeeded to the earldom.

MALCOLM, Earl of Angus, son of Earl Duncan, confirmed the grants made by his grandfather and father to the Abbey of Arbroath, by charters between the years 1214 and 1226, which were attested by King Alexander the Second and his first chancellor, William de Bosco.⁵ Earl Malcolm himself added to the gifts of his predecessors to that abbey by a grant of lands in Kirriemuir,⁶ while on Nicholas, the son of Brice, priest of Kirriemuir, he bestowed the lands of the abthantry of Monifieth.⁷ He took part in the famous convention under the papal legate Otho, which met in the year 1237, at York, and arranged questions in dispute between Scotland and England.⁸ On 22d April 1231 he witnessed a charter by King Alexander the Second, in which he is designated Earl of Angus,⁹ but on 7th October 1232 he bears the title of Earl of Angus and Caithness.¹⁰ In 1236, however, while attending King Alexander at Forres, he witnessed two charters, in which he is again designated simply Earl of Angus.¹¹

¹ *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 6, 7, 29-36, 81.

² *Ibid.* pp. 29-32. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 33, 36.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 80, 81, 331, 332.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 33, 37.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

⁹ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 45.

¹⁰ *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 123.

¹¹ Charters dated 22d and 23d July [Thanes of Cawdor, p. 2; *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 464].

This change of designation is accounted for in the following way:—The Earls of Caithness had on more than one occasion proved troublesome to the Scottish Crown, but the insurrectionary spirit was quelled and the last of the old Norwegian line of Earls, John Haraldson, had been compelled to place his daughter, whose name, it is said, was Matilda, in the hands of King William the Lion, in 1214, as a hostage for his good behaviour.¹ Matilda, who appears also to have been the heiress of Earl John, was given by King William or by King Alexander the Second, in marriage to Malcolm, Earl of Angus. She bore to him a son, Magnus, and a daughter, Matilda. Magnus appears at the Court of King Alexander at Forfar in 1227,² and Matilda will be afterwards referred to. On the death of John, Earl of Caithness, in 1231,³ his earldom appears to have passed to his daughter, and Earl Malcolm, through her, became Earl of Caithness. If, however, he held the dignity from the Crown, he appears to have divested himself of it, in favour of his son Magnus, who, about 1232, may have obtained from the king the title of Earl of Caithness, but the earldom itself had been divided and the southern portion given to Hugh Freskin, who became Lord of Sutherland, and his descendants Earls of Sutherland, while only the northern half was given to Magnus.⁴ Torfaeus records that this Magnus, Earl of Caithness, died in 1239,⁵ apparently without issue, and in the lifetime of his father, Earl Malcolm. One charter is known to which the Earl of Caithness was a witness, and there can be little doubt that this was Earl Magnus. It is

¹ Fordun, edition 1871, vol. i. p. 279.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 91; Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 263, 335. It has generally been taken for granted, although there is no evidence to bear out the statement, that this Magnus was son of Earl Gillebride; but as he is called

in 1227 son of the Earl of Angus, it may be inferred that Earl Malcolm (then Earl) is meant rather than Earl Gillebride.

³ Chronica de Mailros, p. 142.

⁴ Origines Parochiales, vol. ii. p. 805.

⁵ *Ibid.*

dated 7th July 1235, but the document is so decayed that the name is illegible.¹

Malcolm, Earl of Angus, died before 1242, leaving his earldom to his only surviving child, Matilda. He was the last of the Celtic Earls of Angus.

¹ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. i. p. xxxv. The succession to the earldom of Caithness after the death of Earl Magnus is shrouded in mystery, but there is little room to doubt the probability of the suggestion

that in the later pedigree of the Caithness Earls, the names of the Umfravilles have been erroneously inserted. [Cf. *Origines Parochiales*, vol. ii. p. 805, and Robertson's *Early Kings of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 23.]



THE NORMAN EARLS OF ANGUS.

MATILDA, styled Countess of Angus, succeeded to her father, Earl Malcolm. From a statement in the *Chronica de Mailros*,¹ under the year 1242, that JOHN COMYN, Earl of Angus, died in France, it is the belief among historians that he was the first husband of the Countess Matilda. He was the only son of Richard, eldest son of William Comyn, Justiciar of Scotland and Earl of Buchan, and he is said to have died in his father's lifetime, leaving by the Countess a son, Bertold, who died young.

Countess Matilda married secondly, in 1243, SIR GILBERT UMFRAVILLE,² a well-known and powerful Northumbrian baron, some of whose ancestors at least had been in high estimation at the Scottish Court. He has been handed down to posterity as "the famous baron," and "the guardian and matchless ornament of the north of England."³ As Earl of Angus he took part in transmitting to the Pope, for confirmation, the bond by King Alexander the Second of Scotland to King Henry the Third of England,⁴ but he died in the beginning of the following year, leaving an infant son of his own name.⁵ An inquisition was ordered by the English king for the purpose of assigning dower to Countess Matilda from her late husband's lands. She obtained her terce from each of his manors, and as a capital messuage, "Gilbert's houses in Otterburn;" but his two castles and other messuages were retained

¹ Page 154.

² *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 155.

³ Matthew Paris, p. 637, quoted in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part II. vol. i. p. 19.

⁴ A.D. 1244. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 257; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scot-*

land, 1881, vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 304. Matthew Paris, *ut supra*, says he died in Passion Week, which would have been during the month of April in 1245. But his death must have taken place before 13th March 1244-5.

in the king's hands.¹ The custody of the son of Umfraville was given to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who paid £10,000 for his wardship.²

Thus twice bereft within a few years, Matilda, Countess of Angus, in her widowhood, confirmed the grants which had been made by her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, to the Abbey of Arbroath, and the priests of Kirriemuir.³ Some of these charters are witnessed by her uncle Hugh. Countess Matilda does not appear afterwards on record.

The Umfraville Earls of Angus were four in number, and bore the title from 1243 until the death of the last of the four in 1381, though for at least the half of that time the dignity was nothing more than an empty name. The first Earl, as has been already remarked, enjoyed possession only for one year. His son, GILBERT DE UMFRAVILLE, SECOND EARL OF ANGUS, is the best known to history of his race, and is, indeed, the only Umfraville Earl of Angus who was anything more than titular. He attained his majority about 1265; but before that period had risen in arms with his guardian against King Henry the Third. He was pardoned, probably on account of his youth, and was afterwards a faithful adherent of the English crown, giving active service to Edward the First in his wars with the Scots under Wallace. To the character of his rule over his own baronies, reference has already been made in the first volume of this work, as well as to the struggle between him and William, third Lord of Douglas, respecting the manor of Fawdon.⁴

Earl Gilbert frequently made grants of the lands of the earldom,⁵ and took

¹ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1881, vol. i. pp. 304-306. The extensive estates of this baron in England and their values at that time are given.

² *Ibid.* p. 310. The estates, which, with the infant and his nurse and her maid, had been placed in the care of Robert de Crepinges, were also intrusted to the Earl of

Leicester. The king's brother, Richard, had made an unavailing effort to obtain this wardship from the king. [Hodgson's Northumberland, part II. vol. i. p. 19.]

³ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 34, 81, 82, 331.

⁴ Vol. i. of this work, pp. 58-60.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 4, 5, 333.

part with the Scottish nobility in the principal events of the stirring times in which he lived. He died in 1307, and was succeeded by his second son Robert, his eldest son Gilbert having predeceased him without issue.¹

ROBERT DE UMFRAVILLE, THIRD EARL OF ANGUS, is so designated in December 1307.² He took an active part on behalf of King Edward the Second to counteract the successful efforts of Bruce for the independence of Scotland, and was therefore not permitted to enjoy his possessions in the northern kingdom. These, indeed, were parted by King Robert the Bruce among his followers, and the title treated as extinct for the time.³ Earl Robert died in 1325, and was succeeded in that year by his eldest son and heir, Gilbert.⁴

GILBERT DE UMFRAVILLE, FOURTH EARL OF ANGUS, though he bore the personal title, had nothing to do with the territorial earldom of Angus. He succeeded in 1325, but shortly after that date the earldom and title were bestowed by King Robert the Bruce on John Stewart of Boncle. Gilbert de Umfraville occasionally bears the title of Angus up to the time of his death in 1381, and from his interest in that earldom took part in the attempts by Baliol upon the throne of Scotland, as well as in the later expeditions directed by King Edward the Third. This Earl died without issue.⁵

¹ Hodgson's Northumberland, Part II. vol. i. p. 23.

² Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 22.

³ Robertson's Index, p. 8, No. 88.

⁴ Hodgson's Northumberland, Part II. vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 34-43.



THE STEWART EARLS OF ANGUS.

THE third line of Angus Earls was inaugurated by the grant of the title and territory of Angus by King Robert the Bruce to SIR JOHN STEWART OF BONCLE. He was the son of Sir Alexander Stewart of Boncle, and great-grandson of Alexander, High Steward of Scotland in the time of King Alexander the Third. He was thus related by marriage to King Robert the Bruce, and also to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, who became Regent. Some writers state that Sir Alexander Stewart of Boncle, the father of Sir John, was the first Earl of Angus created by Bruce. But he nowhere appears on record under that designation, and there is reason to believe he was dead before 1329, when the first authentic mention of a Stewart Earl of Angus is found. It is probably he who is referred to in the grant by King Edward the Second of England in 1319 to Bartholomew de Badlesmere of the manor of Ulndale, which is said to have belonged to the deceased Alexander Stewart, a Scotchman, and an enemy and rebel to the king. At all events it is Sir John Stewart who is first styled Earl of Angus and Lord of Boncle in a charter granted by him to Gilbert Lumsden of the lands of Blanerne, on 15th June 1329.¹

About 1331 Sir John Stewart, Earl of Angus, received from his uncle, Randolph, Earl of Moray, then Regent of Scotland, a grant of the reversion of the lands of Mordington and Longformacus in Lammermuir.² John, Earl of Angus, only survived until 9th December 1331.³ He married Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Alexander Abernethy, having obtained

¹ Andrew Stuart's History of the Stewarts, pp. 54, 55. Confirmed by an old but undated copy of the Charter in the Douglas Charter-chest. Vol. iii. of this work.

Randolph, Earl of Moray, married Isobel, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Boncle, grandfather of this Earl of Angus. [Andrew Stuart's History of the Stewarts, p. 52.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 14. Thomas

³ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 303.

a papal dispensation for that purpose in 1329,¹ and through this marriage the lordship of Abernethy and other lands passed into the possession of the Earls of Angus.² She bore one son, Thomas, who succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father. Margaret Abernethy, Countess of Angus, lived until at least 1370, surviving not only her husband, but also her son.³

Thomas Stewart, second Earl of Angus, being an infant at the time of the death of his father, John, the first Earl, does not appear on record until the year 1353, when he obtained a papal dispensation for his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin.⁴ He afterwards took a prominent part in national affairs. He was engaged in the siege of Berwick in 1355,⁵ and in the following year was despatched as a member of the Scottish embassy to London for negotiating the terms of the release of King David the Second.⁶ Bold and courageous himself, he seems to have encouraged his dependant barons to seek the higher paths of chivalry, and it is on record that he gave a written obligation to Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk, father of David, first Earl of Crawford, that he would give him forty merks worth of land heritably, after he had taken the order of knighthood.⁷ He was for some time Chamberlain of Scotland,⁸ and is frequently mentioned as a witness to charters between 1353 and 1359;⁹ but being suspected of complicity in the murder of Catharine Mortimer,

¹ Andrew Stuart's History of the Stewarts, p. 430.

² The Frasers of Philorth, by Lord Saltoun, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

³ Robertson's Index, pp. 33, 52, 58, 61, 65, 66, 73, 114, 120, 135.

⁴ Andrew Stuart's History of the Stewarts, pp. 57, 435. John, King of France, is mentioned in the dispensation as having joined in the petition for the Pope's indulgence to "his faithful friend," which suggests that

the youth of Thomas, Earl of Angus, may have been spent at the French Court.

⁵ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 351.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 515-519.

⁷ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 28.

⁸ Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 1.

⁹ Antiquities of Aberdeen, vol. iv. pp. 723, 752; Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 248, 249; Registrum Brechinense, vol. i. p. 15.

mistress of King David the Second, he was seized and imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, where, in 1361, he fell a victim to the plague.¹ He was survived by his Countess and two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, and a natural son, William Stewart of Angus.² Margaret Sinclair, Countess of Angus, married, as her second husband, Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston.³ Margaret, the elder daughter of Thomas, Earl of Angus, succeeded to the earldom and married Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar, and last of the old line of Mar. The younger daughter, Elizabeth, renounced in favour of her elder sister all her rights as co-heir to her father,⁴ and married Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, in East Lothian, ancestor of the Earls of Haddington.

¹ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 365 ; Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. pp. 115, 168. There is a payment of £40 for expenses incurred during the Earl's imprisonment and for his funeral.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 34, 43.

³ Robertson's Index, p. 62 ; Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 724.

⁴ Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 160.



LADY MARGARET STEWART, COUNTESS OF ANGUS.

AT the time of her father's death in 1361 LADY MARGARET STEWART was very young, perhaps a girl of seven years old. Between 1361 and 1374 she became the wife of Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar, who had divorced his former wife, Margaret, Countess of Menteith,¹ on account, it is alleged, of her bearing no issue to him. He was not more fortunate in Lady Margaret Stewart, and she was left a widow by his death about 1374.

As the charter or instrument of creation of the title of Earl of Angus in favour of her grandfather, John Stewart, the first Earl of Angus, is lost, and its terms unknown, it is uncertain whether the dignity was limited to heirs-male or extended to heirs-female. Until 1379, Margaret, Countess of Mar, and her sister, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, enjoyed the Angus estates in common, and exercised a joint superiority over them; but in that year King Robert the Second confirmed an arrangement made between the sisters, whereby the younger, Elizabeth, surrendered to Margaret, the elder, all her rights as co-heir with her of their father.² Lady Margaret thereupon assumed the style of Countess of Angus and Mar, and she so designates herself in a private charter which she afterwards granted to her sister and her husband, Alexander Hamilton, of the lands of Innerwick in Haddingtonshire.³ Prior to the king's confirmation of this arrangement with her sister, Lady Margaret merely styles herself Countess of Mar, and daughter of the late Thomas

¹ The Red Book of Menteith, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 121-124.

² 18th February 1378-9. Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 160.

³ Charter undated, but confirmed by King Robert the Second on 10th April 1389. [Vol. iii. of this work.]

Stewart, Earl of Angus, as in a charter granted by her only a month previously to her half-brother, John Sinclair, lord of Herdmanston.¹

When the Countess granted the charter to her brother in 1378, she was residing in the Castle of Tantallon, which was then held by William, first Earl of Douglas. After the death of James, second Earl of Douglas and Mar, in 1388, when Robert, Earl of Fife, as superior of Tantallon, paid a visit to the castle, he found the Countess still residing in it, and freely gave her leave to dwell there as long as she pleased, and to remove whenever she desired to do so.² After her death the castle continued in possession of the Earls of Angus.

William, first Earl of Douglas, married Margaret of Mar, sister of Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar, and thus stood in the relation of brother-in-law to Earl Thomas's widow, Margaret, Countess of Angus and Mar.³ He took a special interest in the arrangement of the affairs of the Countess, no doubt for their mutual advantage. Holding the Mar estates as Earl of Mar, he obtained from the Countess a lease of her terce lands.⁴ At his special request, Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk surrendered in the Countess's favour his claim upon her Angus estate by the obligation of her father,⁵ and from the lands of the same earldom a grant of the lands of Balmakedy and Ballinchore, in the barony of Kirriemuir, was made to Sir John Lyon, Chamberlain of Scotland, by William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, and apparently at his own hand, though by a subsequent charter Margaret, Countess of Mar and Angus, approved and confirmed it.⁶

¹ Charter dated 2d January 1378-9. [Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 724.] John Sinclair was half-brother to the Countess through the second marriage of her mother. In the charter of Innerwick three of the witnesses are John, James, and William Sinclair, her brothers, and another, Walter Sinclair, is mentioned in another charter. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 34.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 32, 33.

³ The marriage of Earl William with Margaret of Mar, and his subsequent acquisition of the earldom of Mar, have been narrated at length in vol. i. of this work, pp. 270-274.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 24, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁶ Original Charter and Precept by the Earl. dated 21st February 1380-1, and Confirmation

These dealings by William, Earl of Douglas and Mar, with the possessions of the Countess of Angus, the fact also of her residence at his castle of Tantallon, and still more, the fact that to the husband of her sister-in-law she bore a son, George Douglas, who was afterwards created Earl of Angus, have all been adduced to confirm the statement made by Godscroft, that the Earl of Douglas married the Countess of Mar and Angus after the death of her sister-in-law. But, as has been shown in the memoir of that Earl, Margaret of Mar survived her husband.¹

The Countess was fortunate in obtaining for her son the hand of one of the royal princesses, and in his favour she divested herself of the earldom of Angus, resigning it into the king's hands at Holyrood, on 9th April 1389.² On the occasion of her son's marriage, the Countess obtained Calder Castle as a temporary residence for her son, by agreement with Sir James Sandilands, Lord of Calder.³ The Countess of Angus also received from King Robert the Third about this time, a grant of the barony of Ethie-beatoun in Forfarshire, with the fishing and the Crag of Broughty.⁴ The last-named place was a valuable acquisition to the Angus family, and the great-grandson of the Countess, George, fourth Earl of Angus, erected upon the Crag the famous castle of Broughty.

It was, doubtless, mainly due to the efforts of this Countess and the great influence of the powerful Earl of Douglas, that the earldom of Angus, held and possessed by the Douglasses, owed its existence and promising beginning. She sacrificed much for her son's sake, and evidence of this is given in a grant by her to Patrick Lindsay, cousin of Sir James Sandilands, of an annuity of five pounds from the Kirktoon of Earl-Stradichty. It was

by the Countess, dated at Tantallon, 12th August 1381, in Glamis Charter-chest. [Vol. iii. of this work.]

¹ Vol. i. of this work, p. 287.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 565.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 37.

⁴ Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p.

729.

made subsequent to the death of her son, but she promises to obtain confirmation of the grant by the tutors of his children when appointed, and afterwards by the children themselves. If she died before the confirmation was effected, she bade her grandchildren and their tutors remember that the grant had been made in their interest only, and that "thai will haf in mynde how we made our lyffing les in our tyme, for lestand profyt to thaim."¹ Before her death she had made arrangements for the marriages of both her grandchildren.

The last transaction of the Countess which has been recorded, is a grant by her of the lands of Brokholes, Harewode, and Denwode, in Berwickshire, to the monks of Durham. A dispute had arisen between her and them as to the rightful possession of the lands, which she had detained by force, but being met by the clerics with their spiritual weapon—the anathema of the Church,—she relented, and declared her willingness to recede from the position she had assumed. Accordingly the prior of Durham directed the prior of Coldingham to pronounce absolution,² and in the beginning of the following month, the Countess formally gave up her right to the lands.³ Countess Margaret died before 23d March 1417-18.⁴

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 195.

³ 4th January 1415-16. Antiquities of

² Commission, dated 9th December 1415.
Priory of Coldingham, Surtees Society, p. 88.

Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. p. 733.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 50.



THE DOUGLAS EARLS OF ANGUS.

I.—GEORGE DOUGLAS, FIRST EARL OF ANGUS.

PRINCESS MARY STEWART, HIS COUNTESS.

1389—1402.

THE Douglas Earls of Angus, by far the most illustrious family who enjoyed that ancient title, and who held it for centuries, date their origin from the creation of that dignity by King Robert the Third in favour of George Douglas, on 10th April 1389.¹ He was the son of William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar,² and Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar. The date of his birth is not known, but as he is mentioned as still in his minority when the grant of the earldom of Angus was made, he was probably born between the years 1374 and 1380.

On the resignation by Margaret, Countess of Angus and Mar, of her earldom of Angus, made at Holyrood on 9th April 1389, the territory was, on the following day, bestowed upon her son, George Douglas, who thereupon became Lord of Angus. To the earldom of Angus were attached the lordships of Abernethy, in Perthshire, and Boncle, in Berwickshire, both of which also had been inherited by the Countess. The grant of the lands was to George Douglas and his lawful heirs, whom failing, to the Countess's sister Elizabeth and her husband, Sir Alexander Hamilton, and their heirs.³ From the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work.

James Sandilands, Lord of Calder. Vol. iii.

² His paternity is stated in a charter by

of this work, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*

lordship of Abernethy the lands of Littlepoty, Petversy, and Petblay were excepted, and these were given by the Countess to her half-brother, Sir Walter Sinclair, to be held for homage and service from her and George Douglas, her son and assignee, with a remainder to him failing heirs of the grantee.¹ Other lands in Kirriemuir—Mains, Balbrydy, Daldeva, and Ordealady—were likewise excepted, as they had just been given by the Countess to Sir Richard Comyn for life.²

The first recorded transaction of the young Lord of Angus is somewhat remarkable, and illustrates at least one feature of the chivalry of those times. It is an agreement whereby Sir Alexander Stewart, son of Sir Andrew Stewart (perhaps of Ralston), pledged himself to George, Lord of Angus, to join, before the close of the year, a French crusading expedition which, under the leadership of the Duke of Bourbon, was about to set out to battle with the Saracens in Africa. If Stewart failed to go, he came under obligation to pay one thousand merks to Angus. Sir Alexander was further bound to remain in the Duke's service in Africa for one year at his own expense; and if he were prevented by any bodily disability from personally carrying out his undertaking, he obliged himself to furnish, at his own expense, two knights of noble birth and spotless reputation, who would serve in his place for the same period. This document, which bears the date of 1st November 1390, was made in duplicate, and each of the contracting parties affixed his seal to the other's copy.³

George, Lord of Angus, apparently attained his majority in 1397, as in that year great preparations were made for his marriage with the Princess Mary, the second daughter of King Robert the Third. The terms of the marriage-contract were arranged between the king and Margaret, Countess of Mar and Angus, at Edinburgh on 24th May of that year. The

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 34. ² *Ibid.* p. 33. British Museum, quoted by Michel, *Les Ecos-*

³ Additional ms. 15,644, folio 3 verso, in sais en France, etc., vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

provisions of the marriage-contract, it is curious to note, were all obviously for the advantage of the Lord of Angus. The king promised to confirm to him and the princess the earldom of Angus and lordships of Abernethy and Boncle in free regality heritably, and also to endow them with the fees of the justiciary courts of the entire county of Forfar. He undertook to convey to the Countess and her son a yearly rent of £16 due to the Crown from the lands of Abernethy, and obliged himself to ratify under the Great Seal all gifts, entails, and leases, made or which might be made by Isobel Douglas to her brother George, receiving all resignations made for that purpose by Isobel, and with all haste to give charter and possession to George of Douglas. If that lady made resignations of any of her lands in favour of other persons than her brother, the king bound himself not to receive them, unless on certain conditions, in the case of Sir Thomas Erskine.¹ Similarly he promised to confirm all gifts, entails, and leases, made or to be made in favour of George of Douglas by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and, finally, to maintain and defend the Countess of Angus, and her men and possessions, equally as if they were his own.²

After the date of this contract of marriage, George of Douglas is styled Earl of Angus, and there is no doubt that he had been created Earl of Angus on the occasion of his marriage.

This whole transaction reveals the fact that the Countess of Angus was possessed of great influence, and she exerted her power with considerable success in obtaining for her son, not only a position of high rank, but also territory of no mean extent.

¹ The reference to Sir Thomas Erskine has respect to a representation made by him to King Robert the Third that others were conspiring to defraud his wife of her right to a half of the Mar estates, in the event of the death of

Isobel Douglas without issue, and an assurance which had been given by the king that he would not confirm any such agreement. [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 578.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 38. 39.

On the death of James, second Earl of Douglas and Mar, without lawful heirs, the extensive unentailed estates of William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, passed to his daughter, Isobel Douglas, and as she had no issue, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, the son of Earl William's sister, Eleanor Douglas, was presumptive heir to these estates. They comprised, among others, the lands of Cavers, with the sheriffship of the county and custody of the castle of Roxburgh, the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh, and lands of Bonjedworth, Liddesdale, the town of Selkirk, the regality of Buittle, and lands of Drumlanrig, as well as those of Doune Buk, Cabrach, and Clova, in Banffshire, and Tillicoultry, in the county of Clackmannan. To all these Sir James Sandilands had a presumptive succession; but after consulting his friends, he surrendered his right in favour of George, Earl of Angus, by a charter,¹ which was confirmed about this same time by King Robert the Third.²

Sandilands did even more than this. He gave to the Earl and his mother his own castle of Calder as a residence, on a five years' lease, and in the same agreement, which was made before the marriage-contract, he arranged the terms on which he consented to surrender his right of succession. He would also be fully content with whatever entails Isobel Douglas might make on her brother of lands inherited from her father. If she died before these entails had been given effect to, he himself would fulfil the conditions of entail, provision being made for a reversion to himself and his heirs if George, Earl of Angus, died without issue. Out of such entailed estates Sandilands was to receive land to the value of two hundred merks, and if he had no children at the time of his death, all his lands were to pass to the Earl.³ Sandilands was at this time married to the Princess Jean, and thus stood in the relation of brother-in-law to

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 35.

² *Ibid.* p. 40. 9th November 1397.

³ *Ibid.* p. 37. 27th April 1397.

the king. He had also at least one son, and by a separate indenture it was arranged that in the event of his death before George, Earl of Angus, that Earl should act as tutor to his son, and become guardian of his castle of Calder and lands in general.¹ The fact that Sandilands stood in such a close relationship to the king brings out even more strikingly the powerful influence which the Countess of Angus must have wielded in securing the aggrandisement of her son.

The marriage between the princess Mary and the Earl of Angus took place in the same year, 1397, as the king, in part fulfilment of his promises in the contract, conferred the profits and fines of the courts of Forfarshire upon the Earl and Mary Stewart, who in this charter is called the Earl's spouse.² The king also confirmed to them the Angus or Forfar lands, with the baronies of Abernethy and Boncle, in free regality.³

A few years later, Isobel Douglas and Malcolm Drummond, her husband, gave to George, Earl of Angus, the lands of Liddesdale, in exchange for the terce due to his mother from the Mar estates, and the payment of one hundred pounds yearly to the granters while in life.⁴

George, Earl of Angus, apparently on account of his youth, took little part in public affairs, and as his life was very short, his name occurs but seldom on the page of history or record. Wyntoun says that he accompanied Walter, Bishop of St. Andrews, and several of the nobles, to the border conference at Haudenstank, with the Duke of Lancaster, on 16th March 1397-8.⁵ From the custumars of North Berwick he received, by the king's command, as a royal gift, the sum of £8,⁶ and on a later occasion he received £10 from

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 39, 42. 9th November 1397.

² *Ibid.* p. 41.

³ Robertson's Index, p. 139.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 44, 45. 19th April 1400.

⁵ Wintoun, B. ix. cap. xviii. l. 14; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 35.

⁶ Perhaps on the occasion of his marriage, or at least between 24th May 1397 and 26th April 1398. [Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 440, 441.]

the custumars of Linlithgow, on behalf of the Duke of Rothesay, as part of the Duke's pension.¹

The only military engagement in which this Earl of Angus is known to have taken part was the battle of Homildon Hill. He was despatched by the Duke of Albany to the assistance of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, when that Earl determined by a strong invasion of England to avenge the defeat of Nisbet Moor. But, as narrated in the life of the fourth Earl of Douglas,² that expedition terminated in the still more disastrous field of Homildon. At the close of the conflict the Earl of Angus was a prisoner in the hands of the English, and under special instructions from the King of England his captors were obliged to refuse to put him to ransom.³ While in captivity in England he fell a victim to the ravages of the plague.⁴

It is impossible to form any fair estimate of the character of the first Douglas Earl of Angus, thus cut off about his twenty-fifth year. Though in his day the earldom of Angus was placed upon a foundation of great stability, that, as has been already observed, was mainly due to the efforts and influence of his mother, the Countess Margaret. She survived her son for about fifteen years.

The Princess Mary Stewart also survived her husband, and was afterwards thrice married. Her second husband was Sir James Kennedy, son of Sir Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure, and by him, whom she married in 1409, she was mother of the celebrated James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, the chief adviser of King James the Second.⁵ Through this marriage she also became ancestress of the Earls of Cassillis and Marquises of Ailsa. After the death of Sir James Kennedy the Princess Mary married William, Lord Graham, ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose, to whom she likewise bore

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 542.

² Vol. i. of this work, pp. 367-369.

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii. pp. 278, 279.

⁴ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 435.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, vol. iv. pp. clxxiii, clxxiv.

issue.¹ She married in 1425, as her fourth husband, Sir William Edmonstone of Culloden, afterwards of Duntreath, and also bore issue to him. For their kindness to his monastery and its dependent priory of Coldingham, John, prior of Durham, granted to Sir William Edmonstone and his spouse, Mary, Countess of Angus, a special participation in all masses, feasts, vigils, orisons, divine offices, and works of piety of the monastery and its dependent cells for ever.² She was still alive in the beginning of the year 1458, when King James the Second conferred upon her the lands of the half barony of Trabeath in Carrick.³ She was buried in the parish church of Strathblane, the burial-place of the Edmonstones of Duntreath.⁴

By his Countess, George, first Earl of Angus, left issue one son and one daughter.

1. William, who succeeded him as second Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.
2. Elizabeth, who, previous to the year 1423, married Sir Alexander Forbes, afterwards Lord Forbes,⁵ and had issue. In 1409 she had been betrothed by her grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Mar and Angus, to a son of Sir William Hay of Lochorwart, but apparently no marriage took place until after the death of Lord Forbes. She then married, as her second husband, Sir David Hay of Yester, afterwards Lord Yester, and ancestor of the Marquises of Tweeddale, and also bore issue to him.⁶

¹ The Red Book of Menteith, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 287-290; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 167-169, 403, 408.

² 6th August 1440. The Priory of Coldingham, Surtees Society, p. 115.

³ 20th March 1457. Historical Manuscripts Commissioners' Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 614.

⁴ Genealogical Account of the Edmonstones of Duntreath, pp. 30, 31, 77, 78.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 60; Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. pp. 386-388.

⁶ Obligation by the Earl of Orkney and William Sinclair of Herdmanston, dated 4th December 1409, at Hermeston. [Genealogy of the Hays of Tweeddale, by Father Augustin Hay, p. 19.]

II.—WILLIAM DOUGLAS, SECOND EARL OF ANGUS.

MARGARET HAY (OF YESTER), HIS COUNTESS.

1402—1437.

A GAIN, in this early stage of its history, the earldom of Angus fell into the hands of a minor. In the times of the Stewart Earls, before it came into the possession of the Douglasses, it had been equally unfortunate, passing very shortly after its erection by King Robert the Bruce into the hands of an infant, and afterwards becoming the inheritance of a female. Once more, and at no lengthened date after its revival in the House of Douglas, it devolved upon an infant.

On his father's death in 1402, William Douglas, the son of George, first Earl of Angus, and the Princess Mary Stewart, could have been no more than four years of age.¹ He at once, however, succeeded to the title, and under the guardianship of tutors inherited and possessed the estates. In his name, a few years after his succession, a public protest was made against the recognition of the lands of Selkirk. An obscure individual, Alexander de Newton, claimed the lands of Selkirk on behalf of the superior, though whether he

¹ In a precept by Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, dated 27th March 1409, for the young Earl's infeftment in the lordship of Liddesdale, he is mentioned as of lawful age. But as his parents were only

married in 1397, this must have been by special dispensation, though the fact is not recorded in the precept. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 49.]

had taken any further dealings with them does not appear. His proceedings, however, were speedily nullified by the appearance of Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston in Selkirk, who, as the young Earl's commissioner, assembled the people at a house on the west side of the burgh, affirmed the Earl's proprietorship, as having been in peaceful possession of the lands beyond the term appointed by law, and in which he still remained, declared that Newton had no authority for what he had done; and then taking earth, stone, and wood from the house, he reduced these to powder, as a token that he annulled and made void all Newton's proceedings, or those of any acting under his authority.¹

In 1410 Earl William was betrothed by Margaret, Countess of Mar and Angus, to his future Countess, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester. But he took no part in public affairs under the *régime* of the Regent Albany, nor does he appear on record until the year 1418, when he received from William of Cluny an absolute surrender of the lands of Easter Cluny in Perthshire.² The Earl likewise obtained from Walter Ogilvy, Lord of Lintrathen, resignation of the lands of Inverquharity, to be bestowed, in terms of a charter by Walter Ogilvy, upon his brother, John Ogilvy, founder of the family of Ogilvy of Inverquharity;³ and he executed, apparently at the request of his sister Elizabeth, and her husband, Sir Alexander Forbes, a formal obligation, interdicting himself from selling or alienating any of the family estates to the prejudice of his sister, in case of the failure of his own heirs.⁴

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 48. 13th February 1408.

² *Ibid.* Original Resignation, 19th July 1418, at Castle Forbes.

³ 10th and 20th June 1420. Vol. iii. of this work; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 1550. The Earl at a later period granted

other lands to his squire, John of Ogilvy, lord of Inverquharity, and others were acquired by his son, Alexander Ogilvy, in the same district in the time of James, third Earl of Angus. [*Ibid.*]

⁴ 4th November 1423. Vol. iii. of this work.

In the negotiations which took place between Scotland and England in 1421 for the release of King James the First, William, Earl of Angus, was proposed as one of the twenty hostages who were to take the place of the king during three months' leave of absence from captivity.¹ But the proposal was not carried into effect at that time. Two years later, when the king's release was finally arranged, Earl William was one of twenty-one hostages named as securities for the payment of the indemnity of forty thousand pounds demanded from King James. The annual value at that time of the Earl's estate was estimated at the sum of six hundred merks.² When, however, the list of hostages was finally drawn up, the Earl of Angus was not included;³ and happily so, as many of those who expatriated themselves on this occasion died in England after long periods of detention there, for the ransom was never fully paid. The Earl, however, was one of the Scottish nobles who met the king at Durham, and accompanied him into his own kingdom.⁴

Surrounded by over three hundred of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, King James the First and his queen, Joanna Beaufort, made a triumphal progress to Melrose,⁵ and thence to Edinburgh. The rejoicings were continued through April to the end of May, in the latter part of which the coronation of the king and queen took place at Scone, in honour of which a number of knights were made, one being, it is said, William, Earl of Angus.⁶ King James also held his first Parliament, at which the Earl of Angus was probably present.⁷

The harshness of the measures taken by King James the First to reduce the power of his nobility, and the sanguinary revenge with which he visited

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 125.

² *Ibid.* p. 307.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 327-351.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 309.

⁵ 5th April 1424. *Ibid.* p. 344.

⁶ *Liber Pluscardensis*, 1877, vol. i. p. 370.

⁷ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 3.

the descendants of the Regent Albany, whom he unjustly deemed the author of his protracted captivity in England, are well-known facts of history. Scarcely a year had elapsed since he had been placed on the throne of his fathers, when, in the session of his second Parliament at Perth, in March 1425, King James suddenly arrested Murdach, Duke of Albany, his son Sir Alexander Stewart, and other nobles, including the Earl of Angus. He had determined on the destruction of the family of Albany, and he resolved, by intimidating the rest of the nobles, to make them privy to his actions. Parliament was then adjourned to meet at Stirling two months later, and of the imprisoned lords, eight at least appear to have obtained their liberty on promising compliance with the king's wishes. These eight, of whom William, Earl of Angus, was one, sat on the jury of twenty-one who, on 24th May, at a meeting of Parliament at Stirling, presided over judicially by the king in person, condemned to death Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdach, Duke of Albany. His execution was at once carried into effect, and on the following day the Duke himself, his son Alexander, and the aged Earl of Lennox, were, with the same precipitation, condemned and beheaded. The Duchess of Albany, a daughter of the Earl of Lennox, was imprisoned for some time in the Earl of Angus's castle of Tantallon.¹

While at Stirling, William, Earl of Angus, made a grant which must have been somewhat opposed to the wishes of his grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Angus, formerly adverted to.² She had bestowed an annuity of £5 from the lands of Kirkcounie in Earl-Strathclyde, upon Patrick Lindsay, but the Earl granted away these lands to Thomas Clerk of Dundee,³ and in

¹ Fordun, & Goodall, vol. ii. pp. 483, 484. The Earl of Angus was at Dundee on 20th December 1424, and granted a charter there to William of Blair. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 59.

² Page 16, *antea*.

³ He was infest therein on a precept from the Earl on 14th April 1425. [Historical Manuscripts Commissioners' Report, vol. v. p. 612.]

return for surrendering his lease of the lands, Lindsay received an annuity of twenty shillings from the lands of Ballergus. To enable the Earl to complete the execution of that document, he borrowed the seal of Richard Luffale or Lovel,—promising to place his own to it “quhen we cum quhar it is.”¹ A few months later, on 20th August, at Edinburgh, the Earl granted the lands of Easter Cluny, in the barony of Abernethy, Perthshire, to his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Forbes, and his sister, Elizabeth.²

William, Earl of Angus, took part in the celebration of King James the First's birthday in the castle of St. Andrews in 1425, when the rejoicings were prolonged until the Feast of the Epiphany, 6th January.³ He probably also attended the frequent Parliaments summoned by James, and notably that held in the castle of Inverness in 1427, at which the king ordered the Highland chieftains to present themselves, and seized and imprisoned them as they arrived. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, a powerful chief, and able to command a large following, was one of those incarcerated; but while others were hastily tried and executed, he received his liberty, with an admonition to be more careful of his allegiance. No sooner, however, had James returned southwards than this island chieftain assembled his vassals, ravaged the crown lands near Inverness, and burned to the ground that town, the scene of his captivity and dishonour. To avenge this insult to his authority, James at once mustered a large army, and again marched northward by forced marches, encountering his rebel baron in Lochaber. When the two forces came in view of each other the Macintoshes and Camerons deserted the party of the Lord of the Isles, and went over to the king, who then inflicted a severe defeat upon the rebel leader, and compelled him to sue for peace. This, however, the king refused to grant.⁴

¹ 12th May 1425, at Stirling. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 195.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 60.

³ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 487.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 488, 489; Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 36, 37.

In this expedition William, Earl of Angus, took part, as he was with the king at Inverness on 27th July 1429.¹ And when the Lord of the Isles, driven to bay, came in abject misery, kneeling, and dressed only in shirt and drawers, to supplicate the mercy of the king and queen, at the altar in Holyrood Abbey, on the eve of the festival of St. Augustine, he was committed to the custody of the Earl of Angus, in the castle of Tantallon, until the king should consider what course to take with his prisoner.²

The seven years' truce which had been arranged with England at the return of King James was now nearly expired, and as it was deemed expedient for the two countries to continue on friendly terms, a large and influential embassy was despatched by the Scottish king to Haudenstank on the Borders, there to arrange with English commissioners the terms for the prolongation of peace. William, Earl of Angus, was one of these ambassadors, for whom a safe-conduct was granted in the beginning of the year 1430.³ The negotiations were successful, and a truce of five years' duration was arranged, to commence at sunset on 1st May 1431. William, Earl of Angus, was appointed one of the twelve conservators, all of whom are also styled keepers of the marches towards England and admirals of the Scottish seas.⁴ The Earl had also a special appointment as Warden of the Middle Marches, with authority to prevent maraudings by the Scots, and to investigate complaints by the English, with power to try and punish offenders against the truce.⁵

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 127. He also witnessed the grant made by the king at Perth to the monks of Vallis Virtutis, near Perth, on 31st March preceding [*Ibid.* vol. iii. No. 1928], and returned with him; for he witnessed royal charters at Edinburgh on 30th August, and Perth on 6th October of the same year. [*Ibid.* vol. ii. Nos. 130, 134.]

² Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. pp. 489, 490.

³ 24th January 1429-30. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. pp. 446, 447. The Earl afterwards was with the king at Perth on 15th May 1430 [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 152], and again at Linlithgow, on 3d June 1431 [Liber de Melros, vol. ii. p. 532].

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. x. pp. 482-488.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 65.

This peace, however, was not maintained. Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, either on his own account, or at the instigation of the English Court, crossed the Borders with a force of four thousand knights and men-at-arms. But his progress was at once opposed by William, Earl of Angus, who as Warden gave battle to the invaders at Piperden. In this he was ably assisted by Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and others. This battle was fought on 10th September 1435, and was stubbornly contested. Both sides suffered severely, but in the end victory declared for the Scots. In retiring, the English left fifteen hundred prisoners in the hands of the victors, by whom, however, the success was dearly bought. Sir Alexander Elphinstone of Elphinstone was among the slain.¹

The English further infringed the truce by attempting to capture the vessel in which the Princess Margaret of Scotland was being conveyed from Scotland to France for her marriage with the Dauphin; but just at the moment when their prey was within their reach, they were diverted by the appearance of a fleet of Flemish merchantmen, which they pursued and captured. No sooner, however, had the English endeavoured to regain their shores with their spoil than they in turn were assailed and overcome by a Spanish navy, and the booty wrested from their hands. Meanwhile, unobserved, the Scots piloted their precious burden in safety across the sea to Rochelle. These infractions of the treaty provoked King James to acts of retaliation, and he shortly afterwards laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh.²

When, in the year 1433, King James the First determined on taking the extensive earldom of March from George Dunbar, Earl of March, on the pretext of his father's forfeiture in 1401, he sent William, Earl of Angus, in company with Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes, and Sir William Crichton,

¹ Fordun, & Goodall, vol. ii. pp. 500, 501; Majoris Historia, p. 307; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3875.

² Fordun, & Goodall, vol. ii. pp. 485, 501.

Master of the Royal Household, to take possession of the castle of Dunbar. Until the castle was in his hands the king took the precaution of detaining the Earl of March at Court. The Earl of Angus and his companions were furnished merely with the Royal letters-patent commanding the keepers of the fortress to deliver it up to them, and had no command or consent from the Earl of March. But well aware of the temper of the king towards those who resisted his will, the keepers of the castle did not dare to disobey the royal mandate. On receiving possession, the king placed the fortress of Dunbar in the keeping of Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes.

In the following year, after a form of trial, in which, as the king's previous action showed, the decision was long predetermined, the Earl of March and his family were disinherited. But as if to lessen the injustice of his conduct, the king bestowed upon Dunbar the title of Earl of Buchan. The gift was one of an empty title, and it was only after the death of James the First that the three Estates are said to have granted to the unfortunate Earl an annual pension of four hundred merks out of the revenues of his own old earldom of March.¹

The only other event of importance in which William, Earl of Angus, took a prominent part, was the pursuit and capture of the murderers of King James the First. He is usually credited with the capture of the aged Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, one of the prime conspirators, and who paid with his life the penalty of his crime.

In connection with the Angus estates, Earl William effected little or no change, neither increasing nor diminishing them. His power and influence were sometimes solicited by ecclesiastical institutions. For some time he held the position of protector and defender of the rights, liberties, privileges, possessions, and tenants of the priory of Coldingham, in Berwickshire, being commissioned to that effect by John, Prior of Durham, on 21st January

¹ Fordun, & Goodall, vol. ii. p. 500; Majoris Historia, p. 306.

1427-8. King James the First had undertaken, writes the Prior, to protect their cell at Coldingham, but having his regal cares vastly multiplied, he was unable personally to look after their interests. So, with the king's consent, the prior appointed the Earl of Angus in the king's name and place, with the usual baronial powers of letting the lands, holding courts, and generally ruling the tenantry and vassals.

In the previous year the Earl of Angus had been under their ban. He appears to have resumed the lands of Brokholes, Harewood, and Denewood, in respect of which his grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Angus, had formerly provoked the sentence of excommunication against herself, and which was only relaxed upon their restoration.¹ Nothing short of the same submission would now satisfy the monks of Durham and Coldingham, and the Earl had ultimately to walk "in the footsteps of his progenitors," and reconfirm the lands to the monks. The Prior of Durham thereupon instructed his subordinate, William Drax, Prior of Coldingham, to remit the sentence of excommunication and suspension promulgated against the Earl and his abettors,² and the Earl then, as once more restored to his civil and ecclesiastical rights and privileges, quitclaimed the lands in favour of the monks.³

William, Earl of Angus, did not long enjoy the office of protector and defender of Coldingham Priory, as the same John, Prior of Durham, on 20th March 1432-3, recalled and annulled the commission to the Earl, because of complaints of his abuse of power in many particulars, to the loss and intolerable detriment of the Prior of Coldingham and his office.⁴

In a similar way, at a later date, Patrick, Abbot of Holyrood, near Edinburgh, engaged the services of this Earl of Angus, stipulating that the Earl would secure the immunity of the monks and their establishment against all unlawful attempts to injure them, for four years. In return for his

¹ Page 16, *antea*.

² 30th November 1426.

³ 10th August 1427.

⁴ The Priory of Coldingham, *Surtees Society*, pp. 99-101, 107.

assistance and protection, the Earl was to receive for the first two years' pension, all the goods, "both quick and dead," of the late vicar of Barrow, and ten pounds for each of the following two years. A copy of the indenture, which is dated 13th March 1435-6, and sealed with the abbot's seal, was left with the Earl. The churchman had travelled all the way from Holyrood to North Berwick to solicit the Earl's favour and friendship.¹

But before the Earl had exhausted the term of service covered by the pension of the Vicar of Barrow's goods, "quick and dead," he himself had died. The date of his death is ascertained from the retour of his son James as about a "quarter of a year" previous to 11th January 1437-8, or in the month of October 1437.

William, second Earl of Angus, married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester. In the printed records of the Priory of Coldingham, there is an entry of a document, of which only this heading is preserved, "A letter of the brotherhood, granted to William Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Christiana, his wife," the date 1400-1 being placed in the margin.² The document is apparently wanting in the register, but the entry is evidently a mistake. The Earl and Margaret Hay, as already mentioned, were betrothed by Margaret, Countess of Mar and Angus, who, on 12th December 1410, gave her bond for £100 to Sir William Hay of Lochorwart that the marriage would be completed. A papal dispensation was obtained for their marriage in 1425.³

Margaret Hay, Countess of Angus, survived her husband, Earl William, for a considerable time. She is represented about the year 1440 as presiding in her baronial court of Abernethy, when one of her vassals, Walter, son of Nicholas, approached with the supplication that she would renew to him and his heirs the charter by which he held the lands of Balnecroch. The

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 65.

² The Priory of Coldingham, Surtees Society, No. cvi. p. 93.

³ Genealogy of the Hays of Tweeddale, by Father Augustin Hay, p. 20.

charter, he said, by which he and his predecessors formerly held the lands had been lost during the "common war." A jury of trustworthy elderly countrymen was impanelled to inquire into the truth of the suppliant's averments, and these being found agreeable to fact, the Countess granted the prayer of the petition, and renewed and confirmed the former grant. In the new charter, which was prefaced by a narrative of the proceedings just related, the jurymen who decided the appeal take the place of witnesses.¹

Twenty-six years later, on 10th October 1466, Margaret, Countess of Angus, appears as a litigant with her widowed daughter-in-law, Isabel Sibbald, Countess of George, fourth Earl of Angus, in respect to her terce from the lands of Boncle and others. The suit was decided by the Lords Auditors in favour of the Countess Margaret, her daughter-in-law being forbidden to intermeddle with the terce due to her mother-in-law from the lands of Boncle, and all other lands in which her husband, Earl William, had died infest, and content herself with her own terce from the remaining two-thirds of the earldom. The Countess Isabel was also enjoined to pay to her mother-in-law ten marks of expenses.²

Countess Margaret was still alive in the year 1484, when she is mentioned as grandmother of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, and still in the enjoyment of her terce.³ By her Earl William had issue three sons:—⁴

1. James, who succeeded his father as third Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.
2. George, who succeeded his brother as fourth Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work.

² *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, p. 4.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 107, 116.

⁴ In 1475 an Archibald de Douglas appears as a witness to a charter by Archibald, fifth

Earl of Angus, and is described as uncle of that Earl (*avunculo dicti comitis*) [*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 1538]. This may be another son of William, second Earl of Angus. But nothing further has been ascertained about him.

3. William Douglas, commonly called of Cluny, a designation derived from the barony of Cluny in Fifeshire.¹ He is called brother of George, fourth Earl of Angus, in a charter granted by King James the Third to that Earl, of the lands and goods in Roxburghshire of all those persons who had been forfeited for taking part in the Douglas rebellion, with the exception of such of these escheats as had already been bestowed upon his brother William.² Douglas of Cluny rose high in estimation at Court, and was appointed guardian to the young King James the Third.

After the death of his brother George, William Douglas of Cluny appears to have managed the affairs of the earldom of Angus until his nephew, Archibald, the fifth Earl, had reached majority: at least King James the Third gave him the lordships of Douglas and Tantallon, with their castles, in ward,³ and probably all the rest of the Angus estates were, with these chief places, put under his control. These William Douglas resigned in his nephew's favour about seven years later.⁴

At the same time as these wardships were granted, the king conferred upon him the office of warden of the East and Middle Marches of Scotland, left vacant by the death of his brother, the fourth Earl. This office, however, was to be held by him only until the king reached the fifteenth year of his age.⁵ William

¹ Charter of feu-farm by William Douglas of Sunderland, lord of Cluny, and Warden of the East and Middle Marches, to George Boswell of Cragside, of thirteen acres of the lands of Cragbank and Clayfaulds in Haltoun of Cluny, in the lordship of Cluny, and shire of Fife. Dated at Tantallon, 19th April 1465. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 436.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 91. 16th November 1462.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 774. 12th January 1463-4.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 98. 26th June 1470.

⁵ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 773. 12th January 1463-4.

Douglas shared largely, too, in the spoils which fell to the loyalists on the suppression of the Douglas rebellion. He received from King James the Third, not only the lands and goods in Roxburghshire already referred to, but likewise the estates of Sunderlandhall in Selkirkshire, Crauston in Midlothian, and Traquair and Leithenhope in Peeblesshire, which, with other possessions, were erected by the king into the barony of Sunderland in favour of William Douglas of Cluny.¹ Accordingly he is sometimes designated lord of Sunderland,² and also lord of Traquair.³ William Douglas of Cluny appears to have died unmarried before 1475, as his lands of Cluny were then in possession of the fifth Earl of Angus.⁴

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 775. 16th January 1463-4.

² Historical mss. Commissioners' Fourth Report, Appendix, p. 496.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 781.

⁴ Fourth Report of the Commissioners on Historical mss., Appendix, p. 496.



III.—1. JAMES DOUGLAS, THIRD EARL OF ANGUS.

1437—1446.

JAMES, the eldest son of William, second Earl of Angus, and Margaret Hay, his Countess, succeeded his father in the earldom of Angus and other lordships in 1437. He was retoured heir to his father in the barony of Kirriemuir on 11th January 1437-8,¹ three months after his father's death, and under the title of Earl of Angus, Lord of Liddesdale and Jedburgh Forest, confirmed a charter, in the following year, to Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquhar, of the lands of Ludeinch and others.²

The Earl was at the time of this grant residing at the castle of Tantallon, and one of the witnesses was his mother's brother, Edmund Hay of Linplum.³ At the same castle he granted another charter in the following year.⁴ At this time also was settled by arbitration in the Earl's favour a claim made by Sir Alexander Home of Dunglas to the lands of Preston and Lintlaw in Boncle, founding upon an alleged charter by the Earl's father, William, but which Earl James was not disposed to admit. The decret-arbitral deciding the dispute in the Earl's favour was given on 27th February 1439-40, and a few days later Edmund de Hay, who thus appears taking a special interest in the Earl's affairs, obtained certification of the decret by a notary at

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 372.

² *Ibid.* p. 423. 20th March 1438. In respect of these lands, Alexander Ogilvie, at a later date, made a declaration of vassalage to

the Earls of Angus, and granted his bond thereupon. [*Ibid.* p. 67.]

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 322.

⁴ 5th May 1439. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 68.

Edinburgh Castle.¹ As Lord of Jedburgh Forest, this Earl presided at an inquest held at Richermuderake, in the forest, on 2d July 1439,² for the retour of George Douglas of Bonjedworth as heir to his father, John Douglas. Lintalee is mentioned as the manor where the emblems of the Laird of Bonjedworth's vassalage were to be exhibited if required, showing that the stronghold, which the Good Sir James Douglas had fortified against the English more than one hundred years before, still stood, though it was now in the hands of the Red instead of the Black Douglasses.

During his short enjoyment of the Angus title and estates, Earl James occupied a prominent position in political life. He was betrothed to the Princess Jean, third daughter of King James the First, and was thus closely connected with the young King James the Second, the custody of whom formed so much an object of solicitation to the rival parties in the State, and to whose interest he would be specially attached. The Earl was at Stirling with King James in the beginning of the year 1443.³ Two years later, however, the power of William, eighth Earl of Douglas, having been established, and his influence become predominant at Court, James, Earl of Angus, who adhered to what may be called Crichton's party, was arraigned before Parliament. This Parliament, it is said, met first at Perth, on the 5th of June, but was transferred to Edinburgh, on account of the siege then carried on against Crichton, who had fortified himself in the Castle.⁴

The charge against James, Earl of Angus, was that of rebellion; and as he did not appear in answer to the summons, decree of forfeiture was given, unless he submitted himself to the king and law to answer for his misdeeds

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 69, 70.

² *Ibid.* pp. 68, 69. On 6th June 1442, at Hermitage Castle, James, Earl of Angus, granted a charter to Andrew Ireland of Fytherland, in the barony of Abernethy, which had been resigned by its former owner,

David Umphray, in presence of many people, in "our chapel of Lyntolee." [*Ibid.* p. 426.]

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 270. 5th February 1442-3.

⁴ Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 6, 37.

within year and day.¹ This process seems to point to the existence of active hostilities between the Black and Red Douglasses at this date, and Godscroft hazards the statement that Bishop James Kennedy of St. Andrews, great-uncle of James, Earl of Angus, who certainly was hostile to the Earl of Douglas, instigated the breach between the Houses of Douglas and Angus. He further states that, according to some authors, James, Earl of Angus, gave solid support to the Chancellor Crichton when he harried the Earl of Douglas's lands of Strabrock and Abercorn, and that in revenge for this, his lands of North Berwick were in turn visited and spoiled by Sir Robert Fleming of Cumbernauld, a close adherent of William, eighth Earl of Douglas.²

The last statement, at least, Godscroft corroborates by written evidence. By some means Fleming had the ill fortune to fall into the hands of the Earl of Angus, and at the scene of his raid, North Berwick, was compelled by that Earl to grant his bond to enter, on eight days' warning, within the iron gates of either Tantallon or Hermitage Castle. Failure in doing so involved the payment of two thousand merks to the Earl, or the distraint of all his goods in lieu thereof. In the bond, which Godscroft says was in his time in the Douglas charter-room, and of which he gives a copy, the lord of Cumbernauld is made to confess his crime—that of burning the Earl of Angus's corn, and taking away his oxen, horses, and other goods, on Fastern's Even last.³

The bond is said to be dated 24th September 1445, and if this be correct,

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 59. When this sentence was given forth by the doomster in Parliament on 1st July 1445, in presence of the king, the Earls of Douglas and Crawford, and the rest of the barons of Parliament, James Forbes, son and apparent heir of Sir Alexander Forbes of that ilk, publicly protested that no such judgment

should become to his prejudice in his right of succession as heir of entail to the said Earl of Angus. [*Ibid.*; Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. iv. pp. 397, 398.]

² History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, ms. at Hamilton Palace, Part II. pp. 35, 36.

³ *Ibid.* p. 37; vol. iii. of this work.

it may be inferred that the Earl of Angus had then submitted himself to the king, and obtained the remission of his conditional sentence of forfeiture. Probably he was included in the remission granted on the submission of the Chancellor Crichton, after the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. The peaceful relations then established do not appear to have been disturbed during the remainder of this Earl's life.

James, Earl of Angus, resided, it would seem, principally at his stronghold of Tantallon. He at one time exerted himself to allay a serious quarrel which had arisen between the Homes, and had the happy reward of success. The variance arose in the following manner. When Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas and first Duke of Touraine, left Scotland for his ill-fated campaign in France, he was accompanied by Sir Alexander Home of Dunglas. Home had not intended to accompany Douglas, but coming, as his warm friend, to bid him farewell at the port of embarkation, the Earl embraced him, saying, "I could never have believed, Alexander, that anything would part us." "And neither shall anything part us," replied Home. So saying, he took possession of the apparel and armour of his brother David (of Wedderburn), who was to have gone as his representative, and whom he now sent back, desiring him to look after his children and affairs in his absence. Sir Alexander Home fell with the Duke of Touraine in the battle of Verneuil, and David Home carried out his brother's trust with great fidelity.

In course of time, however, disputes arose between the son of the deceased Laird of Dunglas and his uncle respecting the lands of Aldcambus and the bailiary of Coldingham, and though these questions were arbitrated on by the Hepburns of Hailes and Wauchton, and others, and decided in a friendly way in 1441, this did not remove the heartburnings. At this stage of the dispute, James, Earl of Angus, concurred with the Hepburns in soliciting the appointment of Sir Alexander Home to the bailiary of Coldingham, in furtherance of one of the provisions of the decret-arbitral. But David

Home had renewed his engagement with the Priors of Durham and Coldingham, and refused to give up the bailiary. The priors, however, had not been made aware of the decision of the arbiters, and when informed of it, they recalled their consent. Alexander Home then made a raid upon his uncle's lands of Upsetlington, Flemington, and Wedderburn, and carried off eight hundred sheep and thirty-five oxen. The quarrel even affected the Court of Scotland, and drew forth a letter from the king himself. In the end, James, Earl of Angus, took the matter in hand, and by persuading David Home to beg his nephew's pardon for attempting to do him injury, and the latter to restore his uncle's flocks, and withdraw the garrison he had placed in Coldingham, and, moreover, giving both an equal share in the emoluments of the coveted bailiary, he restored the peace of the family of Home.¹ Godscroft says that this arrangement took the form of a decreet-arbitral, and gives the date as 1443.²

Between the years 1438 and 1445, doubtless in terms of letters-patent from the king, Angus shared largely in the customs of North Berwick and Haddington, receiving in the aggregate from the former £81, 6s. 8d., and from the latter almost £642. During the last two or three years of the period mentioned, the custumars of Haddington, influenced probably by the strained relations between the Earl and those in authority at the time, showed a reluctance to part with their funds to him. But Angus surmounted the difficulty in the way in which it was wont to be solved by his kinsmen, the Earls of Douglas, by becoming his own collector.³ In the account of the custumars of North Berwick for the two years between 13th July 1445 and 12th July 1447, it is stated that during the first year of the account, the Earl

¹ *Familia Humia Wedderburnensi*, 1839, pp. 7-9; *The Priory of Coldingham*, Surtees Society, pp. 113-152.

² MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. p. 35.

³ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 98, 115, 116, 127, 136, 144, 177.

of Angus had taken the sum of £27, 17s. 8d. from the customs against the will of the customars and this sum they in consequence charged as a debt upon his estate, he having died in the interval. But the debt was remitted by the king to Earl George, the brother and successor of Earl James.¹ Godscroft quotes this discharge, which he saw, and which was dated 9th September, the tenth year of the king's reign, 1446.² This shows that the death of Earl James must have taken place prior to that date.

It does not appear that James, third Earl of Angus, was ever married, though he was certainly betrothed to the Princess Jean, third daughter of King James the First. The contract for their marriage was dated 18th October 1440, and stipulated for a tocher of three thousand merks with the Princess.³ From the existence of this contract of marriage, Godscroft affirms the actual union of the Earl with the Princess. This statement has not been accepted by historians, to whom the contract of marriage was apparently unknown,⁴ yet their conclusion must be sustained, as the contract was never completed by marriage.

The Princess Jean, from the circumstance that she was dumb, and laboured under that defect all her life, was known, at least in later times, as the Dumb

¹ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. v. p. 277.

² MS. History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, Part II. p. 39, at Hamilton Palace.

³ Godscroft saw this contract, which he says was in his day "yett extant amongst the evidents of the house of Douglas;" and another proof of its existence at that time was its production and exhibition before the Lords of Council and Session on 7th March 1588, during the discussion of the question of the succession of the Douglases of Glenbervie to the earldom of Angus. The list of the docu-

ments exhibited is preserved in the Record, and the contract is minuted as follows:—

"Ane contract of mariage betuix the Kingis dochter and James, Erle of Angus, quhairin is contenit the sowme of thrie thowsand merkis in tochir, daittit the xvij day of October j^miiij^c and xl yeiris." [Register of Acts and Decrees, vol. cxx. folios 17-25, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.]

⁴ Godscroft's statement about it, with very much more of his ms. as prepared for printing, was excised by his editors, for what reason it is not easy to judge.

Lady.¹ When the contract for her marriage with James, Earl of Angus, was made in 1440, she would be but a girl of not more than twelve years old. With the intention, probably, of further qualifying her for filling her intended station in life, she was, five years later, sent with her sister, the Princess Eleanor, to the French Court, where her eldest sister, the Princess Margaret, already resided as Dauphiness of France, and the fulfilment of the principal part of the marriage-contract would be designed to take place on the return of the Princess Jean. But only a year after her departure from Scotland, the death of her affianced husband, the Earl of Angus, took place.

When the Princesses Jean and Eleanor went to France in 1445, they found their sister Margaret, the Dauphiness, dead. They were retained at the French Court, and the accounts of the French chamberlains appointed to take care of them, furnish information of their movements for the first three years of their sojourn in France, or until the marriage of the Princess Eleanor to the Duke of Austria in the beginning of 1449.² Tytler says that King

¹ The Princess Jean is styled "muta domina de Dalkeith," in the process of divorce on the ground of consanguinity between her great-grand-son, Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, and her great-great-grand-daughter, Jane Hamilton, his Countess. The facts regarding

the Dumb Lady were first discovered in the Charter-room at Eglinton, and printed in the Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 163-181. As shown by the evidence, the descent was as follows:—

Jean, Countess of Morton (Dumb Lady).

James Douglas, second Earl of Morton.
 James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith.
 Margaret, Duchess of Chatelherault.
 Jane Hamilton, Countess of Eglinton.

Jean Douglas, Countess of Bothwell.
 Janet Hepburn, Lady Seton.
 Mariot Seton, Countess of Eglinton.
 Hugh, Third Earl of Eglinton.

² Copy Vidimus of Gift by King Charles VII. of France, on behalf of the expenses of the Princesses Jean and Eleanor, while in France.

They arrived in France about the middle of August 1445, and during 1447 and 1448 resided at Bourges and Tours. The sisters

Charles of France strove hard to get the Princess Jean in marriage for the Dauphin, as the successor to her own sister, Margaret, but that his efforts were firmly and successfully resisted by the Pope.¹ This Princess was afterwards joined in France by her sister Annabella, and both returned together to Scotland in the spring of 1458.² Shortly after her return, or before 15th May 1459, the Princess Jean became the wife of James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, who had been created Earl of Morton.³

Had the Princess Jean been married to James, Earl of Angus, the title would have been continued to her, but though she lived long after the Earl's death, the Princess is never once styled Countess of Angus, nor referred to in the litigation between the dowager-countesses of Angus respecting their terces.

On the death of James, third Earl of Angus, unmarried, the succession to the earldom devolved upon his brother George, as fourth Earl.

parted in November 1448, Jean being taken charge of by the French Queen, and Eleanor went on the 24th of that month from Tours to Orleans to take leave of the King before setting out for Austria. She had reached Bourges by 8th December following, and a month later Fribourg in Switzerland, where in all probability she was met by an escort from Austria, as the French Chamberlain's account, at least on her behalf, ceases on that date. [Laing MSS., University Library, Edinburgh.]

¹ History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 204. The editor of the Exchequer Rolls says the same

thing regarding the Princess Eleanor. [Exchequer Rolls, vol. v. Preface, p. lxix.]

² Stevenson's Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France *temp.* Henry VI., vol. i. pp. 352-355; Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. Preface, pp. lv-lvii.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 699; Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. p. 238. Godscroft in his ms. History says the Princess Janet married as her second husband the Earl of Huntly, from whom she was divorced, and married Lord Crichton. But it was her sister, the Princess Annabella, who was successively the wife of Huntly and Crichton.

III.—2. GEORGE DOUGLAS, FOURTH EARL OF ANGUS,
LORD DOUGLAS, ETC.

ISABELLA SIBBALD OF BALGONY, HIS COUNTESS.

1446—1462.

TO James, third Earl of Angus, succeeded his brother George, as fourth Earl, who, though he enjoyed only for fifteen years the estates and honours of the family, raised it to a much higher position of dignity and power than it had possessed during the lives of the previous Earls. The downfall of the Earls of Douglas materially contributed to this result, but so vigorously did this Earl take advantage of the circumstances of his time, and so valiantly did he fight for the prestige and power of his house, that he received from Godscroft the cognomen of "the Great Earl."

George, fourth Earl of Angus, has been generally accounted the second son of George, first Earl of Angus, and the Princess Mary Stewart, and thus brother of William, second Earl of Angus, and uncle of James, third Earl. But this is a mistake. Godscroft, in his MS. History, refers to "divers evidents" as disproving the statement, and particularly to a discharge by King James the Second to George, Earl of Angus, of all by-run duties addebted by his brother or his father to the Exchequer. This writ, which was extant in Godscroft's day, shows, he asserts, "Earle George to be sone to Earle William, and brother to Earle James."¹ Although this discharge appears to be now

¹ MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. In the printed editions of Godscroft's work p. 39. Discharge dated 9th September 1446. this statement by him is altogether ignored

lost, its contents are corroborated by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls, in the account rendered by the custumars of North Berwick on 12th July 1447, to the effect that the sum of £27, 17s. 8d., taken from the customs by the late James, Earl of Angus, against the will of the custumars, had been remitted by the king to George, present Earl.¹ But that George, fourth Earl of Angus, was son of William, the second Earl, and brother of James, the third Earl, is even more conclusively proved by a memorandum, dated at Durham, 26th June 1450, stating that William Seton, chancellor, had handed to John Winlawe of Berwick certain documents relating to the lands of Brokholes, for delivery to the Prior of Coldingham, of which one was "*Relaxatio Williemi Douglas, comitis de Angus, patris comitis moderni,*" the release of William Douglas, Earl of Angus, father of the present Earl. This document has already been noticed in the memoir of Earl William.²

Still another proof in support of this contention is found in a charter of excambion by George, Earl of Angus, to Robert Graham of Auld Montrose, of the Earl's lands of Ballergus, for Graham's lands of Ewesdale, in which the Earl styles Robert Graham his uncle—not only his uncle, but "*patruo nostro,*" his father's brother.³ Robert Graham was son of Sir William Graham of Kincardine by the Princess Mary Stewart, Countess of Angus, and therefore brother-uterine to William, second Earl of Angus, father of this Earl George. This relationship is confirmed by other charters also.

George, fourth Earl of Angus, must have obtained possession of the earldom and dignities before 9th September 1446, the date of the remission

and the current tradition of writers, which he had thus exploded, placed in his mouth, and he made to defend it even against the testimony of Buchanan, that Bishop Kennedy, a son of the Princess Mary by a subsequent marriage, was of greater age than this George, Earl of Angus.

¹ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 276, 277.

² Priory of Coldingham, Surtees Society, p. 165.

³ Vol. iii. of this work. 27th November 1456.

granted to him by the Crown. He soon showed his capability as a leader and warrior, and in his hereditary office of Warden of the Marches joined the Earls of Douglas, Orkney, and Ormond in retaliating upon the English for their invasions. In the month of May 1448, Lord Percy and Sir Robert Ogle broke into Scotland, and burned the castle of Dunbar, and in the following month the Earl of Salisbury, Warden of the English Marches on the West, crossed the Solway, and laid Dumfries in ashes.¹ At the time Dunbar was sacked, the Earl of Angus was either in attendance on the king at Stirling,² or had gone thence to St. Andrews;³ but he speedily answered to the call for the defence of his possessions on the Borders, and joined his kinsmen in their foray of revenge. Twice they entered Northumberland, laying waste the country, on the first occasion, June 3d, as far as Alnwick, which they treated as Percy had done Dunbar; and the second time, July 18th, penetrated still further south, to Warkworth, which they likewise gave to the flames. On their return from this second expedition the Scots were met with considerable opposition, but out of forty thousand, only two hundred footmen were taken, and scarce ten slain. In the following October the burning of Dumfries was also avenged by the Douglasses at the battle of Sark, or Lochmaben Stone.⁴

In the year 1449 King James the Second was married at Holyrood Palace to the Princess Mary of Gueldres, amidst great rejoicings, in which all the Scottish nobility took part. This was followed by a peace with England, of which, as a Warden of the Marches, the Earl was appointed one of the conservators, a position, indeed, which he held in every subsequent treaty of peace made with England during his lifetime.⁵ The Douglasses

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 27, 39.

⁴ Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 27, 39, 40.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 1791.

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. pp. 253, 300, 334, 397, 434; Rotuli Scotiae, vol. ii. pp. 340,

³ Registrum Brechinense, vol. i. p. 118.

353, 367, 383, 397.

were at this time in high favour at Court, and William, eighth Earl of Douglas, was the king's lieutenant. But this did not prevent the king from carrying into effect a project of vengeance he had formed against the Livingstones, for the part they had taken in depriving him and his mother of liberty ten years previously.

After a sojourn at Linlithgow, where George, Earl of Angus, was in attendance upon him,¹ King James passed to Edinburgh to meet his Parliament, at which the Earl of Angus was also present, and affixed his seal to the document which settled the queen's dowry.² He attended another Parliament held at Perth in the following May.³ It would seem, too, as if at the close of the year he had accompanied the king in his expedition against the Douglas estates in the absence of their lord at Rome, as he was at Melrose with James the Second in December 1450.⁴

In April 1451, along with William, eighth Earl of Douglas, and others, the Earl of Angus was commissioned to meet with the representatives of England at either Durham or Newcastle, there to dispose of complaints under the truce, and give and take assurances for its maintenance. At the Parliament which was held in Edinburgh in July following, and which was chiefly remarkable for the series of charters granted by the king to William, Earl of Douglas, George, Earl of Angus, was present and witnessed the greater number of these grants.⁵ Another meeting of Parliament took place during the same year at Stirling, where the Earl witnessed other charters to the same noble.⁶

¹ He witnessed royal charters there on 3d and 9th January 1449-50, one of these being the confirmation of the agreement which regulated the succession to the Douglas estates. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 297, 301, 302.]

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 61; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii.

Nos. 308-347.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 61-66.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 404.

⁵ *Ibid.* Nos. 463-482; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 66-71.

⁶ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 503, 504. October 1451.

Before Parliament again met, and while the king was yet resident at Stirling, a blow was struck which convulsed the country—the murder of William, eighth Earl of Douglas, by the king himself. The near kinsmen, friends, and vassals of the slain noble flew to arms, and civil war devastated the country both in north and south. What part Angus took in this conflict may be inferred from the favours bestowed upon him by the king when tranquillity was being restored.¹ He obtained a grant of Tantallon Castle with its surrounding lands, erected into the barony of Tantallon,² and some time previously, expressly for his faithful service, a grant of all the great customs belonging to the king from the town of North Berwick, and one hundred merks from the great customs of the burgh of Haddington.³ In both documents he is styled Warden of the East Marches. Previous to these grants he held the office of keeper of Tantallon Castle, and received a pension or fee for the same from the customars of North Berwick and Haddington, which fee he obtained yearly upon presentation of the royal precept, sometimes attested by the Council.⁴ Two years later the Earl received permission from King James to build a castle on the rock of Broughty, near the mouth of the Firth of Tay, as his fortalice or principal messuage of his earldom of Angus.⁵

When the great Douglas rebellion broke out in 1455, George, Earl of Angus, unhesitatingly maintained the loyalty of his predecessors by adhering

¹ Tytler, following Boece, Lindsay, and others, states that Dalkeith Castle was at this time besieged by the Douglasses, and, he adds, that it belonged to the Earl of Angus. This is a mistake; the Douglasses of Dalkeith were a different family.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 79.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 540, 584.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. v. pp. 300, 305,

337, 371, 372, 493. On an after occasion the customars of North Berwick complained to the king that George, Earl of Angus, had taken about £12 from them, after incarcerating them until they paid it, and though the case was thrice laid before the king, no redress was granted. *Ibid.* vol. vi. pp. 125, 494, 588; vii. 30.

⁵ 20th January 1454. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 81.

to the king. He had, however, another obligation to maintain his loyalty to the king in being one of the guardians of King James the Second, an office in which he appears to have been retained by the sovereign long after the latter came of age, and assumed the reins of government.¹ In this eventful struggle the Earl took a foremost part, and was one of the principal leaders of the royal army. Indeed the triumph obtained by the king is as much attributable to the vigour of action and bravery of the Earl of Angus as to any other cause.

Under the guidance doubtless of his principal captains, Angus and Huntly, the king, with a powerful army, besieged and demolished the Castle of Inveravon, and, marching through Avondale and Douglasdale, wasted the lands of the Earl of Douglas and his adherents, and returned to Edinburgh. A second expedition was thence made against the castles and estates of the Earl of Douglas in Ettrick Forest, and all landed gentlemen were compelled to give assurance of their loyalty and join the royal host, or suffer the penalties of forfeiture. This done, Douglas's castle of Abercorn was assailed, during the siege of which the royal troops were confronted by a force equal in number and strength to themselves, but collision was avoided by the defection of James Lord Hamilton to the king from the Earl of Douglas, upon which that Earl gave up the contest, and fled to England.

By the bravery of its defenders, the siege of Abercorn Castle was protracted for a month, and during its progress a diversion was created by the appearance of the three brothers of James, Earl of Douglas, at the head of a large body of their adherents, in Annandale. To check their advance, George, Earl of Angus, was despatched thither by the king, with instructions to require the assistance of the Border clans; and with such energy and spirit were the royal commands obeyed, that at Arkinholm, near

¹ The Earl is styled guardian of the king in two charters by James the Second, which he witnessed in January and March 1459-60. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 743, 746.]

Langholm, where the rebel army was encountered, a decisive defeat was inflicted on the insurgents, two of whose leaders fell in the battle.¹ Ere long the whole of the Douglas strongholds, with one exception, had been reduced and placed in the king's hands, and by the beginning of June (the struggle had commenced in March), tranquillity was so far restored that a meeting of Parliament took place, and formally decreed the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas, and the confiscation of his vast possessions. So important was the transaction deemed, that in order to invest the sentence with all possible solemnity, the adhibiting of the seals of the prelates, nobles, and lords of Parliament to the instrument of doom was demanded and given. Amongst the rest the Earl of Angus appended his seal in token of consent and approval of the Parliament's decision.²

The struggle, however, was not yet at an end, but it took the form of retaliatory Border expeditions between the Scots and the English. In view of prolonged hostilities, the system of Border warfare and watch-fires was passed under review in a Parliament which met in October 1455, and perfected as far as the resources of that time would permit. Beacons responding to beacons were to flash the intelligence of an approaching invasion to the capital, that the countrymen from far and wide might march to join the force which should be despatched thence for the repulse of the invaders.³ These steps were probably taken in the working out of a plan of attack concerted by the king, in which he hoped to receive the assistance of Charles the Seventh of France, who was then at war with King Henry the Sixth, and in return for which support the Scottish troops were to harass the English by attacking them in flank.

The correspondence which took place between the Scottish and French Courts, shows that in the year 1456, King James made an expedition into

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 12, 53, 54.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 42, 75-77.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44.

England, which is probably the invasion referred to by the writer of the Auchinleck Chronicle as King James the Second's first journey into England. He had under his command a very large army, and penetrated into England for twenty miles, burning and destroying wherever he came, and though only a week in the country, is said to have reduced no fewer than seventeen towers and fortalices, returning without the loss of a single warrior.¹

The English invaded Scotland in their turn, and one of these invasions is said to have been conducted by the Earl of Northumberland and the expatriated James, Earl of Douglas, over the Borders into the Merse. They were met by a division of the Scottish army under the command of the Earl of Angus, and after a stubborn contest, with great slaughter on both sides, were driven back, leaving seven hundred of their number as prisoners in the hands of the Scots.² Godscroft adds that before the pitched battle took place, the Earl of Angus drew a number of the English soldiers into an ambush, where they fell an easy prey to their foes; and also that during the fight, when the foragers of the English host saw the danger they were in of losing their booty, they avoided the battle, although their assistance would probably have turned the scale in favour of their friends.³

The news of this victory is said to have been received with gladness by the Scottish king, but, finding that the King of France was indisposed to respond to his advances, he abandoned his belligerent policy for one of peace. As the fateful struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster had commenced, Henry the Sixth at once closed with the overtures for a truce, and one of two years' duration was agreed upon, to terminate upon 28th July 1459.⁴

¹ Stevenson's *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France in the time of Henry VI.*, vol. i. pp. 319-330; *Auchinleck Chronicle*, pp. 13, 20. It gives the date as 16th August, and says the army of King James numbered 600,000 men.

Tytler suggests 60,000.

² Holinshed, vol. i. p. 394.

³ *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, ms. at Hamilton Palace, Part II. p. 44.

⁴ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. pp. 389-401.

Evidently as a reward for his faithful services in the suppression of the Douglas rebellion, George, Earl of Angus, obtained from King James the gift of the lordship of Douglas. It had probably been made informally during the time of turmoil and battle, but as soon as matters began to settle, the Earl resigned the lordship in the king's hands in order to a formal and legal investiture. This was followed by a royal charter of the lordship in favour of the Earl, in which the former gift is narrated.¹ After the grant of the lordship of Douglas, the second title of the Earl of Angus was changed from Lord Abernethy to Lord Douglas. Nearly two years subsequent to this grant the Earl obtained a Crown charter which erected his baronial townships of Abernethy, Kirriemuir, and Douglas into burghs of barony, with the privileges usually conferred with that status, and in that charter he was designated Earl of Angus and Lord Douglas.² The Earl about this time received other lands from the king, among which were the lordship of Eskdale in Dumfriesshire,³ and the ward of the lands of the deceased John Sibbald of Balgony, his brother-in-law,⁴ was also placed under his care.

On the invitation of King Henry the Sixth of England, who was now hard pressed by the Yorkist party, the Scottish Court resolved upon rendering active assistance to Henry; and James the Second, accompanied by the Earl of Angus and other nobles, led a large army to Roxburgh, and laid siege to the castle.⁵ During the bombardment of the fortress one of the guns, only recently introduced in Scottish warfare, burst and inflicted such injuries upon

¹ Charter dated 8th, and Sasine 16th April 1457, vol. iii. of his work, p. 86.

² Original Charter and Precept, dated 24th and 25th March 1458-9, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 670; *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 557. Of this lordship Daublane is mentioned as the messuage.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. pp. 77, 81.

⁵ It was probably in view of this campaign that the king purchased by the Bishop of Aberdeen, from Thomas Halkerston, and gave to the Earl of Angus a pair of arms. They cost £9, 10s. [*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 580.]

the king, that he expired in a very short time. The Earl of Angus, standing by the king, was also wounded, but slightly. Before his death the king was able to urge upon his nobles the continuance of the siege, and in this he is said to have been followed up by the patriotic action of the queen, who, instead of giving way to her own personal grief, at once hurried from Edinburgh to the camp. At the invitation of the nobles, she brought her young son, Prince James, with her, and presenting the prince to the soldiers as their king, manfully incited them to continue the siege in his name. This was done so vigorously and successfully, that soon afterwards the castle was surrendered by the English, and was then dismantled.

The castle of Wark, says Lindsay, had also been laid siege to by George, Earl of Angus, and it was quickly reduced and thrown down. Major and Buchanan place the siege of Wark after the coronation of the prince as king. But in consequence of the death of King James the Second, and the necessity for placing the government of the kingdom on a footing of solidity, after the overthrow of these two fortresses, further prosecution of the war was abandoned. Carrying with them the remains of the late king, the Scottish troops retreated to Kelso, and there crowned the young prince, King James the Third. Godscroft says that a dispute arose between some of the prelates and nobles about the proper ceremonies to be observed, which appearing trifling to such a matter-of-fact man as the Earl of Angus, who had the privilege, he says, of carrying the crown on these occasions, and having the crown in his hands, he resolved to end the dispute "in a substantiall and matirial maner." Advancing to the king he placed the crown on his head, and exclaimed, Now it is upon your Majesty's head by my own setting, let me see who dare be so bold as take it off again.¹ At the coronation upwards of a hundred knights were made.²

¹ MS. History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, Part II. p. 47.

² Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 57, 58.

According to Godscroft and others, the arrangements for the government of the country during the remaining years of the king's minority led to dissension, and the nobles were divided into two factions, one party siding with the queen, who claimed to be the proper and natural tutor of the king, and regent in his name, while the older nobles resisted this claim as against the established usage in similar cases, and on the ground that it was unbecoming to commit the government to a woman. The same author asserts that George, Earl of Angus, was at the head of the second party, and was supported by the Bishop of St. Andrews. The rival factions nearly came to open conflict. The queen's party proclaimed her tutor and governor in the Parliament House during the absence of their opponents, and they, on hearing this, proceeded to the market-place of Edinburgh with a counter-declaration. To prevent such being made, the queen's party marched in arms to the place of proclamation, whereupon the Earl of Angus determined to give battle, and was with difficulty restrained. Ultimately the bishops on both sides succeeded in making terms of peace, by the nomination of some persons from both parties to assist the queen in the regency.¹

In the hands of George, fourth Earl of Angus, the power and influence of the House of Angus had now reached such a height that he was the foremost noble in the kingdom. On the ruin of the Earls of Douglas he managed to secure a footing from which he almost immediately afterwards attained the position which the fall of James, ninth Earl of Douglas, had left vacant. He already possessed not a few of the lands over which the Earls of Douglas had borne sway; but when he obtained the native inheritance of the Douglasses, the lordship of Douglasdale itself, it was more than ever evident that he was the true successor of the old Douglas heroes. Though the Red Douglasses thus indeed swallowed up the Black, the influence of the younger line of the great House of Douglas was felt as a great power in Scotland.

¹ Godscroft's History, edition 1644, p. 218.

The fourth and succeeding Earls of Angus were men whose mark was to be left upon their country's history as indelibly as the old Earls of Douglas had imprinted theirs.

Earl George prudently took precautions to consolidate his own possessions, and where not under his immediate personal control, to place these in the hands of vassals in whom he could confide. The important fortress of Hermitage, in Liddesdale, he intrusted to his kinsman, Archibald Douglas of Cavers, and his son William, with the government of the whole of Liddesdale.¹ Jedburgh Forest and its historic manor of Lintalee he placed in the keeping of Andrew Ker of Cessford,² ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh, and from both castellans the Earl obtained bonds of manrent and service. Kirriemuir appears to have been intrusted to the Earl's uncle, Sir Robert Graham of Auld Montrose,³ and Abernethy to some other faithful vassal. In securing the services of Ker, the Earl of Angus attached to himself one of the former dependants of the Earls of Douglas; but a much more important step in this direction was the attachment of the principal adherent and supporter of the Earls of Douglas, James, Lord Hamilton, who, within two years after the forfeiture of the Douglasses, and when the Earl of Angus had just been estab-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 78.

² Indenture, dated 7th December 1457, in Roxburgh Charter-chest. Andrew Ker was also called of Altonburn, and in the previous year had been indicted before George, Earl of Angus, warden of the East and Middle Marches, in his Wardenry Court at Selkirk, on 14th April 1456, for treasonably bringing in and resetting the English when they harried and burnt Crailing, Eckford, Grimslaw, and Jedburgh. But he was acquitted by an assize, and the Earl granted him a formal discharge sealed with his seal as warden.

The original letters of acquittal are preserved at Floors Castle.

³ On behalf of the Earl, and at his command, Graham recognosced from Sir Patrick Lyon, Lord of Glamis, the lands of Balmucktis and Balinchore, in the regality of Kirriemuir, because Lyon had alienated them without the Earl's consent. Notwithstanding this procedure the Earl granted his bond to Sir Patrick that the lands could be recovered by him at any time he pleased to pursue for them; and that the recognition would not be used in prejudice of his claim to them. [Original Obligation in Glamis Charter-chest.]

lished in their ancestral domains of Douglasdale, gave his bond of maurent and service to the new representative of the Douglases, saving only his allegiance to the king, and a similar bond which he had granted to Mary of Gueldres, the queen.¹

An exchange of territory took place between the Earl and his uncle, Robert Graham of Auld Montrose, the Earl receiving the lands of Ewesdale in Dumfriesshire, and giving in return for them Balergus and certain portions of the lands of Earl-Stradichty.² On the rock of Broughty, in his Angus possessions, the Earl commenced, about 1454, to build a castle to replace his old manor or castle in Stradichty, or Mains, as it is now called. The site chosen for his new fortress was one admirably adapted for purposes of defence, and its strength was shown in later times by the part it played in the subsequent dissensions in the country. From its position, situated at the narrow entrance of the Firth of Tay, it commanded that estuary; and when the corresponding situation of the castle of Tantallon at the southern entrance of the Firth of Forth is remembered, it will be seen that the possession of two powerful castles thus situated at the entrances of the two chief Scottish firths gave their lord an influence to which few, if any, of the rest of the nobles could aspire.

From his office of Warden of the East and Middle Marches, George, Earl of Angus, exercised a very extensive influence over the entire south of Scotland. He had held the office of Warden of the East Marches since his succession to the Angus earldom, and the Middle Marches appear also to have been placed under his care immediately after the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas. Andrew Stewart, afterwards Lord Avandale, was about the same time made Warden of the West Marches. Occasion was taken by

¹ Original Bond, dated 23d May 1457, in Charter-chest of the Duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace.

² Vol. iii. of this work. Robert Graham is styled of Ewesdale in 1448. [Registrum Brechinense, vol. i. p. 118.]

Parliament, after the fall of the Black Douglasses, to declare these offices no longer hereditary, and to diminish the judicial powers exercised by the Wardens,¹ but the Act did not practically affect the position of the Earls of Angus, who, if not as Wardens, in other capacities, possessed and exercised extensive judicial functions. Earl George is recorded as presiding in his Wardenry Court at Selkirk on a case of alleged treasonable communications with the English in time of Border warfare.² As an instance of the manner in which the lesser barons of the south of Scotland depended upon the Earl, it may be mentioned that Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton, a Haddingtonshire laird, granted a letter of bailiary of all his lands south of the Forth to this Earl, or, in other words, gave him entire control over them and the tenantry upon them.³ About this same time the Earl received a gift from King James the Third of all the lands, rents, and goods of all those in Roxburghshire who had taken part either in assisting or resetting James, Earl of Douglas.⁴ In this way Earl George greatly extended his influence and power over the entire south of Scotland, in so much that the rule of the Black Douglas may be said to have been merely exchanged for that of the Red.

Amidst the turmoil incident to the settling of the regency, the Earls of Angus and Huntly appear to have drawn together into a confederacy on the basis of a matrimonial contract, after the fashion of those times. As Angus in the south of Scotland, so Huntly was the chief noble in the north, and a coalition between the two most powerful nobles in the country was fitted at such a time to exercise great pacific influence upon the other barons. The bond was to be cemented by the marriage of Archibald, son and heir of the Earl of Angus, to Katharine, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and failing

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

² Vol. iii. of this work.

³ Original Letter of Bailiary, dated 21st November 1462, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ 16th November 1462. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 91. Certain exceptions were made from these lands of those which had been granted to the Earl's brother William.

marriage between these two, it was decided that a son of Earl George should marry a daughter of the Earl of Huntly. A sum of money was to be paid by the latter as dowry.¹ But that contract was not completed by marriage.

A still more striking instance of the high position and influence of this Earl has yet to be presented. After a series of successes and reverses, King Henry the Sixth of England, with his queen, his eldest son and heir, and a number of his principal followers, had been forced into Scotland, where they sought and found a kindly refuge. In return, Henry the Sixth placed the town of Berwick in the hands of the Scots, stipulating for their assistance in the recovery of his throne. With the Earl of Angus, however, the exiled King of England entered into a separate alliance, an agreement being formulated between them at Edinburgh, whereby the Earl bound himself to accompany King Henry into England, and assist him in suppressing the rebellion of his subjects. Within a month after his restoration, Henry promised to create the Earl of Angus an English Duke, and to confer upon him a castle and territory of the value of two thousand marks, on the north side of the rivers Trent and Humber. As such a possession in the hands of a Scotch noble was likely to be of little value in the event of war between England and Scotland, special provisions were included in the treaty that while the Earls of Angus assisted their own kings in such wars, their dukedom should be preserved safe and inviolate, under the protection of the King of England, without any prejudice to the rights of the Earls of Angus. His English dignity would also involve the attendance of the Earl of Angus at the parliaments of the King of England, so it was provided that absence from these should not be visited with fines and other punishments usually imposed upon absentees. For its greater security, the treaty was to be submitted to the Pope for approval and confirmation. King

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 89, 90. The contract signed by George, Earl of Douglas, is printed among the Gordon Papers. [Spalding Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 131-133.]

Henry signed the duplicate of the indenture, which remained in the possession of the Earl, and appended his great seal, part of which still remains attached.¹ Godscroft says that a licence by King James the Third to enter into that agreement with the King of England was in his day extant in the Douglas charter-chest.²

Already Henry, but especially his queen, a daughter of René, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou, were making strenuous efforts to regain the throne they had lost. Proceeding to her father's court, and then to that of Louis the Eleventh of France, she succeeded in obtaining from the latter, on condition of surrendering Calais as soon as she re-established herself and husband on the throne, a small force of two thousand men and a sum of money. These troops, under the command of Pierre de Brézé, *Anglicè* Brice, steward of Normandy, and accompanied by the queen, effected a landing upon the Northumbrian coast, and took the castles of Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwick. Meanwhile Henry's rival, who had been crowned Edward the Fourth of England, marched to Northumberland, recovered the two former fortresses and laid siege to Alnwick, which was now garrisoned by a portion of the French troops under the command of the son of the Steward of Normandy. Winter storms made havoc with the French fleet, and with their retreat cut off, the remainder of the queen's troops rapidly fell into Edward's hands. Alnwick alone held out, and its reduction was only a matter of time, as it was surrounded on all sides by the English army.

In these circumstances the Earl of Angus determined by a bold stroke to relieve and carry off the garrison, and mustering an army of twenty thousand

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 92, 93, where a facsimile of King Henry's signature is also given. The description of this signature, as given in the printed edition of Godscroft's History [1644, p. 216], and quoted by Tytler [History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 322], was,

there is reason to believe, not written by Godscroft. There is no such passage in his MS. History.

² MS. History, Part II. p. 48. This writ, however, has since disappeared.

men, marched into England. The success of the enterprise depended chiefly on the celerity with which it was carried into effect, and the boldness which could be assumed by the invaders. The Earl chose out a number of horsemen, to each of whom he gave a led horse for the accommodation of the Frenchmen, and bidding them ride boldly forward to the castle postern, drew up the rest of his troops in a position which at once threatened an attack on the English, and covered those who had gone forward to the rescue of the garrison. The English, taken by surprise, offered no resistance; and though it is said by some that the Earl of Warwick purposely refrained from fighting, on the ground that he had no commission to fight against the Scots, but only to capture the castle, Wyrcestre relates that Warwick, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Worcester, and many other lords of King Edward's party, placed themselves in a position of such danger, that they were not only powerless to prevent the departure of the French, but had the Scots been bolder and wiser than they were, they might have destroyed the whole nobility of England.¹ As it was, however, the Earl of Angus carried out his enterprise with entire success, and conveyed the garrison of Alnwick in safety to Scotland.

The prospects of George, fourth Earl of Angus, rivalling his illustrious kinsman, Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, in obtaining the distinction of a foreign dukedom, were never realised. Before any further plans had been matured for the advancement of the cause of King Henry the Sixth, the Earl died, the date of his death, as given in his son's retour, being 12th March 1462-3.² He was buried beside his ancestors at Abernethy.³

The actions of this Earl testify to his courage, and owing to his vigorous loyalty the greatness of the house of Angus increased rapidly. He appears, indeed, without any friendly attachment to his kinsmen, the Black Douglases,

¹ Wyrcestre's Annals, *apud* Stevenson, Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, vol. ii. Part II. p. 781.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 94.

³ Godscroft's History, p. 218.

and he did not scruple to make their downfall the stepping-stone to his own exaltation and affluence. But the want of affection was reciprocal, and before Earl George became the head of the House of Angus, the two Houses of Douglas and Angus were rivals in the State. In the time of this Earl the possessions of the family were substantially added to, and at least one important fortress was erected—of more than merely family interest—that on Broughty Crag. He maintained friendly relations with the Church, or at least so much may be inferred from an acknowledgment of indebtedness on the part of the convent of Hexham, on account of which they granted to him participation in the benefit of all masses, fasts, orisons, vigils, and other good deeds of the monastery, with the special addition that the presentation of the letters of grant thus made by them on the Earl's death would be a recommendation for the performances on his behalf of those funeral services which were accorded to the deceased brethren of the convent.¹

George, fourth Earl of Angus, married Isabella, only daughter of Sir John Sibbald of Balgony in Fife, Grand Master of the Household to King James the Second.² The marriage probably took place, as Godscroft states,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 82, 83.

² Godscroft says that Balgony was Treasurer of Scotland, but no evidence of this fact has been discovered. He also states that this marriage was made in hope of Earl George succeeding to Balgony, as his wife was the sole daughter and heir of Sir John Sibbald. This, however, is not at all evident. The grand master of the king's household died about 1451, and his son, John Sibbald, died about two years later, leaving a young daughter, Elizabeth, as his sole heir. At first Andrew Lundy, Sheriff of Fife, had the ward of Balgony, but it was afterwards given to the Earl of Angus, and at this time two terces

fell to be paid from the lands. Lundy appears to have retained charge of the heiress, and received on her behalf, for many years, an annuity due from the revenues of Crail. Elizabeth Sibbald married Robert Lundy, whose relation to the Sheriff is not stated, and in 1482 she resigned the lands of Balgony and others (erected into a barony by James II., in 1445, in favour of her grandfather) for a regrant to their son, Andrew Lundy. Balgony remained in the family of Lundy for more than a century, and was acquired from them by General Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, whose second title was Lord Balgony. [Original Charters in Leven and

in the lifetime of James, third Earl of Angus. Countess Isabella survived her husband for many years. Shortly after the death of Earl George, she received from King James the Third a gift of the marriage of Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, for the purpose of marrying him to one of three of her daughters, Elizabeth, Isabella, or Joanna Douglas, or failing them, any of her other daughters.¹ She engaged in a lawsuit with Margaret, Dowager Countess of Angus, in 1466, respecting the terce due to each of them from the lands of Boncle and Preston, in which, as already narrated, the Lords Auditors decerned against Countess Isabella.² Indeed she frequently appears as a litigant before the courts of the Lords Auditors and Lords of Council,³ after 1489, in conjunction with her second husband, Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, ancestor of the present Earl of Morton.⁴ The Countess, however, may have remarried in 1479 or soon after, as Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, in the year last mentioned, became security for payment of the dowry of one of the daughters of the Countess.⁵

Melville Charter-chest; Exchequer Rolls, vols. iv. v. vi.; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 2222, 2088.]

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 829.

² *Antea*, p. 34. .

³ *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, pp. 13, 14, 61, 92, 146; *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp. 33, 55, 150.

⁴ Godscroft mentions that the Countess is said to have married as her second husband a younger brother of the Captain of Crawford (Carmichael of that ilk), but discredits the story as one for which he had not been able to find authority. The Countess is nowhere found on record as the wife of a Carmichael, or any other person, after the death of her first husband, save the Laird of Lochleven.

But two persons of the name of Peter and James Carmichael are both mentioned as brothers of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus [vol. iii. of this work, pp. 187, 188; *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, pp. 157, 163], and Peter Carmichael and the late Elizabeth, Countess of Angus, his mother, are referred to in 1502. [*Acta Dominorum Concilii*, 1502, quoted by the late Mr. Riddell.] The Countess may have married Carmichael prior to her marriage with Robert Douglas of Lochleven. The author of the *Memorie of the Somervilles* [vol. i. p. 257] also refers to an Elizabeth Carmichael, daughter of a younger brother of the Captain of Crawford, as half-sister to Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 110.

By his Countess, George, fourth Earl of Angus, left two sons and seven daughters. The sons were—

1. Archibald, who succeeded as fifth Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.
2. John Douglas, who appears to have died young and unmarried after 14th May 1471. The only reference to him known, is the mention of his name in an action before the Lords Auditors at the instance of the Countess Isabella against her brother-in-law, William Douglas of Cluny, for injuriously withholding her terce.¹

The daughters were :—

1. Lady Anne, who married William, second Lord Graham, ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose, and had issue. By this marriage Lady Anne Douglas became an ancestress of the famous Marquis of Montrose, who thus inherited the blood of Douglas.
 2. Lady Isabella, who, about the year 1464, married Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and had issue.
 3. Lady Elizabeth, who, about 1476, married Sir Robert Graham of Fintry, and had issue.² By this marriage she became an ancestress of the famous John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who thus, like Montrose, could boast of Douglas blood in his veins.
 4. Lady Margaret, who, about 1479, married Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Earls of Breadalbane, and had issue.³
 5. Lady Jane, who, in 1472, married David Scott, then younger of Buccleuch, ancestor of the Dukes of Buccleuch, and had issue.⁴
- Before 1492 Lady Jane or Janet Douglas was married to George,

¹ Acta Dominorum Auditorum, 17th May 1471, pp. 13, 14.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 107.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 110.

⁴ The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 57 ; vol. ii. p. 70.

Earl of Rothes, to whom she apparently bore a son.¹ Two years later she was dead, her brother, Archibald, Earl of Angus, being her executor.²

6. Lady Egidia or Giles. 7. Lady Alison.

No particulars of the personal history of these two daughters have been ascertained. Lady Alison was alive in 1476.

¹ Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 293. An action was raised at the instance of the Earl of Angus, for the third due to his sister from the Rothes estates, in terms of an agreement by the Earl of Rothes affecting her and her

children. A claim was also made by her for eight years' bygone rental of certain lands detained by Walter Scott of Howpasley. This seems to suggest that her first husband died about 1484. ² *Ibid.* p. 370.

Archibald Earl of Angus



IV.—ARCHIBALD, FIFTH EARL OF ANGUS,

SURNAMED "BELL THE CAT."

ELIZABETH BOYD (OF KILMARNOCK), HIS FIRST COUNTESS.

CATHERINE STIRLING (OF KEIR), HIS SECOND COUNTESS.

1463—1514.

THIS Earl of Angus, who afterwards became distinguished by the popular name of "Bell the Cat," and under that appellation is better known in popular history than any other Earl of his family, was quite a youth at his father's death. His age has been variously stated, but it would appear that he attained majority between June and November 1470, and was therefore born in 1449.¹

During his minority an agreement was entered into between his father, George, fourth Earl of Angus, and Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, for the marriage of their children, it being arranged that Archibald Douglas should marry Katharine Gordon.² The proposed marriage, however, was never celebrated, and in 1468, five years after his father's death, the young Earl of Angus was married to Elizabeth Boyd, a daughter of Robert Lord Boyd, who, by a coalition of the more powerful Scottish nobles, had raised his house to pre-eminence in the State, and at this time held the supreme control of affairs

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 99, 100.

² Agreement, 30th September 1461. *Ibid.* p. 89.

in Scotland. The Earl of Angus, with his extensive possessions, became an object of attention to the Boyds, whose interest it was to consolidate their power, and the marriage took place some time before May 1468, when the bride was dowered by her husband with the lands of Abernethy.¹

The young Earl of Angus seems to have entered into possession of his territories without the usual formalities. A few months after the death of his father, he was retoured heir to him in the lordship, regality, and burgh of Abernethy, in Perthshire, and in lands near Selkirk, but it was not until 1496 that he was retoured to the territory of Eskdale, and in 1510 he had not completed his title to the barony of Kirriemuir.² The Earl's non-entry to his estates did not, however, prevent his actual possession, and while he was still a minor, he conferred upon his brother-in-law, David Scott of Buccleuch, and his son Walter, a nineteen years' lease of the custody of Hermitage Castle. This lease was superseded a few years later by a formal gift for a term of seventeen years.³

The Boyds did not long enjoy their elevation, and the year following the marriage of Angus, although a minor or ward of the king, he was present in the Parliament of November 1469, which condemned and forfeited his father-in-law and others of the family. Their fall, however, did not affect the Earl of Angus, who, in 1470, received from the young king a mark of his royal favour. During the minority of Angus, the ward of his lands, particularly of the lordships of Douglas and Tantallon, with the custody of these castles, had been bestowed on his uncle, William Douglas of Cluny. In June 1470 the latter resigned them into the king's hands, who bestowed them upon Angus himself for the remaining brief period of his minority.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 96.

² Original Retour to Abernethy, 19th April 1463, in Douglas Charter-chest. Cf. also vol. iii. of this work, pp. 94, 151, 194, 195.

³ Lease dated 9th February 1469-70; Gift (to David Scott and his son David) dated 17th April 1472. The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 67, 72.

The lands and castle of Tantallon were afterwards formally granted by the king to Angus.¹

The Earl must have attained his majority some time before November 1470, as appears from an agreement between him and George Home of Wedderburn, who, with Patrick Home, his brother, became bound in manrent to the Earl. The latter, on his part, promised to maintain the brothers in possession of the lands of Kymbirgeame (now Kimmerghame), in the barony of Boncle, Berwickshire, to be held of Angus as they had been by the deceased John Sinclair of Herdmanston. The Earl further promised never to confirm any charter to William Sinclair, son of John, to whom a gift of the lands had been made during the nonage of Angus, which was revoked by him at his coming of age. Besides their bond of manrent the Homes obliged themselves to pay one hundred merks to the Earl.²

Angus was present in the Parliament of 1471, but between that date and 1478 nothing of special importance is on record regarding him. His public appearances consist chiefly of appointments as one of the lords of Articles or committees of Parliament.³ He witnessed the royal charter by which the Lord of the Isles was created a lord of Parliament after his formal submission in 1476, and also a royal grant made on the same day to the church of Glasgow.⁴ The Earl's private transactions for the same period show him granting or conveying lands to his dependants, arranging the

¹ Resignation, 26th June 1470; Grants, dated 7th June 1475 and 10th October 1479. [Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 98, 104, 109.] The ceremony of resignation is described as taking place within the chapel of St. Margaret of the castle of Edinburgh.

² Indenture dated at Edinburgh, 27th November 1470. [Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 99-101.] George and Patrick Home had mar-

ried two sisters, Marion and Margaret Sinclair, daughters and heiresses of the deceased John Sinclair, and claimed the lands of Kimmerghame through their wives. [Acta Auditorum, p. 16.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 98, 114-120.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 189, 190; Registrum Glasguense, vol. ii. p. 432.

marriages of his sisters, or engaged in litigation. William Sinclair of Herdmanston, and his sisters Marion and Margaret, raised counter actions in regard to the lands of Kimmerghame and the titles of Herdmanston, the decision of which was remitted to Angus as judge-ordinary. William Sinclair impeached the Earl's impartiality as a judge, and the matter was referred to the king's tribunal, but the result has not been recorded.¹

It is generally admitted by historians that the year 1478 was a transition period in the reign of King James the Third. The political horizon of Scotland then began to darken with the signs of the storm which afterwards broke so tragically for that unfortunate monarch. Many causes have been assigned for the unhappy relations which now began to manifest themselves between the king and his nobles, but according to the general voice of history, the chief source of discord was the undue partiality shown by the king to the favourites he gathered round him. These were men who could gratify the king's tastes for art and science, as cultivated in those days, and though, according to Pitscottie, Godscroft, and others, they were men of low birth, and mere charlatans, yet Ferrerius speaks highly of two, John Ireland, a priest, and William Roger, a musician.² But whatever the character of the king's associates may have been, the nobility of Scotland greatly despised the peaceful nature of their monarch's pursuits, and as he became more absorbed in these, the nobles began to resent their exclusion from his councils.

In this state of affairs, the discontented nobles naturally looked for leadership towards the king's brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and John, Earl of Mar, who are described as differing from him greatly in disposition and manner. But King James, misled by superstitious fears,

¹ 13th August 1471. *Acta Auditorum*, pp. 16, 17. The Earl made grants of land to Robert Graham of Fintry (whose son married the Earl's sister), to Crichton of Cranston, who bought the lands of Cluny, in Fife, to

Lovel of Balumby and William Strachan. [*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1081, 1213, 1537-8, 1558-60; vol. iii. of this work, p. 107.]

² Ferrerius, edition 1574, fol. 391.

which were fostered by certain of the courtiers for their own purposes, and perhaps jealous of the popularity of his brothers, caused them both to be imprisoned. The Earl of Mar died in confinement, and there was popular suspicion of his having met with foul play, but the Duke of Albany made his escape from Edinburgh Castle to Dunbar, and thence to France. The incarceration of the two princes seems to have taken place in the year 1478, but the sequence of events at this period is very difficult to ascertain.

What part the Earl of Angus played in the earlier phase of the dispute between the king and his nobles is not recorded; but at a later date he was a pledged supporter of Albany. The Earl was absent from the Parliament of October 1479, in which summonses were directed against Albany and those who assisted him at Dunbar,¹ and probably by his absence Angus meant to express his sympathy with the exiled prince.

At intervals until the end of 1480, the Scottish Parliament occupied themselves with the process against Albany, but fruitlessly as regards the parties summoned.² Meanwhile there were threatenings of war with England, and though Angus does not appear in Parliamentary records, he was not inactive on the Borders. King Edward the Fourth, on the pretext that King James had determined on war, appointed his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third, to be Lieutenant-General on the Borders, with power to levy an army, if necessary, against Scotland.³ The immediate cause of the dissensions between the countries is not clear. It was made a charge against the Duke of Albany, that while acting as Warden of the Marches, he had encouraged raids over the Borders, but such petty raids can scarcely have been the cause of the King of England's hostile action. For this the crooked policy of Louis the Eleventh of France was more probably responsible. The movements on the English side, how-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 124-129.

² *Ibid.* pp. 129-132.

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 115. 12th May 1480.

ever, were promptly anticipated by the Scots. The Earl of Angus entered England with a small force, and in emulation of the days of Bruce, he and his followers spent three days in Northumberland ravaging the country. They burned Bamborough and other places, and returned to Scotland with their booty without opposition.¹

This foray was followed by active defensive measures on the part of Scotland. The Estates assembled in April 1481, and Angus, who took part in the deliberations, was appointed Warden of the East Marches. The royal castles were put in a state of defence, while Tantallon and Hermitage, both belonging to the Earl, were ordered to be strengthened, specially the Hermitage, "that is in maste dangere." Berwick was victualled, and the king's lieges generally were to hold themselves in readiness.² The English preparations also went on apace, and both armies took the field, but were warned by the Pope's nuncio to desist. The Scottish monarch obeyed and disbanded his forces, but the English disregarded the Papal mandate, and invaded Scotland, with "grete byrnyngis, hereschip, and distructioun."³ At their meeting in the following March, the Scottish Parliament authorised special efforts to levy an army to revenge the wrongs thus inflicted. Berwick was to be held by a garrison of five hundred men, part of whom were to be at the service of Angus as Warden of the East Marches, while Hermitage received one hundred men, and other Border strongholds were garrisoned.⁴ Angus himself took part in, and doubtless approved of these warlike preparations, which, however, were rendered vain by events in which the Earl had a chief share, and which form one of the most remarkable episodes in Scottish history.

In view of the events which followed, it has been asserted by recent writers, that Angus and his confederates were in league with the Duke of Albany, who, about the beginning of May in the same year, 1482, had passed

¹ Chronicle at the end of Wyntown, printed in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 503.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 132-134. ³ *Ibid.* p. 138. ⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 139, 140.

from France into England, but this statement is doubtful.¹ A few weeks after his arrival in England, Albany, under the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, entered into an important agreement with King Edward the Fourth. The latter became bound to aid Albany in obtaining the Crown of Scotland, while the Duke obliged himself, if successful, to do homage to Edward for the realm of Scotland, and to surrender Berwick, with a large portion of Scottish territory, including Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Annandale. Preparations were immediately made for an invasion of Scotland, under the command of the Duke of Gloucester, whom Albany accompanied. The two Dukes marched northward at the head of a considerable force, and owing to the unexpected occurrences which almost simultaneously were taking place in Scotland, their movements were almost entirely unopposed.²

The Scottish army mustered in great numbers on the Borough Muir of Edinburgh and marched to Lauder. King James himself proposed to enter England at its head, and matters were thus ripe for a serious national conflict, when the plans of the Scottish King were wholly frustrated by the refusal of his nobles, with Angus as their leader, to march under his banner. The nobles had, as they considered, their grievances, and acting partly for themselves, and partly in the name of the people, resolved to obtain redress. They therefore gathered their men in obedience to the royal mandate, and knowing that their vassals far outnumbered those who would be faithful to the king, they hoped thus to coerce the monarch into submission to their demands. One of these demands was that the copper money which had been issued should be withdrawn from circulation. The coin was so depreciated

¹ Albany reached England from France some time before 9th May 1482, in a ship called *The Michael*, commanded by James Douglas, who, with his vessel and crew, were temporarily taken into the English service. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 154.

² Albany's league with the English king was signed on 10th and 11th June 1482; the appointment of Gloucester was made on the 12th, and orders for payment of his expenses were issued on 30th June 1482. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 156-158.

in value, that no one would accept it, and in consequence great misery existed among the poorer classes, who could not purchase food. This was the chief grievance, and one which affected the whole country. A second demand was that the king should dismiss his favourites, and rule his kingdom by the advice of his nobles only.

According to some historians, the discontented nobles met in private in the church of Lauder, where the Scottish army then lay, recounted their grievances and formed a plot at once to kill the king's favourites; but Ferrerius, who wrote about fifty years after the event, states that their proceedings were much more deliberate. According to him, the nobles having indicated their intention of withdrawing from the host, sent some of their number to the king to state their demands, especially the first, in the most persuasive and respectful terms, promising that if their wishes were acceded to, they would at once obey the king's will. The king received the representatives of the nobility, but refused their petition. It was, says Ferrerius, in their anger at the king's rejection of their demands, that the barons suddenly resolved to gain their end by force of arms, and with this purpose they renewed their deliberations.¹

¹ Ferrerius, Appendix to Boece, edition 1574, fol. 395. It has been assumed that the proceedings of Angus and his brother nobles were in collusion with Albany, and in furtherance of his attempt upon the liberties of Scotland. Tytler [History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 385] states that "there was treachery at work among" the Scottish nobles and army, and he implies that Angus and others were then nominated as Albany's commissioners to complete his treaty with England. But the commission in question was not granted until more than six months after the affair at Lauder. At that date there is not the least evidence of any col-

lusion or league between Albany and Angus. Ferrerius, who gives the most detailed narrative, has written in an unbiassed manner, and does not take the side of the nobles. Any circumstance to their discredit would therefore have been stated by him. Moreover, the terms of Albany's agreement involved the surrender of a large territory belonging to Angus, who would scarcely have submitted to such a loss without an equivalent. The progress of events led Angus to act on behalf of Albany, but the first actions of the malcontent nobles were prompted by their own wrath at the king's treatment of them.

It must have been during this second conference of the nobles, when their anger overcame their prudence and loyalty, that the incident occurred which, according to Godscroft, earned for the Earl of Angus his popular name of Bell-the-Cat. The family historian puts into the mouth of the Earl a long speech condemnatory of the king's policy, and ending in a proposal that by some means they should rid the Court of the favourites. In answer to this a confused murmur of assent arose, when Lord Gray told the well-known story of the mice who were agreed as to the policy of hanging a bell round the cat's neck to warn them of the approach of their enemy, but were doubtful as to who should tie on the bell. To this parable Angus suddenly responded, "I will bell the cat," and under his guidance measures for executing their purpose were at once taken. The nobles sallied out, and, entering the king's tent, secured the persons of all the favourites, save one, who clung to the royal person, and was spared at the king's intercession.¹

Previous to this they had seized Cochrane, the chief favourite, who is said to have made himself obnoxious by his extreme arrogance, and by affecting a most extravagant splendour in dress and equipage. To him also was attributed the issue of the base coin, which specially excited the popular wrath.² Some authors state that Cochrane was met by the barons as they were on their way to the king; others assert that the unfortunate man came to the door of the church and demanded admission just as the final resolution had been taken. It was the Earl of Angus who first greeted Cochrane by roughly seizing a heavy gold chain, and pulling it from the favourite's neck, with the remark that a rope would suit him better. Douglas of Lochleven then snatched away Cochrane's hunting-horn. "My Lords," said the astonished man, "is this mows (jest) or earnest?" They gave him to understand it was

¹ Godscroft's History, edition 1644, pp. 224-226; Ferrerius, *ut supra*.

² This was the popular view, but no valid

evidence has been found to connect Cochrane with the debasement of the coin. The latest Act extant on the subject was passed in 1478.

bitter earnest, and, placing him under a strong guard, passed onward to the king. The unfortunate favourites were, after a mock trial, hanged over the bridge of Lauder.¹ The confederate barons then, though with all outward respect, conveyed the king himself to Edinburgh, where he was lodged in the castle, under such special protection and attention as showed he was a captive.

The affair of Lauder took place some time before St. Magdalen's day (22d July) in 1482, and the king remained a prisoner from that date until Michaelmas, when he was set free by his brother Albany. In the progress of events which led to this turn of matters, the share taken by the Earl of Angus is not recorded. He is not referred to in the negotiations conducted by the Chancellor (Lord Avandale) and others, when Albany received a safe-conduct, and he and the Duke of Gloucester came to Edinburgh.² Nor is there any record of the part taken by the Earl when Albany for a time assumed the reins of government, but he was present in the Parliament of December 1482, at which Albany presided.³

Though it is doubtful whether the Earl of Angus was in collusion with Albany previous to the arrival of the latter in Scotland, he cannot be absolved from a later participation in the Duke's treasonable dealings with England. It would appear from a document to be again referred to, that Angus with some other barons had come under obligations to Albany. At what time these bonds were entered into is not stated, but in January of 1483, the Duke and the Earl were at Dunbar, where the former dated a commission to Angus and others as his ambassadors to England. In obedience to this the Earl proceeded to the English Court, and there negotiated a league with

¹ Godscroft, *ut supra*; Pitscottie's History, edition 1778, p. 124.

² Safe-conduct dated 2d August; Gloucester and Albany were at Edinburgh on 4th August. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 160-162.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 142. The Earl was, on 28th September 1482, at Tantallon, and there granted a charter to John Carmichael of that ilk, of the lands of Nethertoun of Carmichael. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 1619.

Edward the Fourth, renewing and amplifying the terms of the former contract made in the previous year. The Duke was to endeavour to obtain possession of the crown of Scotland, and was to be assisted by the English king. Peace was to be kept between the two kingdoms, and especially on the East and Middle Marches, the Earl of Angus becoming responsible for the Scottish border. The ambassadors also, on their own behalf, gave their promise that should the Duke or his heirs decease, they would continue to live under the English king as their liege lord, and would keep their castles and other fortresses from the King of Scotland. Another clause related to the proposed restoration of James, the ninth and last Earl of Douglas, in regard to which a special agreement had been made between that Earl and Angus. A schedule was also affixed making provision for the tenants of the Duke and of the two Earls being maintained in their lands.¹

A month after this negotiation on behalf of Albany, the Duke himself entered into an agreement with his brother, King James the Third, in which he virtually deserted Angus and his other adherents. After referring to a royal remission to be granted to the Duke himself and his supporters, and due loyalty to be accorded by the Duke in return, the latter agrees to renounce all leagues or bonds made with the English king or others against his lawful sovereign. Specially he pledged himself to renounce all unlawful bonds made with the Earl of Angus and others named, and to discharge them of all such bonds. It was also provided that Angus should no longer

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 172-176. Commission granted by Albany 12th January 1482-3; Convention at Westminster, signed by Angus and others, 11th February 1482-3; the terms of the agreement between Douglas and Angus are not given. It is to be noted that the terms of this Convention, as signed by Angus and the other Commissioners, differ

very materially in one point from the former league. Berwick was already in English hands, and it is stipulated that England shall peacefully retain possession, but not a word is said of the proposed surrender of Liddesdale and other lands in Scotland. This fact increases the presumption that in June 1482 Angus and Albany were not in league.

be an intimate of the Duke, who was to put the Earl and other advisers away from him, and "nocht hauld them in daily houshauld in time to cum." Neither the Duke nor the Earl, nor any of their confederates, were to be permitted to approach the royal residence within six miles without licence, except under specified conditions. They were to be required to demit all offices which they held. Angus was Justiciar south of the Forth, Steward of Kirkcudbright, Keeper of Thrieve Castle, and Sheriff of Lanark.¹ Some of the Duke's adherents were to be banished from the kingdom.

Shortly after the date of this agreement, however, Albany betook himself to England, after placing his castle of Dunbar in English hands, and affairs in Scotland assumed, for a time, a more settled character. The Earl of Angus, whatever the real personal relations subsisting between the king and himself, continued to attend the meetings of the Estates, and he was present in the Parliament of June 1483, which was chiefly occupied with proceedings against the Duke of Albany, who was forfeited.² General history relates nothing of the Earl's movements during the next few years, but his name occurs from time to time in the Rolls of Parliament, and in 1486 he is referred to in his capacity of Warden of the Marches, as conservator of a peace with Henry the Seventh of England.³

Of the private history of Angus during this period only a few notices have been found. In the spring of 1484, while residing at Douglas, he made a grant to a chaplain in St. Bride's church there.⁴ Later in the same year

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xii, pp. 31-33. 19th March 1482-3.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 146. On 3d June 1483 the Earl received from the king a five years' lease of the lands of Hartwood and others in Ettrick Forest, in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal castle of Newark, of which he was appointed keeper. [Vol. iii. of this work,

pp. 114-116.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii, pp. 153, 167, 169, 175; *Fædera*, vol. xii, p. 291.

⁴ The Earl gave two oxgates of land to provide for a chaplain for the Virgin's altar on the north side of the church. 7th March 1483-4. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii, No. 1586.

he was at Abernethy, where he relieved his uncle, Robert Graham of Fintry, of the payment of a sum of ten merks yearly due as teree to his grandmother, Margaret Hay, widow of William, second Earl of Angus, out of the lands of Earl-Stradichty.¹ The Earl was also engaged in litigation with the Bishop of Glasgow, who charged Angus with drawing the rents of his barony of Carstairs, and the charge being substantiated, the Earl was adjudged to pay £45 as the sum of the rents in dispute.² In another case the Earl was charged by the Crown with wrongfully conveying the lands of Balmure to Thomas Fothringham of Powrie, and for the loss of Balmure, Fothringham demanded from the Earl the lands and fishing of Broughty Crag. In this double action the Earl, in absence, was adjudged to satisfy both parties. Further proceedings are not recorded, but either in this or another action by Fothringham, Angus was taken bound to pay 155 merks 12s. 8d., and lands in Kirriemuir were appraised to meet the claim.³

Though the years from 1483 to 1488 were thus a comparatively peaceful period in Scotland, it proved only the lull before the storm. The events which happened in the latter year, and in which the Earl of Angus took a prominent part, have been ascribed to various causes, but of these only two merit attention here. One is assigned by Ferrerius, who states that King James continued to consort with persons of mean rank, and in great measure excluded his nobility from his court, occupying himself with

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 116.

² *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp. 95*, 111*. 18th January and 5th February 1484-5.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 98*, 99*. 24th January 1484-5. Charter of Apprising in favour of Fothringham, 31st October 1486. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 1664. On 14th October 1488 Angus protested in Parliament that he

had been coerced into certain acts in regard to the lands of Balmure and others, and these acts were declared not to be prejudicial to him, as they were done while he was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle by command of King James III. [*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 205. MS. Inventory of Fothringhame-Powrie Writs.]

his favourite pursuits rather than with good government. The minion, John Ramsay, whose life had been spared at Lauder, took advantage of the king's weakness to aggrandise himself, and was created Lord Bothwell. Deep offence was given by this man to the aristocracy by his procuring from the king a mandate that no one save himself should carry arms within the precincts of the royal residence. The king also weakened his popularity by giving way more and more to a passion for hoarding; and as he daily took less active participation in affairs of State, while he refused to control the excesses of his favourites, a party of the nobility, with Angus at their head, determined to take matters into their own hand and work reform.¹

The other cause of dissatisfaction with the king, alleged by the nobles after his death, was that he allowed himself to be counselled and assisted in the inbringing of Englishmen to the perpetual subjection of the realm. No clear evidence, however, for this charge has been discovered, unless the negotiations in 1487 for the marriage of King James (then a widower) and two of his sons to English princesses be considered as its justification. These negotiations were broken off by the king himself demanding the surrender of Berwick, but offence was taken by the Scottish nobles that Ramsay was appointed the ambassador for Scotland.²

It was the first of these two causes which led the Scottish nobles to

¹ Ferrerius, *Appendix to Boece*, edition 1574, ff. 398, 399. The character and policy of King James III. have found strenuous defenders in some recent historians; but while many of the charges made against him may be discredited, it is impossible to set aside the testimony of Ferrerius and Lesley, who, while commending the king's private character, clearly show that he had no capacity for governing a realm such as Scotland then was, and that he refused to act with his nobles. The measures passed by

Parliament have been claimed as proofs of the king's energy, but the machinery of State was so organised that the presence or absence of the king was of little importance, although it may be admitted that some of the proceedings of James the Third's later Parliaments seem to be directed at the disaffected nobles.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 201, 210; *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 480.

combine against the king.¹ Nor was this determination come to without deliberation. Long and seriously, says Ferrerius, did the confederate nobles² consult regarding this difficult and truly perilous business, and could find nothing fitter to effect their purpose than that they should appoint a regent able to check the excesses of Ramsay and other favourites. This proposal, however, fell to the ground, because no one person was found possessed of the special qualifications required, or whom all the nobles would accept, there being various jealousies among them. At last, however, when other plans were rejected as impracticable, the Prince, then a youth of about fifteen, was proposed as the centre of the confederacy, and at once received the votes of all. A difficulty arose as to how the Prince was to be won over, which could only be effected through the connivance of his custodians, but in the end, "I know not how," says the historian, the insurgents gained possession of the royal youth's person, to the consternation of the king's party.³ Lesley, also, after a brief notice of the intentions of the Earl of Angus and his fellows, says "that it suld nocht appeir that they did ony thing agains the weill of thair cuntrey, thay made

¹ In his History of Scotland, Mr. Tytler says [vol. iii. p. 439], "Nothing can justify the king's [James the Third] inattention to the cares of government, and the recklessness with which he shut his ears to the complaints and remonstrances of his nobility." This testimony against the king is of weight as coming from a historian whose pages are full of defence of the monarch, and of condemnation of Angus and his faction, almost of contempt for their assumed unintellectuality.

² To prevent repetition, it may here be stated who the confederate nobles were. The original conspirators seem to have been the Earls of Angus and Lennox, and perhaps

Argyll, who was Chancellor, Lords Hailes, Hume, Drummond, Lyle, and Gray, with others not named [Ferrerius f. 399]. To these may be added, according to Pitscottie, Lords Avandale, Seton, and Fleming [History, edition 1778, pp. 139, 146]. At a later date the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Marischal, with Lord Glamis, joined the insurgents [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 210], and so did the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld [Rotuli Scotiae, vol. ii. p. 485]. On the king's side were the Earl of Crawford and the greater number of the barons, especially those north of the Forth.

³ Ferrerius, *ut supra*, f. 399.

James the Prince, the kingis eldest sone . . . captaine and principall to thame and thair armye, and persuadit or rather compellit him to passe with thame," publishing, it is said, that they meant to trouble no good subject, but only to reform the king and his council.¹

The last Parliament of King James the Third's reign was held in January 1488, and was numerously attended by both factions. The king's party was strong, and he was thus able to pass certain measures which probably precipitated the crisis. It is evident from various indications that the insurgents, at least, had been gradually gathering round them large bodies of men and consolidating their strength, but the immediate cause of the final outbreak seems to have been the personal quarrel of certain barons with the king. He had, in 1485, annexed to his Chapel Royal at Stirling the revenues of the Priory of Coldingham, an act which was resented by the Homes and Hepburns, who had long connection with that priory. In October 1487, the Parliament directed that no layman should interfere with the rents of Coldingham, but this was disregarded, and on 29th January those who had infringed the order were summoned to answer for the offence, and a special commission appointed to proceed against them.²

Among those named in this commission on behalf of the king, were the Earl of Angus and six others of the disaffected nobles, which seems to imply that they had well concealed their plans. On the other hand, certain of that faction, probably the Homes and Hepburns, feeling that the king's resentment was directed against them, threw off the mask and possessed themselves of the person of the prince. So suddenly was this done that only three days after the granting of the commission, the prince passed out of Stirling Castle at the head of the insurgents.³ Angus apparently did not at once join the

¹ Lesley, *Historie of Scotland*, pp. 55, 56.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 179, 182, 184.

³ The commission was issued on 29th January 1487-8, and we have the testimony of the prince's party themselves that he

insurgents. Whether he wished to conceal their designs, or hoped to gain the desired end by other means than a resort to arms, does not appear, but at intervals during February and March 1488, he is found witnessing royal charters at Edinburgh, side by side with David, Earl of Crawford, and other supporters of the king.¹

The Earl of Argyll, also, who afterwards openly joined the disaffected nobles, continued to act as Chancellor, and was still at Court some weeks after the rebel standard had been raised.² The Bishops of Glasgow and

left Stirling Castle on the 2d February immediately following, and the insurrection was formally begun. [*Ibid.* pp. 184, 211, 223.] This date, taken in connection with the fact that Angus was in Edinburgh on the 4th of February, proves that though he is said to have taken a leading part in the rebellion, he was not the most active partisan. The barons who secured the prince were probably the Homes and Hepburns, against whom the commission was aimed, and this is corroborated by the influential position which the heads of these houses occupied in the next reign.

¹ This fact is somewhat noteworthy, as except to three or four charters in the year 1476, and when, as stated in the text, he is named as a witness on 4th and 23d February, 5th, 6th, and 7th March 1487-8 [*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1702, 1708, 1712, 1713, 1715-1717], Angus is a witness to no recorded charter of King James the Third. A further significance may perhaps be attached to this circumstance, if a story told by Buchanan be accepted. Buchanan, who credits the king with bloodthirsty designs against the rebellious nobles, states that he pretended to

be reconciled to the leaders, and specially that he made a confidant of Angus, who, however, distrusted his sincerity and refused to be cajoled. The historian adds that while the nobles were assembled at Edinburgh, the king invited Angus to the Castle, and proposed that the Earl should assist him in apprehending the factious nobles and bringing them to punishment. But Angus, while pretending to enter into the scheme, warned the insurgents, and immediately retired himself. It is evident, however, that the nobles only assembled for the Parliament, which was dissolved before the rebellion was openly raised, and though Angus attended at Court for some time after, it may have been for pacific purposes. Buchanan's story may have a certain basis, but the sentiments ascribed to the king are at variance with his character as given by Ferrerius, who specially says he was greatly averse to bloodshed. [*Buchanan*, Aikman's Translation, vol. ii. pp. 217, 218 ; *Ferrerius*, f. 401.]

² Argyll was chancellor until 21st February 1487-8, probably until the 28th ; Bishop Elphinstone became chancellor on 29th February. Argyll, as "Earl of Argyll," appears with the new chancellor as a witness on 20th

Dunkeld also were in attendance, and yet some weeks later they, along with Argyll and Lord Hailes, are named in a safe-conduct to England, evidently as ambassadors on behalf of the insurgent nobles.¹ The evidence of this safe-conduct, and of the other facts here stated, seems to imply that though, according to their own statement, the insurgents had during this time openly announced their purpose, neither party was willing to declare war. It is probable, therefore, that the two bishops, with Angus and Argyll, remained at Court with the hope of procuring some concession, which extant documents show that the king was willing to grant. It may be that the provisions were then first mooted which were afterwards embodied in the so-called pacification of Blackness, where the Bishop of Glasgow, with Angus and Argyll, were three of the negotiators on the Prince's side. Ferrerius also states that King James the Third, on first hearing of the insurrection, besides despatching ambassadors to the Kings of France and England, beseeching their intervention, sent also a messenger to his son, and the nobles with him, to learn if by any means matters might be arranged, and peace established. The rebels replied that if the king would abdicate in favour of his son, they would perhaps talk of peace with him, but not otherwise.² These words virtually express what was afterwards concluded between the parties, but in a more haughty manner, as if the nobles desired to overawe the king.

All negotiations, however, proved futile, and the king at last prepared for active hostilities. It is generally stated that after remaining some time in Edinburgh Castle, while the insurgents continued to increase in numbers, the king found himself, by the failure of negotiations, in danger of capture.³ He

March 1487-8. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1709, 1711, 1719. Cf. No. 1707.

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 340. 5th May 1488.

² Ferrerius, Appendix to Boece, edition 1574, f. 399.

³ Buchanan [*ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 218], follow-

ing up the story about Angus, already referred to, states that the king, on the failure of his plot, remained for some time in Edinburgh, and then crossed the Forth. Pitscottie and others state that the king in his flight to Leith nearly fell into the hands of the insur-

also found that he had few adherents in the southern counties, and went north to seek the aid of the northern barons. They gathered readily to his standard, and the king, placing himself at their head, recrossed the Forth, and met the troops of the insurgents at Blackness, where a battle took place, to the discomfiture of the rebels.

Either in consequence of this engagement, or as the result of former negotiations between the parties, a pacification was entered into, the Bishop of Aberdeen as chancellor, with the Earls of Huntly, Errol, Marischal, and Lord Glamis, representing the king, while the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earls of Angus and Argyll, with Lords Hailes and Lyle, acted for the insurgents. The articles of agreement are nine in number, of which the first three relate to the king and his government, and the remainder to the security of the prince and his education, with clauses providing a general amnesty and reconciliation on both sides. The clauses which immediately concern the king sufficiently indicate the attitude of the rebels. The first article provided for due preservation of, and respect to, the king's royal authority, that he might exercise justice universally to all his lieges in all parts of his realm. That his person might at all times be in honour, security, and freedom, it was provided that there should be prelates, earls, lords, barons, and other persons of wisdom, prudence, and of good disposition, and "unsuspect to his highness and evinly to all his lieges," daily about his noble person, to the good guiding of his realm and lieges.¹ The articles were subscribed by the king himself, and for their fulfilment the Earl of Buchan and others became hostages.² The king's army was then dismissed, and he again took up his residence in Edinburgh Castle, with the Earls of Crawford, Morton,

gents, who also, it is said, took Dunbar [Pinker-ton, vol. i. pp. 330, 331; Pitscottie, edition 1778, p. 138]. No evidence has been found of the truth of this, but according to the Great Seal Record, the king was in Edinburgh until

23d March 1488. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 1722.]

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 210.

² *Ibid.* p. 204.

and Athole, Lords Lindsay and Maxwell, among others, as his immediate attendants.¹

From this point the precise sequence of events is somewhat difficult to trace. In the first Parliament of King James the Fourth, when the cause of the battle of Sauchieburn was under discussion, it was asserted that King James the Third was instigated by those around him to violate the articles of pacification, for which breach of faith, it is added, the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Marischal, with Lord Glamis, renounced their allegiance. Be this as it may, the king again found himself compelled to summon an army, and the northern barons once more gathered to his standard. The royal army and that of the insurgents met, as is well known, on the banks of the Sauchie Burn, not far from the famous field of Bannockburn. A battle ensued with somewhat varying success, until the flight of the king led to the dispersion and defeat of his army, and he himself met a tragic fate by the hand of an assassin.²

On the death of King James the Third, the Earl of Angus and the other insurgent nobles immediately proclaimed his son King of Scotland. One of the first acts of the new government was to make an official inquiry into the amount of treasure in the depositories of the deceased king, who was believed to have amassed much wealth. The Earls of Angus and Argyll, with others, proceeded to the Castle of Edinburgh, and made an inventory of the money, jewels, and other articles of value which had belonged to the late king, but the result of the inspection was not satisfactory. A few coffers of treasure were

¹ The residence in Edinburgh of the king, his chancellor and other prelates, with the nobles named in the text, is proved by the Great Seal Record, containing charters dated from 17th to 24th May 1488, conferring the dukedom of Montrose on David, Earl of Crawford, and his heirs, and the earldom of Glencairn on Lord Kilmaurs and his heirs. Other

barons were also rewarded for their services at the "battle" of Blackness. [*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1723-1730, 2529, 2530.] The Montrose and Glencairn Dignities were annulled by King James the Fourth.

² On 11th June 1488. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 204, 210, 211.

recovered from various persons, and one box was rescued from "the myre" in which it was concealed, while another, containing gold coin to the value of £4000, was found on the field of Sauchie; but the amount thus secured was so small, as compared with the current belief of the late king's wealth, that some years later Parliament ordered an inquiry to ascertain by whom it had been appropriated.¹ Out of the sum recovered, a payment of one hundred and six ducats was made to the Earl of Angus, but for what purpose is not stated.²

The Earl of Angus does not appear to have held any important office during the early years of the new reign. He is indeed styled in a few royal charters as "gardianus," or guardian of the king, but it is not known what authority this office carried with it, and the Earl did not hold it long. The places immediately round the king were filled by the leaders of the insurgent movement. Argyll was continued in his office of Chancellor, but during the first two years of the reign the most influential appointments and offices were bestowed upon the Homes and Hepburns. The Master of Home obtained the office of Great Chamberlain, and Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, that of Master of the Household.³ Angus was present at the first Parliament of King James the Fourth, but he is referred to only as one of the negotiators with the late king, and as a conservator of peace on the Borders.⁴

During the first year of the new reign, however, Angus seems to have been frequently in attendance at Court, as is shown by his witnessing royal charters, in which he is styled "gardianus regis."⁵ He also discharged the

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. lxxi, 79-87; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 230.

² Treasurer's Accounts, p. 86. A ducat was a gold coin fluctuating in value from 15s. 6d. to 18s. [*Ibid.* p. 413.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 199; cf. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1745, 1839.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 205, 210.

⁵ In the Treasurer's Accounts of this period, from June 1488 to May 1489, entries appear at intervals, of letters and messages sent from the king to the Earl of Angus, and on one occasion the latter received from the king 100 rose-nobles as the price of a hawk. Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 91, 95, 99, 112.

duties of a Lord Auditor and a Lord of Council.¹ He further occupied himself during this period in arranging the marriage of his eldest son, George, Master of Angus, with a daughter of Lord Drummond, and in providing the Master with possessory rights over Tantallon and a large portion of the Douglas and Angus estates. Other documents relating to these lands were granted at this time, including a commission appointing John, Lord Glamis, Lord Drummond, and others, bailies over the regality of Kirriemuir.²

As already stated, the Earl of Angus did not hold his office of guardian very long. His last appearance under that title is on 29th April 1489, and he seems to have betaken himself for a time to England, under a safe-conduct dated about two months previously, and renewed at a later date. The Earl's reasons for so doing can only be surmised, but may perhaps be explained by events which about this date took place in the west of Scotland. The tranquillity which had prevailed during the early part of King James the Fourth's reign was interrupted by rumours of disaffection in the north and west, and messengers were sent in hot haste to summon a host to besiege Dumbarton, which was in the keeping of the Earl of Lennox, and which, with his castle of Crookston, he had fortified against the king, while Lord Lyle held his castle of Duchal, in the county of Renfrew. In the beginning of April 1489 these two lords were summoned to surrender, and on refusal, the king, with the authority of Parliament, laid siege to Dumbarton towards

¹ The records of the Lords of Council and Lords Auditors show that Angus occasionally appeared at the bar as well as on the bench. The dispute with Fotheringham of Powrie as to Balmure still continued. The Earl had also a protest to make as to the heirs of Thomas Sempil of Eliotstown. The king had granted to the Earl the sum due as composition by William, Lord Ruthven [a sum amounting to £100, probably exacted for

adherence to the late king], for which Sir William Knollys, preceptor of Torphichen, was security. Angus alleged that he wrongously withheld the sum, and warrants were issued to compel payment. [Acta Auditorum, p. 119; Acta Dominorum Concilii, pp. 119, 120.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 121, 124; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 1827, 1828.

the end of July. The Earl of Lennox, by a bold and skilful sortie, burned the town, thus raising the siege, and took the field with a force of two thousand men, in the hope of receiving succours from the north. But on 11th October he was surprised in his camp near Talla Moss, by a night attack of the royal forces under Lord Drummond, and his small army totally routed.¹

It may here be stated that in the following February, Lennox, his son, Matthew Stewart, and Lord Lyle, all of whom had been forfeited, were restored to their honours and estates. The reasons of their rebellion, as set forth in articles sent to the king after the defeat of Lennox, are important. These articles refer to the murder of the late king, and demand the punishment of his assassins; also that the Estates should take precautions for the safety of the king and his brothers, and redress the misgoverning of the royal treasure and authority, which are "minished" by "parcial persons." Other demands of a similar nature follow, and the Bishops of Glasgow and Galloway, John Prior of St. Andrews, Patrick Lord Hailes, Andrew Lord Gray, Lord Drummond, Sir William Knollys, preceptor of Torphichen, Patrick Hume of Fastcastle, and others, are boldly and openly denounced as the cause of "hewy and greit danger" to the king and realm. These men are declared to have "greppit and applyit to thaim and to thair assistaris" the whole authority and strengths of the kingdom, and they are credited with schemes to destroy the barons and even the king himself, who is implored to dismiss such persons from his councils. The authors of the articles conclude by an offer to prove by their own persons, in single combat, that what they state is true.²

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, pp. lxxxviii, lxxxix, xciv, xcv; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 213, 214, 217; vol. xii. pp. 33, 34; The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 321-326; vol. ii. pp. 132-134.

² See the original articles, indorsed, "The articles send to the king eftir the feild of the

Mos," printed in The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 128-131. It is doubtful if the articles were actually forwarded by the defeated party. They may have been found in the camp of Lennox, or have been transmitted to the king by a sympathising noble.

There is no evidence on the face of these articles as to their original authors, and it is to be noted, that though the Earls of Angus and Argyll were both supporters of Prince James, and Argyll, at least, in office under the new king, they are not among those denounced. It is not improbable, therefore, that they sympathised with the reasons which caused Lennox to rebel. That Angus, who was with the king when the summonses were sent out to muster the host, should at that juncture absent himself from the kingdom, raises a strong presumption that he also was dissatisfied with the king's advisers, but did not choose to appear in arms against the royal authority. The safe-conduct, in virtue of which the Earl travelled into England, is dated in February 1489, but he was still at the Scottish Court at the end of April. After that date he disappears for a time from Scottish record, but was again in Scotland in April 1490. From this date Angus is found more or less frequently at Court, in intimate relations with the king, playing with him at dice or other games until, towards the end of July 1491, he was suddenly ordered to ward himself in Tantallon Castle, to which stronghold the king soon afterwards laid siege.¹

¹ The movements of Angus during this period, so far as they have been ascertained, are of some interest as determining the date of an important document presently to be referred to. The date of his safe-conduct to England is 12th February [1489]. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 126; *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 358.] He was still in Scotland on 26th April 1489, when he received £50 from the king, and on 29th April, when he witnessed a royal charter. He was with King James at Linlithgow on 18th April 1490, playing dice with the king; on 27th June at Falkland, and on 26th, 27th, and 28th November same year, at Linlithgow.

On 29th July 1491, he was charged to enter Tantallon. [*Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. i. pp. 109, 133, 169-171, 180; cf. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 1839, 1959.] The first safe-conduct was only for six months, but the Earl received a second (dated 6th September 1489) for a year, which may have been a renewal of the first. [*Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 491.] The dates of these safe-conducts might render it doubtful when Angus actually left Scotland, but he was absent from the Parliament of July 1489, and the office of Warden of the Marches, so long held by the Douglasses, was bestowed on the Earl of Bothwell and

This sudden change in the fortunes of Angus doubtless arose out of treasonable transactions with the King of England. The safe-conduct to the Earl was issued nominally for the purpose of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John of Amiens, but his sojourn in England was made available for political purposes, and he entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with King Henry the Seventh. The object of this alliance, the terms of which can now be gathered only from a comparison of two much mutilated documents, is not easily ascertainable.¹ If, as already suggested, Angus was really dissatisfied with his position at the Scottish Court, personal irritation might lead him to yield to the overtures of King Henry. But the motive of the English king is less apparent, and the treaty in question is probably traceable only to his wary and exceedingly tortuous diplomacy. His public policy required that he should be at peace with Scotland, and there is evidence that he was extremely anxious to promote a lasting concord between the two countries. Yet, so far as can be understood, the first clause of the agreement with Angus binds the latter to insurrection, if necessary, on behalf of England. The Earl undertakes, in his own name and that of his eldest son, George Douglas, to move the King of Scotland to make and keep peace between the two countries, but if the Earl failed in securing this result, he was to make war on all who were of a contrary opinion, and thus to prevent a raid upon England. If the Earl and his son found themselves unable, without aid from England, to enjoy their revenues in Scotland, or to make their party good, they were to deliver up to King Henry the

Alexander Home, a strong presumption that Angus was not in Scotland. [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 214.]

¹ Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., by James Gairdner, vol. i. p. 385. [Printed from ms. in Record Office among the Scottish docu-

ments formerly at the Chapter House. The editor states in a note that the document is very much mutilated and defaced, and that certain words are supplied from an original draft signed by Angus, which is also very badly mutilated, in the Cottonian ms., Caligula D. ii. f. 14.]

castle of the Hermitage, with the lands thereto belonging. The Earl and his son were to become securities for the fulfilment of this bond, and Robert Elwold, son of Robert Elwold of Hermitage, younger, was also to be a surety with the Master of Angus. On the other hand, no peace was to be concluded between England and Scotland unless Angus was a party. If Hermitage were delivered up, then the English king was to aid him with lands and goods in England to an extent corresponding to the value of the lands delivered, it being also stipulated that the Earl should not make any private arrangement with the King of Scots. If truce be not made, the King of England shall help the Earl and his son at their desire.

Such were the provisions of this treaty, though it has been doubted whether Henry the Seventh ever intended to act upon it. The terms of it apparently did not at once become known to the Scottish king, as for some time afterwards he was on friendly terms with the Earl.¹ But that this secret treaty came to the king's knowledge, and was the cause, or at least one cause, of the committal of Angus to ward in Tantallon, is hinted by Godscroft, who, however, assigns Dumbarton as the place of his confinement.² What immediately followed upon his incarceration there is no evidence to show, but two months later, on 11th October, the king was at Tantallon, whence he sent to Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Leith, for cannon, cross-bows,

¹ The only known copies of the treaty are defective, and the date assigned to the document, 16th November, 7 Henry VII. (1491), is indorsed in a modern hand. This, however, cannot be correct, as Angus was then in Scotland, and he was also (as shown in a previous note) in Scotland during November 1490. The treaty therefore was probably entered into towards the end of 1489, when Angus was absent from Scotland in virtue of the safe-conducts already referred

to. This supposition accords both with dates, and with the progress of events. Tytler, accepting the date assigned to the treaty, gravely states, that on Angus's return from England, he was met by Lyon Herald, who conducted him to ward in Tantallon, but the Treasurer's Accounts [vol. i. p. 180] show that the Earl was at Perth when the royal message reached him.

² MS. History at Hamilton Palace. Cf. edition 1644, p. 232.

and culverins. On the 13th workmen were employed to throw up trenches, and seamen were despatched to Largo to bring the king's ship. The Treasurer's accounts which record these facts, give no light as to the reason for this war-like activity, but it has been suggested that Angus, chafing at the restraint put upon him, had fortified his stronghold and defied the king. If this were so, the siege must have been very short, as on the 24th October the king was at Linlithgow. He and the Earl were soon afterwards reconciled, and on 21st December he received from the king the gift of a velvet gown lined with lamb-skin, as a Christmas present.¹

The return to favour of Angus, however, was not attained without sacrifices on his part, such as put it out of his power to fulfil part at least of his treaty with King Henry the Seventh. He was required by King James the Fourth to resign the lands and lordship of Liddesdale and Castle of Hermitage, and in exchange for doing so received the lands and lordship of Kilmarnock, with castle, etc., in the shires of Ayr and Lanark. These lands were bestowed on Angus for life.² He demurred to receiving Kilmarnock, as it was an inalienable possession of the Crown. To obviate this objection, the king granted a formal security, and the Earl's deprivation of Liddesdale and Hermitage was made final by their bestowal upon Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell.³ Some months later, Angus was so far indemnified by a free grant to himself and his heirs of the barony and castle of Bothwell in Lanarkshire, with various adjuncts in the shire of Berwick.⁴ With the loss of

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. cvii, 181, 188.

² 29th December 1491. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 127, 128.

³ Charter to Bothwell, 6th March 1491-2. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 130, 131; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 2092.

⁴ Charter dated 4th July 1492. Vol. iii. of

this work, p. 134. Bothwell had formerly been in possession of the Earls of Douglas from its acquisition by the third Earl about 1362, but was forfeited by the ninth Earl in 1455. Part of the lordship was afterwards granted to John Ramsay of Terrinzeane, who was created Lord Bothwell. On his forfeiture in 1488, the whole lands of Bothwell and

this territory and of the strong castle of Hermitage, the Douglasses lost much of their power on the Borders, though Ewesdale and Eskdale still remained in the hands of the Earl, whose descendants have retained Bothwell to the present day; but the Douglas family never regained Liddesdale and Hermitage.¹

So far as has been ascertained from available records, the Earl of Angus took no prominent part in public affairs between his return from England and his resignation of Liddesdale, but in February 1492 he was in his place in Parliament. The embassy to France, which had been sent in the previous year, was then approved of, and further negotiations were authorised with a view to the king's marriage with a French princess. At the same time, former treaties and confederations with France were renewed and solemnly ratified by the Scottish king, in presence of Angus and other councillors.²

others were given to Patrick, Lord Hailes, with the title of Earl of Bothwell. By the arrangement narrated in the text, Bothwell was in 1492 exchanged for Liddesdale, and thus restored to the family of Douglas.

¹ Hume of Godscroft refers to the Earl's loss of Liddesdale and Hermitage, but assigns it to a different cause from that in the text. He narrates that one day at the royal table much praise was given to the noble personal appearance of the Earl of Angus, when one of the courtiers, "Spens of Kilspindie," remarked that the praise was true "if all be good that is upcome," thus casting a doubt on the Earl's valour and ability. The words were carried to the ears of Angus, who resolved on vengeance. The historian further relates that one day, while riding from Douglas to Tantallon, the Earl accidentally encountered Spens near Fala, and a duel took place, in which, after exchanging some blows, Angus

severed his opponent's thigh-bone and caused his death. The Earl then, it is said, despatched the slain man's seryant to the king. "Go thy way, tell my gossip the king, there was nothing here but faire play. I know my gossip will be crabbed, but I will get me into Liddesdale, and remain in the Hermitage till he be pacified." In consequence of this, Hume asserts the king compelled Angus to resign Liddesdale, alleging there was no order to be gotten with the Earls of Angus as long as they kept Liddesdale. [Hume's History, edition 1644, pp. 235, 236, collated with ms. History at Hamilton Palace.] In the ms. Godscroft gives treasonable dealings with England as an alternative cause of the loss of Liddesdale, but he casts doubt upon the treason.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 230; Inventaire Chronologique des Documents relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse, Abbotsford Club, 1829, p. 53.

Other measures passed by this Parliament were an order for inquiry as to the treasure of the late King James the Third, a great part of which was alleged to have been misappropriated, and proclamation was made of a large reward for the apprehension of the actual murderers of the deceased monarch.

A few months later the Earl of Angus was appointed chancellor of Scotland, an office which he held for five years.¹ During that period, beside the royal charters to which he was a witness or affixed the great seal, there is little recorded of the Earl, and only a few glimpses of him have been discovered in the general history of the time. In the early part of the year 1493, he received a safe-conduct to pass into England. This may have been in connection with the peace negotiations then going on between the two kingdoms, and which were concluded in the following June, but the safe-conduct was apparently never used. The chancellor was with the Scottish king during the spring of that year, and was present in Edinburgh during the sitting of Parliament in the following May and June.

In this Parliament were passed several enactments evincing a more liberal spirit of legislation than was common at that period, and it may be presumed that Angus, as chancellor, promoted by his advice the measures in question. The most important acts were directed against the encroachments of the Roman See, of which the kings of Scotland had always been jealous; Scottish ecclesiastics were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to seek promotion to benefices or other privileges from the Pope, to the exclusion of the king's rights. Other acts more directly affected and were intended to benefit the poorer classes of the community, especially the commercial and agricultural interests, and to promote the fisheries.²

According to some historians, John, Earl of Ross, last Lord of the Isles,

¹ The exact date of the Earl's appointment is not clear, but he is referred to as chancellor in a charter dated 12th August 1492.

Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2111.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 231-237.

was forfeited in this Parliament. King James then himself passed to the West Highlands, and received the submission of several of the chiefs there. In this expedition the chancellor apparently accompanied the king, as they were both at Dunstaffnage in the month of August 1493.¹ The Isles were revisited in the beginning of the following May, and the barons of the south, east, and west were summoned to meet the king at Tarbert, whither he returned in July with a powerful force. That the chancellor was with the king is probable both from the evidence of charters and because he would be one of those summoned to muster his vassals. It was during this expedition that Sir John of Isla insulted the royal authority by storming the newly garrisoned castle of Dunaverty, and hanging the governor over the wall, in sight, it is said, of the king and his fleet, then returning to the mainland.²

In the following year, 1495, the king again summoned his vassals, and embarking at Newark, near Port Glasgow, he, accompanied by his chancellor and other lords, received at Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, the submission of various island chiefs who had delayed their homage.³ In his measures for the subjugation of the Highlands and Islands, and the good government of these wild districts, the king was ably seconded by his Lords of Council, with the chancellor at their head. They passed, in 1496, an important act, providing in regard to civil actions against the Islanders, that the chief of every clan should be answerable for the due execution of the king's writs against members of his own clan, under the penalty of personal liability to the action. Five prominent Highland chieftains also appeared before the Council, and

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 2171.

² Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*, pp. 87, 89; cf. *Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. i. pp. 237, 244; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*,

vol. ii. Nos. 2211, 2212, etc.

³ Gregory, *ut supra*, pp. 90, 91; cf. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 2252, 2253; *The Stirlings of Keir*, by William Fraser, p. 269.

bound themselves to abstain from mutual injury and disturbance under a penalty of five hundred pounds.¹

The chancellor was with the king at Stirling on 20th November 1495, when Perkin Warbeck, the pretended Duke of York, entered the town with a considerable retinue. The story of Warbeck has been often told, and his cordial reception by King James the Fourth as Prince Richard of England, with the subsequent complications between Scotland and England, need not specially be referred to here. Nothing is recorded throwing light on the chancellor's relations to Warbeck; but he seems to have been present with the king for at least a portion of the time during which hostilities were meditated against England.² A slight interchange of hostilities did take place, but the English king, finding that the King of Scots began to cool in his ardour for Perkin's cause, made overtures for peace. The Earl of Angus was one of those who conducted the earlier negotiations, and a meeting took place at Jenynhaugh, the details of which have not been preserved. One of the proposals, however, was that Perkin should be delivered up to the King of England, a condition which the Scottish commissioners indignantly rejected. King Henry then sent an ambassador in the person of Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, with two sets of instructions, the first renewing the proposal for the delivery of Perkin, but failing this, the terms offered at Jenynhaugh were to be the basis of negotiations. These instructions were so far obviated by the departure of Perkin from Scotland in July 1497, but after hostile demonstrations on the part of both kingdoms, a seven years' truce was concluded at Ayton in the following September.³

Shortly after this Angus ceased to be chancellor, and was succeeded

¹ Gregory, *ut supra*, pp. 91, 92, and Acts of the Lords of Council there quoted.

² Treasurer's Accounts, p. cxliii; cf. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 2334, 2335.

³ Treasurer's Accounts, pp. cli-clviii; Gairdner's Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., vol. i. pp. 104-111; Rotuli Scotiae, vol. ii. p. 526.

in that office by George, Earl of Huntly. During his term of office, Angus was constant in his attendance on his judicial duties. There are few days on which his presence on the bench of the Lords of Council is not recorded, and it was during his tenure of office that an Act of Parliament was passed providing for the education of the sons of the landed gentry, that they might be able properly to administer the laws.¹ For these and other services, King James the Fourth bestowed upon the chancellor various rewards. He received, in the beginning of 1496, the lands and lordship of Crawford or Crawford-Lindsay, with the castle of Crawford, in the county of Lanark, forfeited by David Lindsay, Duke of Montrose, and in the following year the lands of Braidwood, in the same county.² At the close of his career as chancellor, the king appointed Angus Warden of the Middle Marches, and Justiciar within these bounds and the bounds of Eskdale and Ewesdale.³

Of the private history of Angus during the period of his chancellorship, a few facts may be noted. Three of his daughters were given in marriage: one to Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs, afterwards Earl of Glencairn, another to a son of Lord Lyle, and the third to a son of Lord Herries.⁴ The name of Angus also appears several times in connection with lands claimed or acquired by him. He claimed the right of ward over the lands of Newtoun of Strathavon.⁵ He

¹ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp. 257-428, *passim*; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 238.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 152, 164.

³ Original Grant in Douglas Charter-chest, 6th December 1497. The Treasurer's Accounts during the period record a payment of £40 to the chancellor, apparently in connection with the expedition against the Isles in 1495, and another payment in May 1496 of £16 to pay the falconers who went to Orkney to procure hawks for the king. The chancellor is also

referred to as playing at cards with the king [Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 236, 275, 320].

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 131, 140, 149. The details of the matrimonial arrangements will be treated of in a later portion of this memoir.

⁵ Sir John Chalmer of Gaitgirth sued Allan Hamilton of Fairholm for taking a horse and several cows from the tenants of Newtoun of Strathavon. Hamilton pleaded the command of the chancellor, who claimed the lands as

acquired the lands of Birgham from the Countess of Crawford, and in exchange for those of Cockburn he bound himself to give an equal value of lands within Forfar or Fife. Various other agreements were made by the Earl at this date, one of these being with John, Earl of Crawford, as to the lands of Crawford-Lindsay. When that territory was conferred on Angus by the king, some opposition seems to have been made by the Lindsays, who, from a very early date, had possessed the lands from which they took the title of their earldom. What form this opposition took is not stated, but the matter was settled by a decree-arbital. The lands in dispute were to be renounced by Crawford, and to remain wholly the property of Angus, who, however, was to secure the former in the superiority of one hundred merks worth of land within the earldom of Angus. Crawford was also to receive formal possession of three acres of the lands of Storoeholm Knowe, "for the reservation and keping of his stile of the erledome of Craufurd."¹

About the same time also the Earl entered into agreements with Hugh Douglas, Dean of Brechin, the last known male heir of the Earls of Douglas. In the first contract between them the Earl undertook to obtain for the Dean the king's permission to pursue for any heritage legally belonging to him. The influence of Angus was further to be directed to obtaining a benefice for

ward. The defender was adjudged to restore the goods, reserving the question of the Earl's rights. On another occasion the Earl's rights over a forfeited personal estate were interfered with, and the goods were ordered to be returned. February 1492-3. [Acta Dominorum Concilii, pp. 277, 278, 288.] The Earl is also found making a charge as to spoliation of sheep, but no particulars are stated. [*Ibid.* p. 304.] The Earl appears as a litigant in questions arising out of the ward of Elizabeth Auchinleck, who married his second son,

William, and also in a dispute between the Master of Angus and George Roule of Edmondsfield, as to the expulsion of the latter from the castle of Boncle in the Merse. [*Ibid.* pp. 292, 383, 409, 427, 428.] The details will be treated of on a later page. Another action raised by the Earl refers to the lands of Arbady and Inchmerlach, withheld, as alleged, by Alexander Cumming of Culter. [*Ibid.* p. 354.]

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 155-157.

his kinsman, who, on the other hand, promised that as soon as he obtained the lands of Avondale, he would resign them in favour of the Earl.¹ The second contract, a few years later, virtually repeats the former, except that the lands claimed by the Dean are defined as the lands of Glenquhom, Pettinain, and Gledstanes, or any others pertaining to the Earls of Douglas, or to the Earl of Ormond, the Dean's father.² These lands lay in Clydesdale, and the neighbouring lands of Thankerton also formed the subject of an arrangement between the Earl of Angus and John, Lord Kennedy. The former was to further the latter in every way to obtain infeftment of the lands of Thankerton, after which they were to be granted to Angus for an annual feu-duty of twenty merks, under reversion of a sum of three hundred merks to be repaid by Lord Kennedy. Failure in conveying Thankerton to the Earl as arranged involved Lord Kennedy in the payment of five hundred pounds.³

After the Earl of Angus ceased to be chancellor, he retired into private life, as few references to him of a public nature have been discovered. His first Countess, Elizabeth Boyd, having predeceased him, he seems to have again entered into the matrimonial state about the year 1498, or at least been contracted with Janet Kennedy, daughter of John, Lord Kennedy; but if the marriage took place, they were separated before 1500, in which year the Earl was married to Katherine Stirling of Keir.⁴ Between 1498 and 1510, the Earl does not appear as attending Parliament, nor is he a witness to royal charters during that period. For some part of that time, towards the end of 1501 and in the beginning of the year 1502, he was, for some reason unknown, in

¹ 29th May 1493. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 139.

² *Ibid.* p. 160. 24th January 1496-7.

³ 28th January 1496-7. *Ibid.* p. 161.

⁴ On 20th July 1498, the Earl granted Braidwood in liferent to Janet Kennedy, and

on 25th September 1498 she also received Crawford-Lindsay [Registrum Magni Sigilli. vol. ii. Nos. 2434, 2457]. On 1st June 1500 Katherine Stirling received a charter of the earldom of Angus and lordship of Kirriemuir [*Ibid.* No. 2539].

ward in Dumbarton Castle.¹ At a later date he resided at Rothesay, in Bute, being there in May 1504, when he conveyed Bothwell to his son William, and also in June 1506, when he bestowed lands on the Church of St. Bride of Douglas.²

In the beginning of the year 1510 the Earl was called upon to act as one of the arbiters in a serious dispute between the families of Montgomerie and Cunningham. This feud, which had existed for many years, arose out of a contention as to the office of the bailiary of Cunningham, which had been conferred in 1448 on Alexander, Master of Montgomerie. It was claimed by Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs, and in 1510, the rivals had recourse to arbitration, when it was decided that the Earl of Eglinton had full and heritable right to the office in question. This decision averted bloodshed for the time, but the feud was kept up between the families for many years, with fatal consequences.³ While in Edinburgh on the business of this decree-arbitral the Earl seems to have interested himself on behalf of the daughter of Donald Macranald Baue, a minor chief of the Islesmen in Kintyre, and at his request she received a liferent of some lands in Kintyre.⁴

¹ The Earl is stated, in a legal document by his second son William, to have been in ward some time before 10th December 1501, and he was still in Dumbarton Castle on 28th March 1502, when he granted a procuratory for resigning Eskdale into the hands of the king. Whether this resignation was the intended result of his confinement, or whether the king had any cause of offence, has not been ascertained. From a passage in a letter from Thomas Spinelly to King Henry VIII. in 1514, it would appear that Andrew Forman, then Bishop of Moray, and a man of considerable influence in Scotland, was the means of the liberation of Angus.

The bishop had been a protégé of his. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 176-179; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. i. No. 5006.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 182; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2974.

³ Decree-Arbitral dated 12th January 1509-10. Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 31; vol. ii. pp. 72-75.

⁴ On February 10, 1510, a letter under the Privy Seal was issued, at the request of the Earl of Angus, granting to "Marione of Ylis, dochter to Makranald Bayne," in liferent, the four-merk land of Cortynvale, in the

In April of the same year the Earl was again at Rothesay, where he granted a charter of Braidwood to his second son, William.¹

During the following year, the Earl of Angus is chiefly referred to in connection with the transference of part of his estates to his sons. In June 1510 a claim made on behalf of the Crown for payment of feudal casualties due for the barony of Kirriemuir was decided against the Earl, who had never entered formally to the lands. The rents of the lands for the forty-five years during which they were in non-entry, the amount being assessed at one thousand pounds of annual value, were adjudged to belong to the king. The matter ended by the Earl paying a proportion to the royal treasury, while the lands were duly confirmed to him by the king, and the town of Kirriemuir was erected into a burgh of barony.² The barony of Crawford Lindsay also at this time passed into the king's hands, on the plea that the Earl had alienated it without the royal consent, but in the following January it was conferred on the Master of Angus, the name of the lands being changed to Crawford-Douglas.³ The Earl then denuded himself of the portion of his estates remaining in his own possession, by resigning Abernethy in favour of his eldest son George, who already held the fee of the whole Douglas and Angus estates, his father having only a liferent.⁴

lordship of Kintyre. [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *111.] Marion's father was Donald Macranald Bane of Largie, chief of a small sept of the Macdonalds, who was summoned by Parliament in 1506, and seems to have submitted to the royal authority. [Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 99, 101.]

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 202.

² *Ibid.* pp. 194-198, 204, 205. Decree against the Earl 17th June 1510, ratified 28th June 1511. Charter dated 1st August 1510, sasine 12th October same year.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 200. Charter to George Douglas, Master of Angus, 20th January 1510-11. The Earl had given the lands to Janet Kennedy without the king's licence, a fact which was taken advantage of to replenish the royal exchequer. On 30th October 1510, the principal free-holders of the barony begged that the king would infest the Earl in the lands, in such manner that they should not lose their Martinmas rents. [*Ibid.* p. 198.]

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 199. 16th January 1510-11.

In September 1512 the Earl of Angus was one of a grand jury who sat to try William Douglas of Drumlanrig and others for the alleged murder of Robert Crichton of Kirkpatrick. Lord Crichton of Sanquhar was the accuser, and the affair seems to have arisen out of a feud which had long existed between the families of Maxwell and Crichton, and which had culminated in a battle near Dumfries four years previously, when Lord Crichton and his party were defeated. The present action ended in the acquittal of Douglas, on the ground that Crichton, when he was slain, was the king's rebel, and for the time an outlaw. The trial, however, was immediately followed by an act forbidding the slaying of outlaws, except in the act of resistance to apprehension, or attempted rescue by friends. Otherwise, all rebels were to be apprehended and given up to the royal officers, to be dealt with only by the proper judges.¹

A few months later the Earl of Angus, in company with his son-in-law, Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn, is found taking part in a remarkable scene at the Monastery of Kilwinning, on the occasion of a case of clerical intrusion. In March 1513, Mr. John Forman, a scheming monk of the diocese of Glasgow, pretended a claim to the Abbey of Kilwinning, and having furnished himself with certain Papal bulls, hoped by the aid of an armed force to overawe the abbot in possession and procure his own installation. He also gained over to his interest the Earls of Angus and Glencairn, and one morning these nobles, accompanied by a royal herald and a considerable body of men-at-arms, surrounded the monastery. Glencairn penetrated to an inner court, where he seized the abbot, and endeavoured by force to compel him to give up his abbacy and open the gates to the herald, the Earl of Angus, and others representing Forman. But the abbot, though hardly beset, and much pulled about and exhausted, stoutly refused to open gates or to yield a single jot of his rights. The procurator of Forman therefore read the apostolic

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. *78-*81.

letters, and inducted his principal without the gates, and after a few protests the affair ended for the time.¹

A little later in the same year, affairs of more importance engaged the attention of Angus. The relations between England and Scotland, which, for a few years after the accession of King Henry the Eighth, had been comparatively peaceful, had for some time assumed a threatening character. In the previous year, an important alliance had been concluded with France—a treaty to which the Earl of Angus was one of the principal witnesses, and which was destined to exercise a disastrous influence on the fortunes of Scotland. The diplomacy and gold of France, added to the insults which King James considered himself to have received from his brother of England, led, as is well known, to an open rupture. A minor incident which tended to encourage the Scottish king in his hostile intentions, was the arrival in Edinburgh of O'Donnel, the most prominent chief in the North of Ireland. Negotiations had formerly passed between the Scottish kings and the family of O'Donnel, favouring the latter in their contests against England, and the reigning chieftain now came to offer his friendship and service to King James. This offer, which was specially directed against the English king, was cordially accepted. The chieftain was well entertained and rewarded, and in the presence of the Earl of Angus, and a considerable assemblage of prelates and barons, received from King James a letter acknowledging his homage, and promising assistance—with which he returned to his own land.²

A month later the Scottish King sent his herald to King Henry the

¹ Diocesan Registers of Glasgow, Grampian Club, vol. ii. pp. 477-480. The abbot of Kilwinning who thus stoutly held his own, seems to have been William Bunch. He fell at Flodden, but was not, so far as is known, succeeded by Forman, but by James Beaton. If John Forman was a relative of Andrew For-

man, Bishop of Moray, the friendly relations of Angus to the latter may have induced him to act as an assistant on this occasion.

² Lesley's *Historie of Scotland*, p. 87. Letter dated 25th June 1513, *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 3856.

Eighth, then in France, with a letter of expostulation and complaint, which was virtually a declaration of war, but events were precipitated by a foray made by Lord Home into England. This expedition was at first successful, but when the Scots were on their way home, they were waylaid and completely defeated.¹ This provoked King James to a speedy retaliation, and in opposition to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, he determined to carry the war into England, and to lead his army in person. He entered the southern kingdom on the 22d of August, with the largest army ever mustered by a Scottish monarch, but unhappily his skill in warfare was not equal to his advantages.

Though he was opposed to the invasion of England, the Earl accompanied the king across the Border, attended by his two oldest sons, George, Master of Angus, and William Douglas of Glenbervie and Braidwood, with a full muster of vassals. It is stated that partly owing to lack of provisions, and partly from disgust at the king's inactivity, a large number deserted from the Scottish host; but the Douglasses and their men remained with their sovereign to the last. When Surrey's army was defiling within sight of the Scots drawn up on Flodden, the Scottish nobles in vain urged the king to take advantage of his position and attack the English. Angus, who at first kept silence, added his voice to the rest, urging an immediate attack or a prudent delay, which would force the English army to disperse for want of supplies. But his words were unheeded, as were also those of Lord Lindsay of the Byres at a later stage. Both advisers were treated by the king with unseemly passion, and Angus was met with the cruel taunt that if he were afraid he might return home again. The insult was unpardonable even from his sovereign, and the Earl burst into tears. Then, with a few words of dignified rebuke and sad foreboding, only too soon to be fulfilled, he

¹ Lesley, *ut supra*, pp. 87-92. Letter dated 26th July 1513. Defeat of Lord Home, 13th August 1513.

took his leave of the king and the Scottish army. Even now, however, he did not desert King James, but calling his two sons to him, charged them to remain at the head of the Douglas vassals. He instructed them how to act in the battle which was now imminent, bade them fight valiantly, and preserve the Douglas standard at all hazards. Then recommending them to God and their good fortune, he rode off the field.

The historian of the Douglasses states that the Earl passed into Scotland accompanied only by six attendants, and gives a pathetic account of how the old warrior, as he slowly wended his way north, heard the noise of the conflict, and from an eminence on the Scottish side, witnessed the fulfilment of his own fears in the defeat of his countrymen, while his two sons, and a large number of his friends and followers, were slain.¹ The consternation which the disaster produced throughout Scotland has often been described; but active measures were at once taken to consolidate the government. Angus lent his influence to this end, and was present at Stirling, when, on 21st September 1513, King James the Fifth, then a child of about eighteen months, was crowned. At the same time the Queen was appointed Regent, Angus being one of the special Councillors by whose advice she was to act.² From Stirling the Court returned to Edinburgh, of which city the Earl of Angus was made Provost, his predecessor in that office having fallen at Flodden. On 30th September 1513, he presided at a meeting of the Town-council, at which his third son, Gavin, then provost of the Church of St. Giles, was made a freeman of the burgh.³ The Earl also attended a General Council held at Perth from 21st to 29th October of the same year, and there undertook to reform all breaches of the peace between Forth and Whithorn, especially all such discovered by him on his way to St. Ninian's

¹ Hume's History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, edition 1644, pp. 233-235; cf. ms. at Hamilton Palace.

² Parliamentary Records of Scotland, 1804, p. 525.

³ Charters of St. Giles, p. xxxv.

or Whithorn, in Galloway. The lieges were instructed to give him all assistance. He himself was to pass wherever his aid in repressing disorders was necessary; the Sheriff of Teviotdale, in particular, was empowered to summon the Earl to his assistance in dealing with the borderers. This fact proves that though the Earl of Angus did, after Flodden, go to St. Ninian's, it was not, as has been alleged, with any view of becoming a monk, but in discharge of his duties as Justiciary.¹ While engaged in these, however, he died at the monastery of St. Ninian's, and was buried there, though his heart was brought to Douglas and interred in St. Bride's. The exact date of his death is somewhat uncertain, but it must have taken place between 29th November 1513 and 31st January 1514.² The Earl was thus only about sixty-five years old at his decease, though he has been frequently described as an aged man.

Godscroft passes a high eulogium upon this Earl, but the notices of him in history are perhaps too few to form the basis of a just estimate of his character. A recent historian, referring to the insurrection at Lauder, writes thus of Angus:—"To the common feudal qualities of courage and cruelty, this chief united a haughty pride of birth, and a contempt for those intellectual studies to which his sovereign (James III.) was so deeply devoted."³ There is no evidence that Angus despised intellectual studies, but the

¹ Parliamentary Records of Scotland, 1804, pp. 530, 531.

² He was alive on 29th November 1513 [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 215], though a letter from Thomas, Lord Dacre, to Wolsey, which states, "The Earl of Angus is dead at St. Ninians," is dated 23d November [1513]. [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII. vol. i. No. 4573.] The Earl, however, was dead before 31st January 1514, when his grandson, as Earl, was infeft in the lands of Tantallon. [Sasine in Douglas Charter-chest.]

³ Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iii.

pp. 385, 386. It may be doubted whether Mr. Tytler has not borrowed his character of Angus from the rough warrior depicted in Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion," whose contempt of study is referred to in the well-known lines:—

"Thanks to Saint Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line;"

but this is a mere poetical licence, as the Earl and three at least of his sons could write. Their signatures are still preserved, attached to various documents, and facsimiles are given in this volume, pp. 110, 121, 124, 139.

contrary. He himself wrote a very good hand, and he was, as already stated, chancellor, and one of the chief advisers of King James the Fourth, who was certainly as great an encourager of literature and art as his father.

The Earl of Angus was twice, or perhaps thrice, married. His first wife was, as already stated, Elizabeth Boyd, a daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd. She died sometime before 1498, when the Earl entered into a contract of marriage with Janet Kennedy, daughter of John, Lord Kennedy. The question of the marriage of Angus with this lady has been the subject of dispute, some writers asserting that they were married, others that she was merely contracted to the Earl. That there was betwixt them more than a mere contract seems proved by the terms of two charters granted by Angus in 1498. In the first he, for his singular love and affection to Janet Kennedy, grants the lands of Braidwood to her, to be held by her in liferent, and after her decease, by the heirs-male born betwixt her and the Earl; whom failing, by William Douglas, his second son, and the lawful heirs-male of his body.¹ The second charter—that of Crawford-Lindsay—is also granted in token of the Earl's affection, for the term of the lady's life; but no reference is made to heirs of any kind. Another proof of the marriage is afforded by the lady herself, who long survived, and in 1531 founded a prebend in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Fields, near Edinburgh, for the welfare of the soul of the deceased Archibald, Earl of Angus, formerly her husband. There is, therefore, strong evidence for the marriage, but the parties were soon separated, and nowhere is the lady described as Countess of Angus. Janet Kennedy, probably before her marriage with Angus, had received the addresses of King James the Fourth, and bore a son to him, James

¹ Charter of Braidwood and other lands, confirmed same day. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 2434, 2457.
20th July 1498, confirmed 24th July; Charter of Crawford-Lindsay, 25th September 1498.

Stewart, afterwards created Earl of Moray. The jealousy of the king seems to have been roused, and he appears to have parted the Earl and his spouse. The latter received from the king in June 1501 a grant of the castle of Darnaway, and lands round it, in liferent, as long as she remained with their son, and without husband or other man.¹ Previous to this, in 1500, Angus was married to his third wife, but Janet Kennedy appears to have retained her hold upon the lands granted to her, and nine years afterwards they were the subject of a decree-arbital, in terms of which the Earl, on her renouncing Braidwood and Crawford-Lindsay, secured to her the lands of Bothwell for life.²

The relations between the Earl of Angus and his third wife are also obscure. On 1st June 1500, he granted to Katherine Stirling, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, knight, his lands of the earldom of Angus and lordship of Kirriemuir, to be held by her and the heirs-male born betwixt them, whom failing, the lands were to revert to his heirs whomsoever.³ In 1503, in a royal charter to her brother, Sir John Stirling, of the lands of Keir, Katherine Stirling and her lawful heirs are inserted in the entail, and she is there described as Countess of Angus.⁴ She is also so designated by her brother in October 1509, when he founded a chaplainry in Dunblane Cathedral.⁵ She was still Countess of Angus in August 1510,

¹ Charter dated 1st June 1501. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2585.

² 7th February 1509-10. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3413. Janet Kennedy, however, must have had an interest in Bothwell before 1500. Cf. vol. iii. of this work, p. 174. In reference to the relations of Angus to Janet Kennedy, Godscroft [edition 1644, p. 232] states that the Earl gave her infestment in Bothwell, though he never married her, adding that the king imprisoned the Earl of

Angus in Arran for his intimacy with the lady. The only corroboration of this last statement is the fact already referred to in the text, that Angus resided at Rothesay, in Bute, for some time, but at a date apparently long posterior to his connection with Janet Kennedy.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2539.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 2751. 10th September 1503.

⁵ The Stirlings of Keir, etc., by William Fraser, p. 289.

when she granted a discharge for the rents of certain lands in Forfarshire.¹ Two years later, however, in another royal charter of entail, she is designated simply Katherine Stirling,² and it seems probable that she was then separated from the Earl. The reason may be found in a charter about the same date by Alexander, Lord Home, great Chamberlain of Scotland, granting to his beloved Katherine Stirling, and John Home their son, the lands of Inverallon, in Stirling.³ Nothing further has been ascertained regarding this lady.

The fifth Earl of Angus had four sons and three daughters, all by his first Countess, Elizabeth Boyd. The sons were—

1. George, Master of Angus, who is generally known by that title, as he never succeeded to the earldom, being killed at Flodden on 9th September 1513. Of him a memoir follows.
2. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie and Braidwood. A short memoir of him and of his son Archibald, the father of the NINTH EARL OF ANGUS, will be found on a later page.
3. Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, of whom a short memoir follows.
4. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, of whom also a short memoir follows.

The daughters of the fifth Earl of Angus were—

1. Marion, who married Cuthbert Cunningham, Lord Kilmaurs, afterwards created Earl of Glencairn, and had issue. Their marriage-contract is dated 24th June 1492.⁴
2. Elizabeth, who, on 19th June 1493, was contracted in marriage to Robert Lyle, son and heir of Robert, Lord Lyle, Justice-general of Scotland.⁵

¹ Discharge signed by "Katyne, Countes of Angus," and granted to Sir John Ogilvie of Inverquhar on 10th August 1510 [Original in Inverquhar Charter-chest.]

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3846. 14th May 1513.

³ The Stirlings of Keir, p. 296. John Home was not born in wedlock, as is shown by a royal writ in 1557, where he is described as a bastard. [*Ibid.* pp. 27, 28, 412.]

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 131, 135.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 140.

3. Janet, who married Andrew Herries, son and heir of Herbert, first Lord Herries of Terregles. The contract of marriage is dated 25th November 1495, and one part of the arrangement was that Andrew was to divorce his previous wife, Beatrix Herries, that he might marry Janet Douglas.¹ Herries afterwards asserted that the Earl of Angus had not performed the promises made by him.² From this marriage the present Lord Herries is lineally descended.³

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 149.

² The Book of Carliaverock, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 451.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 584, 585.

John of Angus



V.—2. SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, KNIGHT, FIRST OF GLENBERVIE AND
BRAIDWOOD, SECOND SON OF "BELL THE CAT."

ELIZABETH AUCHINLECK (OF AUCHINLECK), HIS WIFE.

Circa 1472—1513.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS was the second son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus. The year of his birth is not known, but he is first named in a letter of gift by King James the Fourth in 1492, conferring upon him the ward of the lands of the deceased James Auchinleck, late son and heir of Sir John Auchinleck of that ilk. In this gift was also included the marriage of Elizabeth Auchinleck, daughter and heiress of James Auchinleck, with a provision that should William Douglas die or refuse to marry the lady, she should become the ward of the Earl of Angus.¹ The latter, although the gift was made to his son, appears in after proceedings as the real or acting tutor.

The first effect of this gift was to involve the Earl of Angus in a considerable amount of litigation, chiefly to vindicate the rights of his ward to the rents of certain lands which were withheld by her relatives. These lands included the half of the barony of Glenbervie, which, in 1445, was the property of two sisters, daughters and co-heiresses of Alexander Melville of Glenbervie. Elizabeth, the elder of the two sisters, married Sir John Auchinleck of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, while her sister, Giles or Egidia, married James Auchinleck, younger brother of Sir John, without issue. Sir John Auchinleck and Elizabeth Melville had a son, James, who, in 1480, married Egidia Ross of Hawkhead, and was the father of Elizabeth Auchinleck, the wife of Sir William Douglas.² When James Auchinleck and Egidia Ross were married, Sir John became bound to infest her in the lands of Rogertoun, in the barony of Auchinleck.

¹ Gift dated 29th September 1492. Vol. Elizabeth Auchinleck. [*Ibid.* p. 138.]
iii. of this work, pp. 136, 137. On the same

day the king granted an interdict forbidding
Sir John Auchinleck to alienate his lands
in any way prejudicial to the interest of

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 905,
1483, 1484. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 111,
136, 244.

Shortly after the gift of the ward of Elizabeth Auchinleck, the Earl of Angus, as her tutor, instituted legal proceedings against her grandfather, Sir John Auchinleck, for the rents of half the barony of Glenbervie, and also in regard to the lands of Rogertoun. Sir John had become possessed of the whole barony of Glenbervie under a resignation by Elizabeth and Giles Melville in 1445, and subsequently by a royal charter followed by sasine.¹ The Earl of Angus was successful in both actions, Sir John Auchinleck being adjudged to pay £500 on account of the rents of Glenbervie, and to infest Elizabeth Auchinleck in the lands of Rogertoun.²

Besides these questions affecting her lands, Elizabeth Auchinleck and her tutors were assailed from another quarter, by an attack upon her legitimacy. In an action before the Official of the Commissary Court at Glasgow, Mr. John Auchinleck, a Canon of Brechin, second son and apparent heir of Sir John Auchinleck, claimed to be the nearest heir of Elizabeth and Egidia Melville. He asserted that Elizabeth Auchinleck could not be the nearest heir of these ladies, because not only was her father married to a first wife related within the forbidden degrees to Egidia Ross, mother of Elizabeth, but also the marriage with Egidia Ross was contracted and solemnised in an irregular manner. On proof being led, however, these averments were set aside, and it was formally decided that Elizabeth Auchinleck was the lawful offspring of her parents.³

William Douglas and Elizabeth Auchinleck were married before December 1501, while she was still under age. This last fact is proved by a statement made by Douglas before the Lords of Council under somewhat peculiar circumstances. It would appear that he and his wife in obtaining her service as heiress of the lands of Glenbervie, had made no return of the value of the estate. For this they were summoned on behalf of the Crown, and Douglas attended and made an explanation. He stated that he was young and unskilled in law, that his father the Earl of Angus, who was the tutor of his wife, was then in ward in Dumbarton Castle, and he had no fit procurator or advocate; besides which his father had the custody of the writs of the estate. He further, on learning that the retour was legally invalid, explained that his father the Earl of Angus, hearing that he had been summoned to the action in his capacity as tutor, begged the Constable of Dumbarton to permit him to go forth to defend the lands, but the Constable refused to do so without a written man-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 426, 427; *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp. 262, 292.

² Decree as to Glenbervie, June and October 1493; decree as to Rogertoun, 12th November 1495. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 143, 148.

³ Decree dated 16th May 1494, ratified by the Archbishop of Glasgow, 22d October 1512. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 206-210. Elizabeth Auchinleck was, in 1494, under fourteen years of age.

date from the king. William Douglas then petitioned that Mr. James Henryson, the king's advocate, might act for him, but the Council refused, as the advocate was engaged for the Crown. Douglas then, as a final proof that the title-deeds of the estate could not be produced by him, presented a notarial instrument relating an interview between himself and his father. He had gone in person to Dumbarton, and earnestly begged his father to deliver to him the various charters and writs belonging to the lands. But the Earl replied in the negative, saying, "I am unwilling to give you the writs, because it is sufficiently evident that I am summoned as tutor of Elizabeth, and I am the principal in the case, and in this castle I stay by the royal command, nor can I compare personally for my own interest, without licence from the king." Whether this statement satisfied the Council is not known, as the sequel is not recorded, but the Earl was still in ward two months later.¹

In 1505, William Douglas and his wife made a claim to a share of the lands of Auchinleck in Ayrshire, which were also claimed by a daughter of Sir John Auchinleck. Neither party was successful, as the lands were taken possession of by the Crown, and bestowed upon Thomas Boswell, a retainer of the king.² At a later date ecclesiastical censure was directed against the Laird of Glenbervie and his spouse, on account of their marriage, they being within the forbidden degrees, and in 1509 they obtained a dispensation sanctioning their union.³ Their tenure of Glenbervie also was still insecure, as it was disputed by James Auchinleck, a son of that Mr. John Auchinleck who pursued the action of legitimacy in 1494, and who had been infert in Auchinleck in 1489, on his father's resignation. The parties at last agreed to submit their claims to arbitration, when a decision was given against James Auchinleck, and Sir William Douglas and his wife remained in possession. At some period not recorded, but perhaps at this time, they had their lands erected into a barony in favour of themselves and their heirs.⁴ A month or two after the submission they conveyed to James Auchinleck, under reversion, a portion of the lands of Glenbervie, but the right of regress to these was secured by a royal charter.⁵

In the various documents relating to William Douglas, his history is chiefly bound

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 176-178.

Dated at Aberdeen, 10th December 1501.

Cf. *antea*, p. 100, note.

² Charter to Boswell of the lands of Auchinleck, recognised to the Crown 16th June 1505. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 2859.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 191, 192.

⁴ Submission to Arbiters, dated 26th November 1512. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 210. Cf. also pp. 219, 318; and *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. No. 1772.

⁵ Charter of Regress, dated 14th January 1512-13. Original in Glenbervie Charter-chest.

up with that of his wife, but a few references to himself personally have been found. In 1493, while his father was chancellor, he profited by the forfeiture of John, Lord of the Isles, and received from the estates of that nobleman the lands of Grenane in Ayrshire, a grant which, for some reason, was repeated in 1509.¹ In 1498 his name was inserted in the charter by his father to Janet Kennedy, of the lands of Braidwood in Lanarkshire, as an heir of entail, and in 1510 these lands were conveyed to himself separately.² The lands of Braidwood were probably intended as compensation for the lands of Bothwell, in which William Douglas had been infeft in 1504, but which were afterwards, in 1510, conveyed to Janet Kennedy for life.³ Previous to 1510 he received the honour of knighthood. Sir William Douglas was a witness to a charter by his father, at Edinburgh, in February 1511.⁴

Two years later Sir William Douglas accompanied his father and elder brother to the field of Flodden. There, according to Godscroft, he distinguished himself by a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to defend the bridge over the river Till, to cover the retreat of his fugitive countrymen. Mindful of his father's instructions, already referred to in the previous memoir, to fight bravely and preserve the Douglas standard at all risks, Sir William, after the defeat of the Scots was certain, fought his way out of the melee, and by displaying the Douglas banner, gathered to him a party of friends and followers to the number of four or five hundred men. With these, as he was not far from the Till, he hoped to gain the bridge and defend it with a few while the others escaped. But Lord Howard, perceiving the movement, inquired whose standard it was which thus retired displayed, and on learning that it was the banner of Douglas, he sent Lord Dacre with a large body of horse to attack Sir William, declaring that the victory would not be perfect if that standard left the field unharmed. Finding that his men, who were all on foot, could not reach the bridge before the English cavalry, Sir William Douglas drew up his small force upon a hill, where, after a great slaughter of the enemy, he was slain. Of his comrades only twenty-four escaped, one of these, according to Godscroft, being a servant of Sir William, who lived to tell the story to the great-grandson of his master, the tenth Earl of Angus, who died at Paris in 1610.⁵

¹ First Charter of Grenane, 29th August 1493; Renewal, 28th January 1508-9. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 2172, 3292.

² *Ibid.* Nos. 2434, 3544; vol. iii. of this work, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.* p. 182; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3413. Charter to Janet Kennedy, dated 7th February 1509-10.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3664.

⁵ Godscroft, ms. at Hamilton Palace. Part II. p. 64.

Sir William Douglas was survived by his wife, Elizabeth Auchinleck, who, a few years after the death of her husband, retired to the Convent of St. John, near the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh. Before taking the veil she entered into a contract with Gavin, Bishop of Duukeld, the brother of her late husband, securing her son, Archibald Douglas, in the barony of Glenbervie and other lands, in terms of the charter by the late king, subject to a yearly payment of £20 to the Prioress and Convent of St. John, under reversion, and an annuity of £80 to herself. She also appointed the bishop tutor to his nephew, and transferred all her rights to him, except that she should have control over the marriage of her son.¹

Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie and Braidwood and his wife, Elizabeth Auchinleck, had issue only one son.

VI.—3. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, SECOND OF GLENBERVIE.

AGNES KEITH (MARISCHAL), HIS FIRST WIFE.

ELIZABETH IRVINE OF DRUM, HIS SECOND WIFE.

1510—1570.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, the only son of Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie and Braidwood, and his wife, Elizabeth Auchinleck, was still a youth in 1520, when his mother and uncle entered into the contract mentioned at the close of his father's memoir. He is not named in any public document until 1528. In October of that year he received permission from King James the Fifth to remain away from the royal host summoned to march against his cousin, the sixth Earl of Angus, and to besiege Tantallon. In that writ he is described as of "tender age," and he was still under the charge of curators in November 1528, when, with their consent, he acknowledged the receipt of a gold chain pledged to him by Thomas Erskine of Halton, afterwards secretary to King James the Fifth. The chain contained forty-eight links, and weighed sixty crowns in weight, and was pledged for the sum of eighty-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 218-221. Contract, dated at the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, beside the Common-moor of Edinburgh, 5th November 1520. The Convent of St. John was apparently under the control

of the Dominicans or Preaching-friars, as the Provincial of that Order in Edinburgh was to consent to the reversion to be made by the Prioress, and was a witness to the contract.

four merks, to be repaid before the following Lammass.¹ In June 1534 he made an inventory of the goods in his manor of Kemnay, but whether he then first entered into full possession does not appear.²

Ten years later Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie was married to Agnes Keith, fourth daughter of William, second Earl Marischal. The spouses received in 1538 from King James the Fifth a charter of Glenbervie and other lands as erected into a barony in the previous reign. The same lands, with Grenane in Ayrshire, and Braidwood and other lands in Lanarkshire, were by another charter, in 1542, incorporated into the barony of Glenbervie in favour of Douglas, then called the king's familiar servitor.³ Braidwood, however, never yielded any profit to its new owner, as it was part of the forfeited estate of the sixth Earl of Angus, and was restored to him in 1543.⁴

Little is known of the history of this laird of Glenbervie, as he apparently took no great share in public affairs. This was probably owing to weak health. He was an inmate of Dalkeith Castle in 1548, when it was in possession of James, Master of Morton, son of his cousin, Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, and was attacked and destroyed by an English force. In writing of the disaster to his daughter, Margaret, Countess of Lennox, the Earl of Angus states that among others the laird of Glenbervie was taken prisoner, whom the Earl pities as "ane seikly tender man." The Earl begs his daughter to use her influence to gain good treatment for the captives, and offers to let his own natural son, George (afterwards bishop of Moray), lie in ward for the "seikly" laird.⁵

¹ Acknowledgment dated at Edinburgh, 6th November 1528. *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 177.

² The notary who accompanied Douglas in the making of this inventory gives the following list of furniture. First, in the hall, a table, and in one chamber two beds and one other small table, with one old door lying in the foresaid chamber; and in the buttery (?) [butlario] one "gantreis." No other goods were found on the manor, in the houses, except the front doors, which, however, were without bolts and keys. The barony of Kemnay had apparently been mortgaged for a time, which may account for the meagre amount of furni-

ture in the house. Inventory printed in *Antiquities of Aberdeen*, etc., vol. iii. p. 481. Cf. vol. iii. of this work, p. 220.

³ Charters dated 6th April 1538 and 14th April 1542. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. Nos. 1772, 2644.

⁴ Discharge for composition to the Crown to Douglas of Glenbervie on the restoration of Angus, 20th March 1543-4. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 236.

⁵ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 171. The Earl, besides referring to Glenbervie's ill-health, describes him as having nine "motherles barnis."

Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie is chiefly referred to in private transactions. About 1540 he was present at the transfer by one brother to another of the office of clerk of the parish of Kemnay.¹ In 1555 he renounced in favour of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, and his Countess, Margaret Maxwell, the lands of Bothwell, and received a new grant of that barony, a liferent right being reserved to the Countess.² A month later Douglas of Glenbervie is named with other barons of the Mearns in an inquisition as to the value of various lands in the county, chiefly church lands.³ For some reason he seems to have paid an annual pension to the prioress of the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna (Sciennes), near Edinburgh, as proved by her discharge still preserved.⁴ This laird of Glenbervie appears frequently in connection with the marriages of his numerous daughters. He died on 29th September 1570. Besides Agnes Keith, daughter of William, second Earl Marischal, who died before 1548, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum, who survived him. His sons were :—

1. William Douglas, younger of Glenbervie, only son of Agnes Keith. He, in 1588, succeeded to the earldom and title of Angus, and became NINTH EARL OF ANGUS. Of him a memoir follows.
2. James Douglas was the eldest son of Elizabeth Irvine, and was under fourteen at his father's death.⁵ He was ancestor of the Douglasses of Whytrigs and of Sylvester Douglas, LORD GLENBERVIE OF KINCARDINE.
3. John, who is named in his father's testament on 28th September 1570.
4. Archibald, also mentioned in his father's testament. No subsequent notice has been found of these two sons.

The daughters were :—

1. Elizabeth, who married, contract dated 1st June 1543,⁶ Alexander Falconer, younger of Halkerton, ancestor of the Earl of Kintore, and had issue.
2. Margaret, married John Erskine of Balhagartie (now Pittodrie).⁷

¹ Antiquities of Aberdeen, etc., vol. iii. p. 481.

² Original Writs in Douglas Charter-chest, 8th and 9th February 1554-5.

³ 4th March 1554. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, vol. ii. p. 385.

⁴ 6th March 1558-9. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 249.

⁵ Testament and Inventory of the goods of

the late Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, who died 29th September 1570. Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments, vol. xii. 18th March 1582. H.M. General Register House.

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 232.

⁷ Discharge to Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, for their tochers, by seven of his daughters and their husbands [no date, circa 1568], in Douglas Charter-chest.

3. Marjory, who married Andrew Keith of Ravenscraig.¹
4. Christian, who married Alexander Irvine, younger of Beltie. In their marriage-contract, which is dated at Banchory Ternan, 23d May 1555, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, and Robert Irvine of Beltie, agree that Alexander Irvine, grandson and apparent heir of Robert, or failing him his brother, Robert Irvine, junior, should marry Christian, or failing her, Jane Douglas, with a tocher of seven hundred merks. Christian Irvine died about 1568.²
5. Joan, who married James Skene, apparent of that Ilk, and had issue.³
6. Isabel, who married James Melville, younger of Dysart, called James Melville of Allegevin. Contract of marriage dated 1st March 1562.⁴ They had issue three sons and six daughters—Robert, Richard, and David, and Elspeth, Martha, Magdalene, Christian, Katharine, and Agnes. They were all alive in 1581.⁵
7. Alice, who married, contract dated 28th December 1567,⁶ Alexander Guthrie, younger of Kincaldrum.
8. Agnes. 9. Marion. These two daughters are mentioned in the inventory of their father's estate as his creditors, in virtue of their mother's testament, and therefore were probably, with their seven previously named sisters, the daughters of Agnes Keith.
10. Katherine. 11. Sara. Sara is specially referred to in her father's will as a daughter of Elizabeth Irvine, who was also apparently the mother of Katherine.

¹ General Discharge, *ut supra*.

² Contract in Douglas Charter-chest;
General Discharge, *ut supra*.

³ General Discharge, *ut supra*.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 251.

⁵ Testament Dative of Isobel Douglas,
Lady of Dysart. Commissariat of Edinburgh.
Testaments, vol. x. 22d March 1581. H.M.
General Register House.

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 263.

GAVIN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, THIRD SON OF ARCHIBALD,
FIFTH EARL OF ANGUS.

1474—1522.

HE was born, it is said, about the year 1474, and was educated for the Church. He became highly distinguished in literature, and his biography has been frequently written. He was a student of the University of St. Andrews from 1489 to 1494, and afterwards became at a later date parson of East Linton and rector of Prestonkirk, both in East Lothian. He was also entitled to draw the teinds or tithes of the parish of Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, and in 1497 the king's writ was issued to enforce payment of his dues.¹ About the year 1501, Gavin Douglas was made provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh, a situation of dignity and emolument which he may have owed partly to his family influence, and partly to his allegorical poem, *The Palice of Honour*, written not long before, and addressed to King James the Fourth. Between his appointment to St. Giles and the battle of Flodden in 1513, little is known of him, but three weeks after the battle he was made a burghess of Edinburgh, of which town his father was then provost.²

After 1513, Douglas, who had devoted himself to literature, especially his great work, the translation of the *Æneid* of Virgil, turned his attention also to politics. The marriage of his nephew, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, with Queen Margaret, the widow of King James the Fourth, led Douglas to hope for Church preferment, and also, it would appear, for office in the State. As regards this, however, though at first his hopes seemed likely to be realised, he was not wholly successful. He was appointed to act on behalf of the queen before the Lords of Council, and at a later date, in September 1514, his nephew arrested the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, and compelled him to deliver up the great seal to Gavin Douglas, who held it for about two months. At this time he was a postulate for, or in expectation of the Abbacy of Arbroath, of which, however, he was disappointed. In the beginning of 1515, the Queen of Scots and her brother, Henry the Eighth of England, made strenuous efforts to obtain the archbishopric of St. Andrews for him, and he is said to

¹ *Antiquities of Aberdeen, etc.*, vol. iii.
p. 483.

² *Charters of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles*, Bannatyne Club, 1859, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

have taken possession of the castle of St. Andrews. But he was not able to maintain himself there, even with the aid of his nephew and an armed force, and was forced to leave the fortress.

Shortly after this, the see of Dunkeld became vacant, and Queen Margaret, with other friends of Douglas, at once made application to the Pope on his behalf. The papal letters conferring the benefice, and also appointing Gavin Douglas guardian of the young princes, were intercepted by John, Duke of Albany, who then assumed the government of Scotland. As application to the Papal See for a Scottish benefice was in violation of various Acts of Parliament, Albany accused Douglas before the Council, and the bishop-elect was imprisoned for nearly a year.

On regaining his liberty Douglas went through the ceremony of consecration, first at Glasgow, and again at St. Andrews by Archbishop Forman, who had been his successful rival in the contest for the primacy, and who subjected him to a humiliating ceremony of submission to the see of St. Andrews. When the bishop went to Dunkeld to take possession of his see, he could not obtain access to the episcopal palace, which was occupied by the partisans of a rival claimant, Andrew Stewart, a brother of the Earl of Athole. Douglas received the homage of the canons of the cathedral in the dean's house, when the proceedings were interrupted by information that Stewart was advancing with an armed force to aid his friends in the palace and steeple of the church. Douglas, however, the next day received so strong a reinforcement, both of horse and foot, from his friends in Angus, that in the end he compelled the surrender of the palace and steeple, which was effected without bloodshed. The questions in dispute between the rivals, Stewart and Douglas, were then referred to the Lords of Council, who arranged a settlement. After this Bishop Douglas and his diocese had peace for a time, and among other public works in which he engaged was the erection of a bridge, which had been begun by his predecessor, and was continued by Douglas.

In 1517 the bishop was an ambassador to France. The Duke of Albany left Scotland for a time, and during his absence Douglas shared in the government with his nephew, but on the return of Albany in 1521, the party of Angus and his uncle were deposed from power. The bishop was sent as an envoy on behalf of his nephew, with full instructions to deal with Cardinal Wolsey, but his negotiations failed through the faint-heartedness of Angus himself, a fact which the bishop deeply bewails in his letters.¹ In 1522 another attempt was made to obtain for Douglas the See of St. Andrews, but he was either again unsuccessful, or the negotiations ceased by his death. He died of the plague in London in the month of September 1522, and was buried

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 77-86.

in the Hospital Church of the Savoy. The monumental brass which marked his resting-place is still preserved.¹

Bishop Douglas is most widely known, however, not by his political or ecclesiastical career, but by his poetical works, which, so far as extant, are "The Palice of Honour," and "King Hart," two allegorical pieces, a short poem styled "Conscience," and the work by which he is best remembered, his metrical translation of the *Æneid* of Virgil. These, with others not now known to exist, were, it is believed, written between 1500 and 1513, the year in which he finished his translation.² Godscroft says he left a natural daughter, Margaret, who married Semple of Fulwood.³

¹ The Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, edited by John Small, M. A., 1874, vol. i. pp. i-cxxvii. Bishop Douglas died at the house of Lord Dacre, in the parish of St. Clement's, London, between the 10th day of September 1522, when he made his will, and the 19th of

that month, when the will was proved. He left various legacies to kinsfolk and servants, and appointed his "german" or brother, Archibald Douglas [of Kilspindie], one of his executors.

² The Works of Gavin Douglas, *ut supra*.

³ *Ide* p. 139, *postea*.

*Gavin Douglas
of Dunblat*



ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS OF KILSPINDIE, "GREYSTEEL," SOMETIME
TREASURER OF SCOTLAND AND PROVOST OF EDINBURGH,
FOURTH SON OF "BELL THE CAT."

Circa 1480—circa 1540.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS is usually said to be the son of Katherine Stirling ; but as he is described by his brother, Gavin Douglas, in the latter's will, as his "german," or brother-german, he was more probably the son of Elizabeth Boyd. This is corroborated by his appearing as a witness to a charter by his father so early as 1509. He was also present at the signing of the marriage-contract of his niece, Alison Douglas, in March 1510.¹ Godscroft states that King James the Fifth, when a child, was very fond of Douglas, and was wont to call him his "Greysteel," after the hero of a popular ballad. In 1515 he acted on behalf of his nephew, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, as keeper of Douglas Castle.² In November 1519 he was chosen Provost of Edinburgh in opposition to the Earl of Arran, though he afterwards resigned office in consequence of an edict by the Duke of Albany forbidding a Hamilton or a Douglas to be elected provost.³ At a later date, however, Archibald Douglas was again made Provost of Edinburgh, and as such appears in Parliament in 1526.

During the period when the sixth Earl of Angus was in power his uncle Archibald was one of his councillors, and took part in the agreement in 1525 between the Earls of Angus, Argyll, and Lennox, for maintaining the authority of the young king, James the Fifth.⁴ In 1526 Archibald Douglas received from the king a grant of the forfeited goods of John, Lord Lindsay.⁵ In the same year also he was a commissioner for holding the Parliament, and a member of the Privy Council.⁶ He held the office of Treasurer of Scotland from June 1526 for about two years, and his influence must have been considerable. This is shown by the fact that after the forfeiture of the Douglasses, letters arrived from Flanders addressed to Archibald Douglas as treasurer, offering him money to promote the Scottish king's marriage with a sister or kinswoman of the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 188, 204.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 222.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII.,
vol. ii. No. 779.

⁵ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *239.

³ *Ibid.* No. 1091. Burgh Registers.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,
vol. ii. pp. 300, 304, 318.

Emperor Charles v.¹ But before the letters reached Scotland, the Treasurer was included in the sentence of forfeiture pronounced, on 5th September 1528, against his nephews, Archibald, Earl of Angus, and George Douglas of Pittendreich.²

Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie went to England with his exiled relatives, and took part with them in the numerous forays with which they harassed the Scottish Borders between 1528 and 1533. Some authorities say he also served in France. He tired, however, of exile, and secretly returned to Scotland, hoping to gain the ear of James the Fifth; and Godscroft relates an affecting story of his encounter with the king. Douglas, he says, taking occasion while the king was hunting in Stirling Park, threw himself in the monarch's way as the latter returned to the castle. The king saw him at a distance, and remarked to one of his attendants, Yonder is my Greysteel, Archibald of Kilspindie, if he be alive. The attendant expressed a doubt. but as the king drew near, Douglas fell upon his knees, and craved pardon, promising to meddle no more with politics. To this the king made no reply, but continued to ride at a good round pace up the hill. Kilspindie followed, and though he wore a secret coat of mail, he arrived at the castle gate as soon as the king. There he sat down on a stone outside the castle, and begged the royal servants for a drink, as he was weary and thirsty, but they fearing the king's displeasure, refused. King James afterwards rebuked them for this discourtesy, and sent a message to Kilspindie to go to Leith and wait his pleasure. A further order was sent to him to retire to France for a little while, which Douglas did, but died there shortly after.³

Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie married, about 1515, a lady who is described as "a rich widow in Edinburgh." This was probably Isobel Hoppar, who is named as his spouse in a royal charter of 1526, and survived her husband.⁴ They had a son—

ARCHIBALD, who succeeded to his father when the forfeiture was recalled in 1543.

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 5044.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 322-324, 326.

³ Godscroft's History, edition 1644, p. 262. The date on which this incident occurred is given in a nearly contemporary record as 29th August 1534. [Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, 1513-1571, Bannatyne Club, p. 19.]

⁴ Thomas Magnus, English Ambassador at

the Scottish Court, writing in 1528, remarks that Archibald Douglas was "totally ordered" by his wife. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 356; Letters and Papers, etc., vol. ii. No. 779; iv. No. 4986.] As relict of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie she granted a discharge, on 18th July 1536, to William, Abbot of Crossraguel, for 100 merks, part of a sum due for the surrender of the ward and non-entry of the Earl of Cassillis. [Original in Charter-chest of the Marquis of Ailsa.]

and was afterwards Provost of Edinburgh from 1553 to 1557, and from 1559 to 1565. During the first term of his provostship he had apparently given offence to Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and other Crichtons, who, on 18th August 1556, with an armed force of two hundred and eighty men, made search for him in the town of Aberlady to kill him, but he escaped.¹ In another case, he was less fortunate; a tailor attacked him and his servant in his own house, and wounded both severely with a dagger. The tailor was condemned to ask pardon of the Provost and the community in the public market-place, and then to be banished from the town.² In 1561 Kilspindie, with the other magistrates, acting no doubt by the advice of John Knox and others, issued an order against the Abbot of Unreason. This incensed the craftsmen and their apprentices, and led to a riot, and when one of the ringleaders was sentenced to be hanged, the apprentices, or "crafts-childer," mustered in force, demolished the gallows and released the victim. They also besieged the provost and bailies, first in the town-clerk's office, and then in the Tolbooth, amid throwing of stones and firing of guns. The siege continued for five hours, and "never ane man of the town sterit to defend thair provost and bailies." The Constable of the castle was called in to mediate, and a general amnesty was agreed on before the apprentices dispersed.³ In October 1561 Archibald Douglas was for a time deposed from the provostship, because of the Queen's anger at a proclamation commanding all monks, priests, and papists to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. He was, however, reinstated a few months later, and continued to be provost until deposed by a royal order on 24th August 1565, for what cause is not known.⁴ Archibald Douglas, second of Kilspindie, left descendants. Archibald Douglas, younger of Kilspindie, is referred to in 1573.⁵ Patrick Douglas of Kilspindie, is named at intervals from 1585 to 1612, and he had a son also named Patrick.⁶ No male descendant of the Kilspindie branch is now known to exist.

Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, "Greysteel," had also a natural son Alexander, for whom the bishopric of Moray was solicited from the Pope both by King James the Fifth and King Henry the Eighth, but the forfeiture of the Douglasses put an end to his preferment.⁷

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *393.

² *Ibid.* p. *399.

³ *Ibid.* p. *409; Diurnal of Occurrents, etc., pp. 65, 66. ⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 69, 81. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 329.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 419; vol. iii. p. 373; vol. iv. p. 511.

⁷ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 16; Letters and Papers, etc., vol. iv. No. 4303.

Archibald Douglas

V.—1. GEORGE DOUGLAS, MASTER OF ANGUS,
ELDEST SON OF "BELL THE CAT."

ELIZABETH DRUMMOND (OF DRUMMOND), HIS WIFE.

1469—1513.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, the eldest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, and Elizabeth Boyd, his first Countess,¹ was probably born in or about the year 1469. Of his early years nothing is recorded. But in 1485, before he became of age, arrangements were made by his father for his marriage with Margaret, eldest daughter of Laurence, first Lord Oliphant, or, failing her, with one of her sisters.² Margaret Oliphant probably died before the marriage could be completed, as she never became the wife of George Douglas, and no further mention of her is found. Circumstances point to some peaceful cancelling of the marriage arrangements, as Lord Oliphant countenanced the marriage of the Master of Angus to another lady.³

This lady whom George, Master of Angus, married, was Elizabeth, daughter of John, first Lord Drummond. She had previously been married to Sir David Fleming,⁴ who died shortly after the marriage. Her second

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 3543.

² Vol. iii. of this work. 20th July 1485.

³ As a witness to charters then made in the Master's favour. *Ibid.* p. 122.

⁴ Sir David Fleming was eldest son of Malcolm, eldest son of Robert, Lord Fleming. Malcolm died before his father, leaving his

eldest son, David, heir to Robert, Lord Fleming. On the resignation of his grandfather in 1480 Sir David Fleming was infeft in the family estates, which were scattered through six counties in Scotland. [*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 1453.] But he also predeceased Robert, Lord Fleming.

marriage with the Master of Angus took place apparently before March 1487-8.¹ Several years after they were married it was discovered that the marriage was not in accordance with canonical law, as George, Master of Angus, was related to Sir David Fleming in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and, to obviate the difficulty, a papal dispensation was obtained.² Opportunity was taken of the marriage of the Master to settle the greater part of the Angus estates upon him, the Earl, his father, retaining the liferent use of the lands so granted. On 31st January and 1st February 1488-9, the Earl made formal resignation in the hands of King James the Fourth at Holyrood of his lordships of Tantallon, Douglasdale, Liddesdale, Ewesdale, Eskdale, Selkirk, and Jedburgh Forest. On that resignation a Crown charter of these lands was granted in favour of the Master. The lands of Boncle and Preston were likewise resigned by the Earl, and given in conjunct-fee to the Master and his spouse, Elizabeth Drummond.³

The Master of Angus made, so far as appears on record, his first appearance in Parliament in the session of January 1487-8.⁴ This was the last Parliament held by King James the Third. As already narrated in the previous

¹ Original Discharges by Archibald, Earl of Angus, to John, Lord Drummond, for instalments of tocher, dated March 1487, 1489, 22d September 1493, at Drummond Castle. See also vol. iii. of this work, p. 121. The whole tocher was two thousand merks, and respecting the payment of a large portion of it, the Earl of Angus and John, Lord Drummond, engaged in litigation before the Lords of Council in 1491-2. [Acta Dominorum Concilii, pp. 207, 221.]

² Original Dispensation, dated 3d December 1495, at Drummond Castle. See also vol. iii. of this work.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 121-123. Also Instruments of Resignation, dated 1st February 1488-9; Sasine of Boncle and Preston was taken on 24th February, and of Douglasdale and other lands on 4th June 1489. [Original Documents in Douglas Charter-chest.]

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 180-184. During this Parliament, among others who were made lords of Parliament, John Drummond of Cargill was created Lord Drummond. It may also be noted that, at the same Parliament, William Douglas of Cavers, on bended knee, surrendered his privilege of regality over his lands of Cavers.

memoir, immediately after its adjournment, a great part of the nobility transferred their allegiance from King James the Third to his son, Prince James, insisting on reform in the administration, or the abdication of the king in favour of the young prince. History is silent as to the part taken by the Master of Angus; but it is not improbable that, although his father remained at Court, he took an active part on the side of Prince James in the hostilities which ensued, and which culminated in the battle of Sauchieburn and the tragic assassination of the King.

The Master of Angus does not appear to have accompanied his father, the Earl, to England, although his name was included in the bond made by the Earl with King Henry the Seventh, in the end of the year 1489. He was present and took part in the deliberations of the Parliament held at Edinburgh in February 1489-90,¹ apparently while his father was yet absent in England. On the Earl's return, and the discovery of his treasonable dealings with King Henry, the Master would be also the victim of the royal resentment, and as fiar of the lordship of Liddesdale, would be obliged to consent to its exchange first for Kilmarnock, and then for Bothwell.²

Beyond being involved in some litigation,³ the Master of Angus is scarcely mentioned in record, even during the period when his father was Chancellor of Scotland. In 1492 he resigned Drumalbane, Uddington and Lekeliok in Douglasdale, when they were granted to Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs, on his marriage with Lady Marion Douglas, eldest sister of the Master;⁴ and in 1496 he acted as one of the arbiters in the dispute between his father and John, Earl of Crawford, respecting the barony of Crawford Lindsay.⁵ It was during the chancellorship of the Earl of Angus that King James the Fourth

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 216.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 127-135.

³ Acta Dominorum Concilii, pp. 130, 191, 221, 316.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2102.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 155-157.

paid his visit to Drummond, and there fell in love with the Master's sister-in-law, the beautiful Lady Margaret Drummond. Had the wish of the king to marry Lady Margaret been carried out, she would have been the third Drummond lady who became Queen of Scotland. The tragic and mysterious fate which a few years afterwards befel her and two other daughters of John, Lord Drummond, is well known.

From 1499, George, Master of Angus, appears as taking a more prominent part both in political life, and also in the affairs of his paternal estates. Although he had received the fee of the lordships of Eskdale and Ewesdale on his marriage, he had not up to this time taken formal sasine of them.¹ Meanwhile these districts had become notorious for the lawlessness of their inhabitants. To save his vassals and tenants the Master entered into an agreement with Sir Robert Lundy of Balgony, Treasurer of Scotland, by which, in return for a free pardon to the inhabitants of Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Wauchopedale, he was to pay one thousand pounds into the Treasury, and become surety for delivering up any of his tenants at the Justice Court of Dumfries, if charged with any crimes in future, so long as he had possession of the lands. This indenture was made on 17th April 1499,² and on 5th July following he took formal infeftment in the lands.³

The Master of Angus was thereupon appointed by King James the Fourth, Governor of Eskdale, or Warden of the bounds of Eskdale,⁴ both of which titles he bears in connection with negotiations regarding the maintenance of peace on the Borders, with Thomas, Lord Dacre, in the close of the same year. A day for "redding the Marches" had been appointed by the

¹ His father, the Earl, took sasine of Eskdale only in 1495. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 151.]

² *Ibid.* pp. 167, 168. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 168-170.

⁴ There is an entry in the Treasurer's

Accounts of a payment, on 10th March 1501, by the King to Duncan Riche, to pass to the Master of Angus with the "portowse" (roll of indictments) of Eskdale. [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 117*.]

two Wardens, to be held at Canonbie in Eskdale, when Dacre demanded redress of several complaints which he had made against marauding Scots. The Master pointed out that he had received the "bills" (as the complaints were termed) from the king only on the previous day, and had not had time to summon those accused to answer for themselves, and it was not their custom to convict any one unheard. Lord Dacre further complained that bills presented to the Master more than six months previously had not been dealt with, and was reminded that at his own instance the hearing of these had been deferred to the 1st of March next. After some discussion of special cases, the wardens parted without coming to any definite conclusion, and the whole question was referred to the Privy Council. They, with consent of the Master of Angus, and a representative of Lord Dacre, appointed a day of final redress to be held at Dumfries.¹ But Eskdale was lost to the Douglasses about three years after this, having been resigned apparently as the price of the liberation of the Earl of Angus from imprisonment in Dumbarton.²

During his wardenry on the Borders, an instance occurred of the Master being required to fulfil his engagement to the Treasurer. One of his vassals, Symon Scott of Arkyn, had been convicted of theft from the English,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 170-174. The Master of Angus was consulted by the Council on 24th April 1500, and explained in presence of the lords some points of Border law. [Bal-four's Practicks, p. 596.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 178-180. The king appears to have retained Eskdale in his own hands for some time, but it afterwards passed into the hands of the Maxwells. In the autumn of 1504 James the Fourth held a justice ayre at Dumfries, and from that place made an unexpected raid upon Eskdale, to the consternation of the Border thieves, not a few

of whom paid the last penalty of the law at the "Hullirbus" and Canonbie. The raid was planned some time before it was executed. In June the king sent Bute pursuivant to the King of England to secure his co-operation on the English side of the Border, but it was August before he visited the district. Preparations were largely made during the interval, and when the king was in Eskdale, Lord Dacre was close at hand to supply all needful assistance. [Treasurer's Accounts for 1504, quoted by Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 121*.]

to the value of two hundred angel-nobles English, for restitution of which one of the servants of the deceased Sir Robert Ker, a knight of the king's household, had been left in the hands of the English. The Master of Angus should have relieved this man by entering Simon Scott, or one of his associates of sufficient value, at the manor of Halydene, and on his failing to do so, Ralph Ker of Primsidloch, executor of Sir Robert Ker, obtained a charter of apprising from King James the Fourth of the lands of Fawside, in Jedburgh Forest, with right of redemption within seven years.¹ These and other lands were afterwards redeemed.²

In less than a month after the granting of this charter of apprising the Master of Angus was fined £10 for failure to bring to justice a notorious riever named Davidson, known popularly as "Grace behind him." He had been included oftener than once in the "porteous" sent to the Master, but had never been arrested.³ Perhaps a suspicion of over-leniency on the part of the Master to his own dependants had something to do with the enforced resignation of Eskdale during the same month.

The Master is frequently mentioned as exercising his feudal rights as superior over the Angus estates,⁴ and during the remaining years of his life a number of important transactions affecting the estates took place. Already Liddesdale and Eskdale had been given over at the will of the king, and in 1506 Ewesdale also was resigned in the hands of the sovereign, who afterwards granted that lordship to Alexander, Lord Home.⁵ This withdrew the Anguses altogether from Dumfriesshire and the Middle Marches. In the following year the king resumed possession of the lordship of Selkirk on account of the larger portion of it having been alienated without the king's consent, and the same fate befel the barony of Crawford Lindsay, which had

¹ 21st October 1502. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 2676.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 180, 190.

³ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 34*.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 188, etc.

⁵ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 2962.

only recently been bestowed upon the Earl of Angus. Of both these lordships, however, the king renewed grants to George, Master of Angus, and in return for the Master's services changed the name of the latter barony from Crawford-Lindsay to Crawford-Douglas.¹

The Master obtained from his father, the Earl, between 1509 and 1511, further grants of the Angus estates of Kirriemuir, Abernethy, and the lands of Horsehopeleuch in Berwickshire, which by annexation formed part of the barony of Bothwell in Lanarkshire.²

The Master of Angus appears occasionally to have sat on the judicial bench with the Lords of Council, in a civil capacity,³ and he is also frequently mentioned in the position of a litigant. On one occasion the Master pursued John, Lord Fleming, and Robert Burn for five hundred pounds, as damages for vexing and disturbing him and his spouse, Elizabeth Drummond, in their peaceable enjoyment of the third parts of the lordship of Cumbernauld, and of the other lands in which Sir David Fleming died seised. In the settlement of the case an agreement was made that for past molestation no damages should be sought, and an obligation granted by Lord Fleming and Burn was confirmed by the Lords of Council, whereby in the event of future disturbance of the Master and his spouse, the sum sued for became the penalty.⁴ A few months later, through his marriage with Euphemia, daughter of John, Lord Drummond, John, Lord Fleming, had become the brother-in-law of the Master,⁵ and it was afterwards arranged between them that Lord Fleming should lease from the Master the third part of the Nether Forest of Cumbernauld, and give him, as an equivalent, a lease

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 3206, 3532; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 186, 198, 200.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 187, 199; also Original Charters and Sasines in Douglas

Charter-chest; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3543.

³ Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 385.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 409.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 2310.

of the two-thirds of the East Mains of Kirkintilloch. These reciprocal leases were so arranged as to duration, that if either party surrendered his lease, the other lease at once became void.¹

The Master was also involved for some years in a litigation respecting Edmondsfield, a part of his barony of Boncle. George Roule of Edmondsfield, probably son of Andrew Roule of Prymside, whose name frequently appears in the Douglas charters of the fifteenth century, claimed to have been formally and legally infeft in these lands by charter and sasine from Archibald, Earl of Angus. That Earl's mother, Countess Isobel Sibbald, on the strength of a promise of these lands from her son, obtained, in 1487, a decree of the Lords of Council giving her the lands. Roule obtained a reduction of this decree in February 1489-90 from the same tribunal, who adjudged one-third to the Countess in respect of her terce, and gave the rest to him.² At this same time a lawsuit was pending between Roule and the Master of Angus, in which the latter was adjudged to fulfil an obligation he lay under to Roule, namely, to pay him one hundred merks for his surrender of a portion of the ward of Dalhousie held by him.³

This George Roule had been appointed by the fifth Earl of Angus bailie of the barony of Boncle, and captain and constable of the tower of Boncle. He had held the fortalice for the Earl during the civil war which attended the accession of King James the Fourth, as well as the subsequent operations directed by that king against the Earl of Angus himself, and by the Earl's own instructions maintained a watchman and porter in the tower for the four years over which these military activities lasted. Immediately afterwards he appears to have been deprived of his office of bailie of Boncle, and ejected from the castle of Boncle by George, Master of Angus. In 1495 Roule brought an action before the Lords of Council against both the Earl and the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 184, 185.

² *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, p. 145; *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 180. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Master of Angus, and, in default of their appearance to defend the case, decree was passed against them on the evidence produced by Roule. By this decision the Earl of Angus was required to infeft Roule in land in Boncle of the value of ten merks, until such time as he should pay to him one hundred merks in terms of an indenture between them, and also pay £30 in name of loss incurred by Roule through being deprived of that land for three years. He was ordained to repon him in his office of bailie of Boncle, with the keeping of the castle, and maintain and defend him therein for life in terms of the Earl's letters of bailiary, and also pay him £20 for loss sustained through deprivation of office for three years. The Lords of Council further decreed that the Earl should pay £80 as the cost of the watchman and porter during the four years mentioned; and they expressed their opinion that, so far as they had seen, the Master of Angus had done wrong in ejecting Roule, and enjoined upon him to desist from further vexation of his bailie.¹

The ejection of Roule is distinctly laid at the door of the Master, who probably inspired the other proceedings against him also; but the decision of the Council appears to have been acquiesced in. Several documents in the Douglas Charter-chest, however, show the revival of the disagreement about ten years later. On the death of George Roule, the bailie, the Master of Angus resumed possession of the lands. But Roule's son and heir, also named George, prosecuted his claim in the usual form. At the court of the Sheriff-depute of Berwickshire constituted for serving George Roule heir to his father in Edmondsfield, the Master demanded the production of his infeftment. This was met by exhibition of a sasine, which was impugned.² The Sheriff and the jury decided in favour of Roule as heir to his father, and the Master proceeded against the Sheriff-depute and the jury, but was obliged to grant precept for Roule's infeftment, which he did under protest, that as he

¹ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 427.

² Original Notarial Instrument, dated 1st April 1505, in Douglas Charter-chest.

had been compelled to issue such precept under pain of disobedience to the Crown, it should not be prejudicial to his claim, nor to his process against those who had retoured Roule.¹ On sasine being given, the Master was present, and annulled it in the usual form, by breaking a platter, and protesting against the alleged intrusion.² He also met Roule's ejection of his servants from Edmondsfield, by sending Angus Herald with a protest against the proceedings.³

The Master was further involved in litigation with Sir William Douglas of Cavers, who pursued him for undue delay in fulfilling a contract of marriage made between them on behalf of William Douglas, younger of Cavers, and Alison Douglas, daughter of the Master. Two hundred and fifty merks were agreed upon as dowry, but the term of payment was past, and as the marriage treaty was apparently broken off, the penalty of £500 agreed upon in the contract was now sued for.⁴ The final result of that litigation has not been ascertained; but Alison Douglas was, about five years later, married to Robert, son and heir of Andrew Blackadder of that Ilk.⁵

About the same time the Master arranged the marriage of his daughter Margaret to John Hay, son and heir of John, Lord Hay of Yester;⁶ and he also arranged the marriage of his eldest son and heir, Archibald, afterwards sixth Earl of Angus, with Margaret Hepburn, sister of Adam, Earl of Bothwell, with whom and his curators, as he was under age at this time, the contract was made.⁷

¹ Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 30th April, containing Precept of Sasine, which is dated 28th April 1505, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Original Instrument of Annulment of Sasine, dated 30th April 1505, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 183. The herald's name was John Crauston.

⁴ Summons dated 17th January 1505-6. in Cavers Charter-chest.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 203. 13th March 1510-11.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 190, 193, 206.

⁷ The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 117. 26th June 1509.

The last family transaction in which the Master of Angus is mentioned as taking part was the submission to a very influential body of arbiters of the claims of Elizabeth Auchinleck, who was the wife of his next brother, Sir William Douglas, to the lands of Glenbervie, which she claimed as the heiress of her grandmother and grand-aunt, the former owners of Glenbervie. On behalf of his sister-in-law the Master and Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn, became cautioners that she would abide by the decision at which the arbiters might arrive.¹

George, Master of Angus, does not appear to have taken any active part in the political affairs of the nation, further than acting as Warden on the Eskdale portion of the Middle Marches before these lands were lost to the family of Angus. Along with his father and next brother William, however, he accompanied King James the Fourth to the fatal field of Flodden. The withdrawal of the Earl of Angus from the host, and his affectionate encouragement of his two sons to support, with the old bravery of their family, the cause of their king and country, and to maintain unsullied the Douglas reputation, and save the standard of their house, have already been narrated.

Godscroft relates that when King James observed the battle going against him, the left wing of his army under Argyll and Lennox having been dispersed, he dismounted to continue the battle on foot. Perceiving the Master of Angus in front of him, and still mounted, the king called him, and in a taunting tone asked if it were the fashion of his ancestors to fight on horseback, their prince being on foot. Dismounting, the Master retorted, in allusion to the king's still wearing his coat of mail and royal cognisance, that neither was it the fashion of our kings to fight on foot in their coat-armour. In irritation at the reply, the king threw off his coat of mail and cognisance, saying, I dare fight upon my feet as well as you or any subject I have, and that without my coat-armour and royal cognisance. He then dashed forward

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 210-213.

at the head of his nobles into the thickest of the fight, and fell overpowered by the superior numbers of Surrey's army. Beside him, adds Godscroft, lay twelve Earls and seventeen lords of Scotland. George, Master of Angus, was among the slain. This eventful battle was fought on 9th September 1513.¹

Of his wife, Elizabeth Drummond, no mention has been discovered after the death of the Master, although she appears to have survived him. During his lifetime she is frequently referred to in documents, on one occasion as annulling, with protest and the usual feudal formality of breaking cup and platter, a sasine taken by Peter Carmichael of the lands of Brokholes, part of her conjunct-fee lands. She is here designed spouse of Sir George Douglas of Boncle.² By her George, Master of Angus, had issue three sons and six daughters:—

1. Archibald, who succeeded his grandfather as sixth Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.
2. Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, called also Master of Angus, of whom also a memoir is appended.
3. William Douglas, Prior of Coldingham and Abbot of Holyrood, of whom also a memoir is appended.

The daughters were—

1. Elizabeth, who, before 17th September 1509, married Sir John Hay of Hoprew, in the county of Peebles, afterwards third Lord Yester,³ and had issue. The Marquis of Tweeddale is descended from that marriage.
2. Alison, who, as already noticed, was contracted in marriage to William Douglas, younger of Cavers. But the marriage was not celebrated, and she married, first (contract dated 13th March 1510-11), Robert,

¹ Godscroft's MS. History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, Part II. p. 63. at Hamilton Palace.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 146, 147.

³ *Ibid.* p. 190; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3378.

son and heir of Andrew Blackadder of that Ilk, in the county of Berwick.¹ He fell, it is said, at Flodden on 9th September 1513, leaving by Alison Douglas two daughters, Margaret and Beatrix, who became co-heiresses of their grandfather, Andrew Blackadder.² Alison Douglas survived her husband,³ and married, secondly, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, to whom she had issue three sons and two daughters. Sir David Hume was slain in 1524, and was also survived by Alison Douglas. On 4th August 1527 she received from King James the Fifth a gift of the ward and non-entry of the lands of Jardinefield, Gradene, Dernelchester, Blackadder, and others in Berwickshire.⁴ She was still alive in 1540, when she purchased the lands of Hilton, in Berwickshire, from Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn, for her son, George Hume of Wedderburn.⁵

David Hume of Godscroft, who is so often referred to in this work as the historian of the Douglas family, was the grandson of Alison Douglas, and is eloquent in her praise. Her beauty, virtue, and sterling worth of character, were such that she was esteemed and held in honour by all. King James the Fifth carried his resentment against the Douglases to such an extent that he would

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 203.

² They married respectively Robert and John Hume, younger brothers of their mother's second husband. They carried over to their husbands their respective portions of the Blackadder estates, and in this way was founded the family of Hume of Blackadder. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 2332, 2417, 2862; Familia Humia Wedderburnensi, p. 21.]

³ In a discharge by her, dated 3d August 1518, she designates herself his "relict and

spouse." The original discharge is in the Charter-room at Yester, where there is also a Reversion by Andrew of Blacatyr of that Ilk, nearest and lawful heir to unquhil Baldrid Blackaddre, his father's brother, to John, Lord Hay of Yester, dated at Edinburgh 29th January 1511.

⁴ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, Lib. vii. fol. 85. in Her Majesty's General Register House. Edinburgh.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 2171.

not brook a Douglas, or even a relative or adherent of that race, in his presence. But such, it is said, was his respect for Alison Douglas, that when her eldest son, George Hume, was placed by the king in ward, the otherwise implacable sovereign, according to Godscroft, always received her honourably, and heard her entreaties for her son willingly, although he excused himself for non-compliance with her prayers.

Godscroft further relates an interesting story of how she changed her religion. Brought up in the Romish faith, she was a devout observer of its rites, and liberally entertained the Romish monks, especially those of the order of friars mendicants. Hoping further to engage her favour, these praised her before the people for her devotion to the Virgin Mary, and invented a story which they sedulously disseminated, that happening during Lent to open an oyster, she found enclosed an image of the Virgin. This so displeased her that from that time she would admit none of that fraternity into her presence, and suspected a religion which supported itself by lies. On her deathbed, when pressed by those around to kiss the crucifix, she turned away with the words that her hope was not in trifles such as these, but in Christ, her sure and only Saviour.¹

3. Janet, who married John, sixth Lord Glamis. On account of the interest of her trial and execution on the charge of attempting the life of King James the Fifth, a short account of her life is appended.
4. Margaret, who married, in 1513, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig. He was for many years guardian of the West Marches. Of that marriage there was issue three daughters, Janet, Margaret, and

¹ *Familia Humia Wedderburnensi*, by Hume of Godscroft, pp. 20, 39, 40.

Nicholas. The eldest was married to Sir William Douglas of Coshogle, the second to John Jardine of Applegirth, and the third to John Johnstone, Laird of Johnstone. Margaret Douglas was divorced from Sir James Douglas before 4th January 1539-40, when security was taken for the payment to her by Sir James Douglas of a yearly aliment of one hundred merks.¹

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 2313. Other daughters have been ascribed to George, Master of Angus. One, name unknown, is generally said to have married John, Master of Forbes, who was executed a few days before Lady Glamis on a charge of attempting the life of King James the Fifth in Aberdeen. [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 183*-187*, 198*-200*.]

Another daughter, named Margaret, is said to have married Robert Crawford of Auchinames, in the county of Renfrew. He fell at Flodden, leaving by his wife a daughter, Margaret Crawford, who married Robert Semple of Nobleston, second son of

the Laird of Fulwood. They had three sons, the youngest, David, alone leaving issue, and his grandson, Robert Semple of Nobleston, was in June 1630 retoured heir to Robert Crawford of Auchinames. After the death of her first husband Margaret Douglas married the Laird of Fulwood, her daughter's father-in-law. [Original ms. Genealogy of the Semples of Nobleston, in handwriting of the seventeenth century, *penes* William Fraser, LL.D., Edinburgh.] It is more probable that Margaret Douglas was the natural daughter of Bishop Gavin Douglas, already referred to, page 121, *antea*.

*Elizabeth
of Angus*



VI.—2. SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS OF PITTENDRIECH, MASTER OF ANGUS,
FATHER OF THE REGENT MORTON.

ELIZABETH DOUGLAS (OF PITTENDRIECH), HIS WIFE.

1490—1552.

SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS, also variously known as of Pittendriech and Master of Angus, was the second son of the marriage of George, Master of Angus, son of "Bell the Cat." He was probably born about the year 1490, and would be of full age when his father fell at Flodden in 1513. On the death of his grandfather, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, a few months after that battle, his elder brother, Archibald, succeeded as sixth Earl, and George Douglas became heir-apparent to the earldom, as his elder brother had then no legitimate male issue. He was thus, by the custom of Scotland, styled Master of Angus, and though the Earl afterwards had a son, who also received that title, his death in infancy restored it to Sir George Douglas. David Douglas, the elder son of Sir George, succeeded his uncle Archibald as seventh Earl of Angus, while his younger son, James, became for a time, by special family arrangement, representative of the Dalkeith branch of the house of Douglas, as fourth Earl of Morton, and subsequently swayed the destinies of the realm as Regent of Scotland.

While yet young men, both Sir George Douglas and his brother, the sixth Earl of Angus, were, by the circumstances of the nation, brought into conspicuous prominence, the latter as the responsible chief of the foremost noble house in Scotland, the former as his able adviser and constant supporter. Sir George shared the fortunes and political vicissitudes of his brother, and will therefore come under notice in the memoir of the latter. But apart from the interests of the family, Sir George Douglas developed a faculty of statesmanship and diplomacy, which made him one of the most conspicuous personages of his day. As a politician he exercised an immense influence on the national life of Scotland. On this account, therefore, and as the father of the famous Regent Morton, as well as the progenitor of subsequent Earls of Angus, the life of Sir George Douglas demands more than a merely passing notice.

He married, perhaps shortly after the death of his father, Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendriech, in the county of Elgin. With her he obtained the lands of Pittendriech, Levingshauch, Darele, Caldecoits, the half of Surestoun, and the third of Duffus, all situated in that county.

He espoused the cause of Queen Margaret when John, Duke of Albany, as Regent, demanded the custody of the royal children, King James the Fifth and his brother, Alexander, Duke of Ross. For withstanding the authority of the Regent, Douglas would have been arrested at Stirling, had not the Chamberlain, Lord Home, declined to execute the Regent's command, on the ground that he had not the authority of Parliament, and that the arrestment was the duty of a herald. But both Douglas and the Chamberlain sought safety that night in flight, the former securing himself in Boncle Castle, and the latter in Newark. At the instance of Sir Thomas Dacre, the astute warden of Henry the Eighth on the western borders, Douglas engaged in an attack upon Stirling, with the intention of carrying off the two princes. It was further intended to put George Douglas into the Castle of Stirling to hold it against the forces of Albany. But the enterprise, engaged in only by sixty bold borderers, did not succeed, and in attempting to retreat sixteen of the sixty were slain. On Albany coming to conduct operations in person, Douglas once more fled to the borders, and thence into England. But being assured of the Regent's goodwill, he returned and was received to favour.¹

On Albany's departure for France in June 1516, he took with him, as security for the allegiance of the chief nobility, their eldest sons and heirs-apparent. If George Douglas was not among these, as Lesley says he was arrested and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh² by the Earl of Arran on a charge of complicity with the Homes in the slaughter of M. de la Bastie, he must have been sent to France in the following year, and Albany took occasion to detain him. In a letter to King Henry the Eighth, dated 19th October 1519, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, requests Henry's good offices with Albany and the King of France for his brother's liberation, as he "has been two years detained in France by the Duke of Albany."³ He may not have returned until the Regent himself came back to Scotland in 1521, but he was in Scotland before 7th November 1522, when he granted, at Boncle, a precept of sasine to the lands of Kimmerghame and others, in favour of David Hume of Wedderburn, who had just been restored from forfeiture. Douglas was acting for his brother the Earl, in whose name the precept runs; but it is signed by George Douglas, as Master of Angus.⁴

In 1523 hostilities again broke out between England and Scotland, and the

¹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 779, 783, 788, 879. 1027.

² Lesley, p. 111. Buchanan says his place of imprisonment was Inchgarvie. [Aikman's Ed. vol. ii. p. 277.]

³ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 481.

⁴ Original Precept of Sasine in Laing Collection in the University Library, Edinburgh.

Douglases were also in conflict with the Regent, who had banished the Earl of Angus to France. In the absence of the greater part of the English troops on the Continent, the Earl of Surrey was appointed to defend the Borders against the Scots, and along with Dacre made successful raids into Scotland. He was approached by George Douglas, Lord Home, and David Hume of Wedderburn, who desired to be received to the peace of the English king. Albany was absent from the kingdom procuring succours, promised by the King of France, for the prosecution of the war with England, and the application of Douglas and Home was conditional on the arrival of Albany in Scotland, and, as they put it, the consequent infringement of the liberty of the king, and prosecution of the war.

The suppliants, indeed, were at this time between two fires. Estranged from Albany on the one hand, they were, on the other, menaced with raids from Surrey's troops, and naturally sought to preserve their lands and houses from destruction. On their behalf Surrey wrote to Cardinal Wolsey for instructions as to what he should do if they came in to him, and if in that case he should desist from his intended attack on Home Castle, Jedburgh, and Teviotdale. He thought that if they could be brought in, the East March at least would be secure, for without them Albany could do little in that quarter. In replying Wolsey told Surrey to use his own discretion in making war or forbearing, at the same time not to allow himself to be diverted by "feigned drifts." If he thought it better not to destroy the houses of George Douglas and the Homes, he might admit them upon bonds and hostages never to return to Scotland till the young king was "at his own rule." At the same time he was not to forget that they had formerly broken their oaths, and to do nothing rashly. A few days later Surrey again wrote that if Douglas and the Homes could come to terms with Albany, they were not likely to come to him; but if they did not send their pledges at the time appointed, he would do them some displeasure. Probably they did so; for a day or two later, Surrey wrote to Queen Margaret, who wished to escape from Edinburgh to England, recommending her to employ George Douglas as her escort, as he would serve her best for Angus' sake, and offers to pay him if she will promise £100.¹

When his brother, the Earl, made his escape from France, George Douglas went to England, to expedite his brother's return. Wolsey took advantage of their presence in England to confer with them on Scottish affairs, and after several interviews with them at St. Albans, arranged for the Earl's return into Scotland on the understanding that he should support the interests of England. Wolsey's opinion of George Douglas was that he was "a man of more knowledge and experience than the Earl."²

¹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. iii. Nos. 3325, 3330, 3338, 3361, 3365, 3369. September 1523.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. Nos. 489, 701, 707, 727, 750.

By Wolsey's advice George Douglas was employed as a means of communication between his brother and the English Wardens, and in this capacity letters were written by him from Boncle, Coldstream, and other places on the Borders, to the Wardens, by whom they were usually transmitted in course to Wolsey.¹

The success of the efforts of the Earl to secure the place due to his rank in the councils of the kingdom, soon called George Douglas from the Borders to the capital of Scotland. As one of a council of arbiters in case of dispute, he became a party to the bond of amity and mutual defence entered into by three of the nobles who were appointed guardians of the king's person, Angus, Lennox, and Argyll.² To maintain the position he had gained, constant vigilance was necessary on the part of Angus, and in his brother George he had a firm and reliable supporter. A strong party of the barons made repeated efforts to obtain possession of the person of the king, who was on one occasion removed by the Douglasses to the lodging of the Archbishop of St. Andrews in Edinburgh, where he was "watched nightly" by George Douglas, or by his younger brother, the Prior of Coldingham.³

This was after the Earl of Lennox resiled from the coalition just mentioned. Lennox led a powerful army from the west towards Edinburgh, to deliver the king out of the hands of Angus, who, aided by Arran, marched to Linlithgow to meet the advancing host. They took the king with them; but he, unwilling to be carried forth of Edinburgh for such a purpose, delayed the march, by pleading indisposition. He was accordingly left behind in charge of George Douglas, who, becoming enraged with the king, upbraided him sharply. When the opposing armies met at Linlithgow, George Douglas and the king had only reached Corstorphine, and hearing the noise of the battle already begun, Douglas said to the king, "Before the enemy shall take thee from us, if thy body should be torn in pieces, we shall have a part,"—a remark, it is said, which the king never forgot, and which made his future reconciliation with George Douglas an impossibility.⁴ After the return of the Douglasses and the king to Edinburgh, George Douglas was still guardian of the royal person, and is mentioned as sometimes in sole charge of the king there while Angus and the other lords were in the country on their own business.⁵

Lennox was defeated, and lost his life in this enterprise. His discomfiture was

¹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 766, 768, 803, 945, 1047, 1058; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 89, 98.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 222.

³ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII.,

vol. iv. No. 2449.

⁴ Buchanan's History, by Aikman, vol. ii. p. 293.

⁵ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2575.

followed by the forfeiture of the barons and others who had assisted him. George Douglas was rewarded for his services by a gift of the escheat of Sir John Stirling of Keir, which included not only the lands and castle of Keir, but many other lands in the county of Perth, and the lands of Balcarres in Fife. Charters of these were granted by King James the Fifth on 22d November 1526,¹ and ratified in Parliament three days later, along with the gift of the ward and marriage of the heir of Calder.² The gift, however, was not long enjoyed, for Sir John Stirling brought an action of reduction in Parliament in May 1527, and succeeded in obtaining a unanimous decision in his favour on the ground that sentence of forfeiture had been pronounced on the day before that assigned in his summons for the trial, and consequently without his being heard in his own defence.³ When, in the following year, 1528, the Douglasses were forfeited and banished from the kingdom, King James the Fifth compensated Sir John Stirling liberally for the short confiscation of his estates, by bestowing upon him, with other lands, all the lands and possessions of George Douglas.⁴ During the supremacy of his brother George Douglas held some important office of State. Maitland calls him Chamberlain of Scotland, but Lindsay says he was Master of the Royal Household.

The fall of the Douglasses at this time is said to have been facilitated by a step taken by the Earl of Angus, against the strongly expressed warnings of his more clear-sighted brother George,—the re-admission to a share in the government of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.⁵ This prelate, along with the Queen, had supported, if not instigated, the attempt of Lennox, and when Angus followed up his victory, he was forced to fly to concealment, while his castle and other houses were spoiled. Eventually Beaton succeeded in purchasing peace from the now supreme family of Douglas, and George Douglas, although averse to the return of the Archbishop, was ultimately induced to consent, and accepted the sum of a thousand merks as a gift from the prelate. The story told by Lindsay of Pitscottie, and copied by later historians, of the escape of King James the Fifth from Falkland Palace to

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 396, 397. He had also a gift from the king on 21st August of this year, 1526, of the rents of his wife's lands, which may at the time have been attached for treason, as in the month of October following David Douglas of Pittendriech obtained a remission for the crime of rebellion. [Registrum Secreti Sigilli, Lib. vi.

fols. 20, 34.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 316.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 318-320.

⁴ 5th September 1528. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 635, 636, 637.

⁵ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2788.

Stirling, in which George Douglas is made to play an important part, is fictitious, as will be shown in the memoir of the sixth Earl of Angus. But he was included in the proceedings taken by James against that Earl, shared in his forfeiture, and was compelled to accompany him in his exile into England.¹

During the remainder of the life of King James the Fifth, George Douglas was not permitted to return to Scotland. He sojourned for the greater part of fourteen years on the English side of the border, and during the earlier period of his exile resided for several years with Dacre at Naworth, in Cumberland, where one of the rooms was called George Douglas's chamber.² As the best diplomatist he was frequently deputed by his exiled relatives to go to the English Court at London, and settle the terms of their residence in England with King Henry the Eighth. Through his negotiations that king granted an annual pension of a thousand merks to the Earl of Angus, and George Douglas also obtained pensions of smaller amount for himself and his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie.³ These were paid up to the time of the reconciliation of the Douglasses with the Scottish Court.⁴ King Henry had such confidence in George Douglas, who was reported by the English officers as most diligent to serve him, that he sometimes admitted him to his councils.⁵

In the raids of the English into Scotland, George Douglas was a valuable ally, and distinguished himself as a soldier, as well as a diplomatist. Edrington Castle, or Cawmills, an old tower in the parish of Mordington and county of Berwick, was captured on one occasion, and it was deemed advisable to retain and fortify this tower against the Scots, as a military outpost, and a point of strategic importance. The Earl of Northumberland, as Warden of the Marches, in December 1532, placed it under the charge of George Douglas, who had considerable correspondence about it with the Border Wardens and the English Court. Douglas represented that it was a place of small strength unless it underwent large repairs, when it might be made cause of much displeasure to Scotland and ease to the Borders. He even went to London to persuade the king to undertake the work. But it was delayed from time to time, and the place remained in so ruinous a condition, that feeling himself

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 324-328.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. vii., 1534, No. 676. There was also at this time among Dacre's possessions at Naworth a plain gold cup, engraved with the Douglas arms, probably a present from the Douglasses

to the English Warden. [*Ibid.*]

³ *Ibid.* vol. iv. Nos. 4851, 4859, Appendix 206; vol. v. pp. 303, 317, 321, 324, No. 1286.

⁴ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 239, 364.

⁵ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. vi. Nos. 235, 498.

unable, with any hope of success, to hold it against attack, Douglas desired that it should be taken off his hands. He maintained a garrison in it, however, for a considerable time, receiving pay for the soldiers from the English treasury.¹ On the conclusion of a truce between the two countries, this castle was restored to Scotland in return for a guarantee that the Douglasses should remain in England as subjects of King Henry, unmolested by the Scots.²

During the peace George Douglas appears again to have visited France.³ So also did King James the Fifth, for the purpose of bringing home his bride, Magdalene, daughter of Francis, King of France. Deeming it an auspicious season for moving their restoration to Scotland, Angus and his brother reopened negotiations, and George Douglas in returning from his visit to France, obtained the influence of King Henry the Eighth with James through the King of France. These efforts for restoration, however, were not successful. It was in this connection that two letters about King James's movements in France were written by Penman to George Douglas, which, however, were intercepted in transmission.⁴

On the death of King James the Fifth in December 1542, the way was opened for the return of the Douglasses to Scotland. Sir George Douglas, who is henceforth generally mentioned by that title,⁵ on the invitation of James, Earl of Arran, now Regent, which was accompanied by a safe-conduct, repaired to Edinburgh, and was well received by all the nobles. On the earliest opportunity he was sent for by the Regent, who had a lengthened consultation with him, and on the following morning Cardinal Beaton and Sir George Douglas had a meeting in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, when they embraced each other. So completely did Sir George Douglas win over both the parties in the national council, that, on the evening of that day, proclamation was made by the Regent of the restoration of the Douglasses to their lands and possessions.⁶

During his long sojourn in England at the cost of the English treasury, Sir George Douglas had acquired an attachment to Henry which was not easily to be shaken off.

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. vi. Nos. 146, 205, 217, 777, 794, 802, 828, 892, 895-897, 1048, 1097, 1162, 1283; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 652-669, *et passim*; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 473; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 140, 141.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 538.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 141; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 143-145.

⁴ They are printed in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 490-493.

⁵ He is occasionally styled Sir George Douglas before this date.

⁶ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 585.

Gratitude for the shelter afforded at that time was constantly expressed by Douglas, and while it may be confidently affirmed that he did not entirely sympathise with the designs of Henry, certainly not with those which aimed at the destruction of Scottish independence, he always entertained a strong friendship for England. His experience and sagacity assured him that the welfare of Scotland lay in the maintenance of pacific relations with its nearest neighbour, and he acted on this principle during the remainder of his life. But his position as the prime negotiator between Henry and his own countrymen was one of constant labour and peril. The widespread feeling of hostility to England throughout the country, which found its chief exponent in Cardinal Beaton and his efforts to place Scotland under French influence, a feeling intensified by the religious reformation which had taken place in England, placed Douglas in a position of extreme delicacy with Henry. It required all the tact and patient diplomacy of which the former was capable, and he often failed, to pacify the English king and prevent him from precipitating war, which could only defeat the prospects of union and harmony with England.

Henry's policy with regard to Scotland was one which, so far as her independence was concerned, could never be entertained. That he had sinister designs is amply proved by the correspondence of himself and his agents, and also by the oaths he imposed on the Scottish nobles taken at the battle of Solway Moss. To gain their liberty, they were required to promise to do their utmost to secure the sovereignty of Henry over Scotland.¹ Even the Earl of Angus, who is credited with less strength of mind than his brother, was obliged to give a similar promise before being permitted to leave England. But of such bonds Sir George Douglas kept himself free, and of this fact he frequently reminded the King of England when taunted by him through his agents with remissness in furthering his plans. Those who made such promises, he said, were as men who knew not what they did, and were not able to perform the same.² He often repeated the advice that if Henry would but have patience, and be content by kindness and forbearance to conciliate the friendship of Scotland, he would eventually succeed in uniting both crowns and kingdoms in one.

Many in Scotland besides Sir George Douglas were desirous that such a union should take place, provided it did not compromise the independence of the country, and his policy was to use all possible efforts to secure the desired result without either giving offence to the English king or frightening his own countrymen. Though fully aware, therefore, of Henry's designs, he deemed it prudent not to divulge them to the Scottish Council, nor yet to oppose them violently, as he hoped that time would convince

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 234-236.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 272.

the king of the impracticability of his extreme projects and persuade him to abandon them. But the constitutional rashness of Henry the Eighth speedily ruined the success of the plans formed by Douglas.

As soon as the news of the birth of a daughter to the King of Scotland reached the English Court, Henry resolved to use the circumstance for the advancement of his aims. The infant "lass," as her father sorrowfully styled her on his deathbed, was destined to inherit the crown of Scotland, and she became the object of intrigue almost from the moment of her birth. Ere she was many weeks old the agents of King Henry were directed to make inquiries as to the intention of the Scots regarding her marriage.¹

Sir Ralph Sadler was the ambassador sent by King Henry to the Scottish Court to carry out his plans, and he was instructed to use the advice of Sir George Douglas. Immediately on his arrival he was conveyed by Douglas to the apartments assigned him, and he at once requested the latter sincerely to inform him on the position of affairs, as the king regarded him as his trusty servant. The ambassador relates their interview in a letter to his royal master, and as it shows, as from the lips of Douglas himself, the work on which he had been engaged, his statements are here quoted at length.

"I have laboured," said Douglas, "with all my power to do the king's majesty service, and will do while I live, wherein I have always pretended outwardly the Commonwealth of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected. And I am sure that I have so bent my wits thereunto as I trust I have deserved thanks of his majesty. I slept not three hours in one night thir six weeks. For we have had much business with many noblemen, and of the greatest sort, as the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwel, and Murray, which would have made a party against us, if they could, with almost the whole clergy, and determined to have holden another Parliament in St. Johnston, but I have prevented them, and got the town before them, so that they could not settle there. And then the governour by mine advice, sent them an express commandment, under pain of treason, to come to the Parliament, and to attend on him at the same for the common weal of the realm, which they (perceiving themselves not able to make a party) were fain to do, save the Earl of Argyle, who sent his procurator, being himself very sick. And now, all is well, and we have kept our parliament honourably, agreeing well together, and have concluded, by open parliament, that the king's majesty shall have the marriage of our young mistress, and that we shall be assured friends to England for ever, as I wrote to my Lord William (Howard) lately. By the which, if he send my letters to the king's majesty, as I hope he will, his highness shall perceive the whole plot of our doings here

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 240.

in our Parliament. And now," quoth he, "our ambassadors be ready to go to his majesty, with full power to conclude and contract the marriage. Which being done, there is no doubt but, by little and little, his majesty shall have his whole desire." Sadler then told Douglas that the king kept in mind the large promises of Angus and the other noblemen, and asked how they stood affected to the business, and why he had not written more frankly.

"By my truth," replied Douglas, "for my part and my brother's, we have written from time to time as things had gone here ; but for the offices and promises of the lords ye speak of, I told you at Newcastle, they were never, nor yet be able to perform them, though the most of them be well affected, as the Earls of Glencairn and Cassils, the Lords Maxwell, Somervail, and Gray. The rest are mean men, and the others that be of any power are slipt and gone, so that there is no hold of them, specially the Earl Bothwell is the worst that may be. But," he continued, "my brother and I have many friends come to us, so that we with those noblemen aforementioned, which have been assured to the king's majesty, are too strong a party for the rest, so long as we keep the governour that he start not from us ; for by him we must work all things for the king's purpose, unless we should go to it by force, whereunto the time serveth not." Sadler reminded Douglas that the king had been promised the government of Scotland, the custody of the royal child and the strongholds, and if the ambassadors were now going to the king to propose mean things, "you are a wise man, ye know what may ensue thereof."

"Why," said Douglas, "his majesty shall have the marriage offered to be contracted, and they have authority to conclude it ; and having that first, the rest of his desires may follow in time. But for my part, I made no such promise as ye speak of, and they that made such promises are not able to perform them. For, surely, the noblemen will not agree to have her out of the realm, because she is their mistress, but they are content that the king's majesty shall appoint some gentlemen of England, and some English ladies, to be here about her person for her better tuition, at his majesty's pleasure ; and this entry at the first may bring her wholly into his hands in short time. But I tell you, all things cannot be done at once. And this," he added, "I have done by my policy since I came hither. First, I have so insinuate myself with the governour that I am in chief credit with him. I have caused him pull down the Cardinal, who was, and would have been chief enemy to the king's purposes. I have brought the said governour also wholly to the king's majesty's devotion, so that he esteemeth his majesty above all other princes ; and clean have I altered him from France, so that he and all this realm shall be wholly dedicate to his majesty. And now, the marriage being concluded, and a knight or a nobleman of England, with such

English ladies as shall please the king to set about the person of this young lady, being once appointed, the league and band of France being also refused and annulled here. whereat there will be no sticking; the subjects of both the realms having liberty to have intercourse, and to resort one with another without safe-conduct, which shall engender a love and familiarity betwixt them; and the noblemen and young gentlemen here, repairing from time to time to the court of England, being well and gently entertained there, as the king's majesty of his gentle nature can well entreat them, yea, and the governour himself also coming to his majesty, as he hath promised; these things in time shall bring the nobility of this realm so far in love with his majesty. that he shall have the whole direction and obedience of the same at his pleasure.

“And again,” continued Douglas, “of the other party. If there be any motion now to take the governour from his state, and to bring the government of this realm to the King of England, I assure you it is impossible to be done at this time. For there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, yea, and many noblemen, and all the clergy be fully against it; so that this must needs follow of it:—The cardinal shall be set at liberty, who hath been much sued for, and yet we have kepted him in *manigre* their hearts; ambassadors shall be sent into France; the French army, if it do arrive here, as it is thought, which we do intend to resist and to fight with them, if they come, shall be accepted; all the preparations that may be, shall be made for defence against you, and the governour wholly fall to the devotion of France; so that the king's majesty shall then be driven to use his force; and what pain and charge it will be to win this realm so, it is easily to be considered, whereas now his majesty may win it wholly to his devotion with fair means in time, as is aforesaid, without any trouble or expences. And this is my opinion, which I would express to the king's majesty himself, if I were afore him.”

Sadler remarked that the lords assured to the king, if aided by the king's power, would surely prove a match for the other, even though assisted by France. “I grant,” replied Douglas, “the king's majesty is like to have the upper hand, God being with him; and yet, I dare say, we here shall be a small party; for in this case, all our friends will leave us, whatsoever they do now. And I dare say to you, if these things be now mentioned it would grow to a jarr. Wherefore I give you mine advice, in case ye have any instruction to treat with the governour of this matter, touching the government of this realm, ye shall forbear the same. For if ye enter with him of that point, whereof he may take or conceive any suspicion in the king's majesty, surely it will follow as I tell you.”¹

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 67-71.

Sir George Douglas had previously been despatched to England to secure a truce and pave the way for an embassy being sent to settle the terms of peace,¹ and had obtained the necessary assurances from Henry himself. The selection of the ambassadors was made by Douglas, not altogether to the approval of his fellow-statesmen, but he justified his choice by the necessities of the case.² The result of the negotiations, however, was not to Henry's satisfaction, for, as he insisted on interfering with the independence of Scotland, the embassy firmly but courteously declined his terms. Sir George Douglas then took affairs in hand, and proceeding to England in company with the Earl of Glencairn, persuaded the English king at least to defer his extreme demands and to centre negotiations on the question of the marriage of the infant princess to Prince Edward of Wales. On his return he brought to Scotland Henry's conditions, which if the Scots entertained, Sir George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, and the other three ambassadors were to return, authorised to have them put in final form.³

Meanwhile Cardinal Beaton, who saw in the accomplishment of the English alliance the ultimate extinction of his Church, the priesthood and himself, made great efforts to thwart the schemes of Douglas. The Cardinal had been imprisoned by the Scottish Parliament, a measure of which Sir George Douglas took the credit, and he was first consigned to Dalkeith, and afterwards to Blackness, under the care of Lord Seton. But Beaton had sufficient influence to get himself transferred to his own fortress of St. Andrews, where he was practically free, though he did not choose for a time to leave its shelter. Here he met and schemed with the nobles who stood by the old faith, among whom were Huntly, Lennox, Moray, and Argyll. Huntly especially, the Cardinal skilfully employed to operate upon Arran, who actually granted letters for the prelate's enlargement, but Douglas seized and tore them in pieces before they were signed. Carrying one of the fragments in his hand he went to the regent and remonstrated with him on such a transaction after his promises to the English ambassador respecting the safe custody of the Cardinal, and he obtained the regent's promise to desist from that purpose. But when a few days later Douglas visited the Castle of St. Andrews to see how the Cardinal was kept, he found him at liberty. The regent was of the most unstable disposition, and had been won over by Beaton. His revolt was notified to Sadler by Douglas early in the morning of the 22d of April, with further intimation that open hostilities seemed imminent. The regent, however, did not immediately go over openly to the Cardinal, although Sir George Douglas had reason to believe that he had exhausted all his powers of persuasion upon him in vain.

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 252.

² *Ibid.* p. 583.

³ Vol. iv. of this work. pp. 149-151.

King Henry had intrusted his ambassador with an offer to Arran of his daughter Elizabeth in marriage with Arran's eldest son. For this prospective royal alliance with England the regent was profusely thankful, and eagerly accepted the tempting offer. He concealed any appearance of change in his opinions; and when Parliament, persuaded to carry on and complete the negotiations,¹ appointed Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn to proceed to the English Court and conclude what had been begun by the other ambassadors, Arran intrusted Sir George privately with a letter to Henry accepting the offer of the princess Elizabeth for his son and heir, and empowered him to arrange the terms of the marriage-contract with the king.²

Furnished with the authority of the Scottish Parliament, Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn departed about the 7th of May for the English Court. They returned for the settlement of some points about the end of that month, but set out again about the 8th of June, and on the 1st July two treaties were finally arranged at Greenwich. One was for the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to Edward, Prince of Wales, to take place as soon as she became of marriageable age. The other treaty provided a permanent peace between the two kingdoms. The terms of these treaties were most honourable to Scotland, and in no way whatever infringed upon its liberties or independence. Indeed, if anything were needed to demonstrate the integrity and enlightened patriotism of Sir George Douglas to his country, these two treaties stand as his unfading memorial.³

¹ Godscroft tells how Sir George succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Estates to the concluding of the Treaty. He related the story of the physician, who, to escape the wrath of a tyrannical Sultan, undertook to teach an ass to speak within the space of ten years, and justified the hopeless undertaking to his friends by saying that he had gained a space within which the Sultan or the ass, or he himself might die, in any of which events he escaped punishment, and meantime lived in good estate and favour. Even so, said Douglas, we being unprovided for war, gain by this treaty ten years of peace, during which Henry or his son, or the queen may die, or the parties coming of age may refuse

each other, or matters may so stand that the match may be concluded on more equal terms.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 151; State Papers, Henry VII., vol. v. pp. 284, 285.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. pp. 786-792. On their way home Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn did a kindly action to a fellow-countryman. When they reached Darnton they found young Walter Seton detained as a prisoner, and secured his release on parole, binding themselves under the penalty of £200 for his re-entry in forty days. Their bond was granted to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, 18th July 1543. [Stevenson's *Illustrations of Scottish History*, p. 136.]

On the return of Douglas and Glencairn to Scotland, they found a revolution in progress, which was only quelled by the energetic action of Sir George Douglas. Despatching a request to France for aid, Beaton, without waiting for a reply, assembled a powerful following, marched upon the capital, and compelled the regent to place the infant queen in his hands. He was then further strengthened by reinforcements from France, but the nobles of the English faction were also now in the field. A suspension of hostilities was secured by Sir George Douglas, the Cardinal and he agreeing that their respective troops should be dispersed, and twenty-four hours' notice given before the resumption of warfare. Beaton withdrew to St. Andrews, promising to give an early interview to the regent there. Meanwhile the treaties with England were solemnly ratified by the oath of the regent at the altar of the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and on the afternoon of the same day, 25th August 1543, he set out for St. Andrews. He then requested the Cardinal to fulfil his promise, and meet him in his own house in that town. Beaton refused, as he considered his life in danger if he left the castle, and desired that Sir George Douglas should be sent to him into the castle. On Sir John Campbell of Calder, brother to the Earl of Argyll, being left as a hostage, Sir George Douglas proceeded to the castle, and had an interview with the Cardinal, but failed to persuade him to meet Arran, and on Douglas's return Arran proclaimed Beaton a dissembler and a traitor, and returned to Edinburgh. Within a week, however, Arran and Beaton had a conference at Callendar House, near Linlithgow, and the result was their reconciliation, and Arran's defection from the English faction. This step, of course, extinguished all prospects of a matrimonial alliance between Henry and Arran.¹

The treaties lately made with England were now declared null, and Henry threatened war, directing his agents to ascertain the designs of the Douglasses, and to get his ambassador, Sadler, conveyed to Tantallon by Sir George Douglas.² On 18th October, Sadler reported that Douglas lay very sick at Pinkie, but on the 30th he was well again and at Leith, proposing to accompany Lord Somerville a certain distance into England, as that baron had been deputed by the nobles of the English faction to pass to the English Court, with their renewed offers of service and advice. Douglas was commissioned to remonstrate against the outbreak of hostilities. On his way he conveyed Sadler to Tantallon in safety,³ notwithstanding that a conspiracy had been

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 270, 277, 282.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 337-340.

³ 4th October 1543. Diurnal of Occurrents,

p. 29. This is a journal of Scottish events from 1513 to 1575 by an unknown hand. In the earlier portion of this work, or before 1557, it is not contemporary, and the frequent mistakes make the record somewhat unreliable.

formed to waylay and seize the ambassador there,¹ and Sadler remained in Tantallon Castle until Douglas returned from his fruitless errand in December. He was then escorted to the Borders, as the Earl of Angus had been charged under pain of treason to put him forth of Tantallon.² In the meantime, Lord Somerville had been arrested by the Scots, and as the documents found on him implicated Sir George Douglas, Arran proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Pinkie or Inveresk, which belonged to Douglas, and also to Dalkeith, which was held by James, Master of Morton, the second son of Sir George. Both places surrendered after slight resistance.³ The Laird of Brunstane informed Sadler that Arran was determined to put out of the realm, or else imprison, all who were desirous of the peace with England, and had that night begun by taking three of the principal friends of Sir George Douglas out of their beds at Edinburgh.⁴

In January following, Sir George Douglas was warded in Edinburgh Castle as a pledge for the loyalty of his brother, the Earl of Angus, and to secure the allegiance of Sir George himself, James, Master of Morton, was also compelled to enter himself as a hostage.⁵ According to Knox, Sir George Douglas was afterwards transferred to Blackness Castle, and was there joined by his brother, the Earl of Angus, who had been arrested by the Earl of Arran during the siege of Glasgow in April. They remained in captivity until the invasion of the Earl of Hertford, when he brought up the Firth of Forth the large English fleet which attacked and destroyed Edinburgh. But for this timely arrival, says the same historian, they had both likely been executed. He represents Sir George as exclaiming merrily on his release, "I thank King Hary, and my gentill maisteris of England."⁶ It accords with this that Douglas was at liberty while Hertford's army lay at Leith, and he himself refers his deliverance to this

¹ Knox's Works, Laing's edition, vol. i. p. 88. This plot was concocted by Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn, who was a favourite of King James the Fifth, and by him had been appointed governor of Tantallon. He is best known, however, as of Solway Moss notoriety. The defeat of the Scots there was greatly due to the mutiny which broke out on his attempting to supersede Lord Maxwell in the command of the army, and it was concerning him that King James the Fifth raved on his deathbed, continually repeating the words,

"Oh, fled Oliver? Is Oliver tane?"

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 30; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 348.

³ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 320, 327, 334.

⁴ Letter dated 7th November 1543, The Hamilton Papers in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv. p. 86.

⁵ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 355-369.

⁶ Knox's Works, Laing's edition, vol. i. pp. 111, 120.

cause, but makes no mention of any change of prison.¹ He was liberated, however, that he might serve against the English, and their coming was the occasion of it.²

Sir George Douglas was present at the convention of Stirling which discharged James, Earl of Arran, from the regency, and conferred it upon the queen-mother, and he subscribed a bond entered into by the nobles to assist the queen-dowager with counsel and all other aid needful.³ Arran, however, supported by Beaton and some of the barons, declined to yield up his authority, and for a time a state of anarchy prevailed. Sir John Campbell of Calder, one of the signatories of the bond in defence of the queen-dowager, was seized by Arran and lodged in Blackness Castle, and in retaliation Sir George Douglas seized and detained Lord Borthwick in Dalkeith Castle until the Laird of Calder was set free. This again was checkmated by Lady Borthwick imprisoning the Earl of Bothwell in her own castle until her husband was liberated, and Douglas was obliged to free Borthwick in order to procure the release of Bothwell.⁴ Arran, in the maintenance of his authority, held his own Parliament, and instituted a process of treason against Sir George Douglas.

The summons bore that Douglas had been guilty of treason, by assisting the English in August 1542 in their invasion of Teviotdale and Haldane Rig,⁵ and subsequent invasions; in receiving gifts of money from the King of England, and corresponding and intercommuning with that sovereign and his lieutenants in England in time of war; in treasonably treating and conferring with the English in Berwick, Newcastle, and Derntoun, during October and November last; and likewise with the Earl of Hertford at Leith in May last; further, in corresponding with and promising assistance to the English in invading Scotland, and in divers other ways committing crimes and treasons against the queen's grace and realm of Scotland. This step was probably only a preliminary trial of strength, but before the trial was proceeded with, Beaton secured a temporary coalition between parties, and Douglas was acquitted.⁶

Whatever were the facts of the case in reference to these charges, Sir George Douglas could, at this time at least, appeal to the smoking ruins of his own and his

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 157. His own words addressed to King Henry were, "I vos put in the castelle off Edinbruchg in preyson, and ther kaypit long, and hade lost my layfe, if God hade nocht provaydit zour gracis arme to cum in Scotland."

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 429.

³ 3d to 10th June 1544. State Papers,

Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 391-394.

⁴ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 35.

⁵ Sir George Douglas nearly lost his life in the battle of Haldane Rig, fought on 24th August 1542. [Knox's Works, Laing's edition, vol. i. p. 78.]

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 450, 451.

brother's possessions, as proofs that while they declined to share the responsibility of the policy of the French faction, personally they were disinterested, and sought only what they judged was for the welfare of their country.

In his anger at the continued postponement of his cherished projects against Scotland, Henry had let loose his troops upon the border counties of Scotland, to burn, slay, and destroy, without respect to friend or foe. Angus was in high command in the Scottish army during these hostilities, and Sir George Douglas also took part in them against the English, but both, especially the latter, were, according to one writer, gravely suspected of treachery and deceit, when victory went against the Scots. On one occasion, when in February 1544-5 the Scots had a severe battle with the English at Jedburgh, the English expected, it is said, to have taken the Scottish regent through the treachery of Douglas. This battle is mentioned as having taken place immediately before that of Ancrum Moor, but no other authority knows anything of it. The same writer states that Sir George Douglas so far enjoyed the confidence of the regent and the Scottish nobles, that when Coldingham was recovered from the English, they placed it under the command of Douglas as captain, with a garrison of gunners.¹

In this warfare the estates of the Douglasses and their adherents suffered severely. Both Sir George Douglas and his brother had good cause to be angry at Henry's treatment, and the former wrote to the English king, strongly remonstrating against the pursuance of a policy which could only tend to alienate the friendship of every Scot, and to thwart all efforts for union. After the decisive defeat inflicted by Angus on the English troops at Ancrum Moor, which showed Henry that the Douglasses would not tamely brook insults and injury, the English king listened to the counsels of Douglas, and declared his willingness to resume treaty negotiations.²

On this understanding Sir George Douglas resumed his efforts in the Scottish national councils on behalf of the English alliance as against the French. The influence of Douglas with Arran was at this time very great. He obtained the reconciliation of the Earl of Cassillis to the Regent, and succeeded in persuading Parliament to grant an audience to that Earl as Henry's envoy. Cassillis was at the time a prisoner in the hands of Henry, and was employed by him in this way on parole. His instructions were to obtain the renewal of the two treaties of peace and marriage which were negotiated by Sir George Douglas in the year 1543. But just at this juncture the French king had despatched both men and money to

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 36-38.

wrote asking re-delivery of his plate, and

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 20, 153-158.

other goods, in Berwick, of which he had

About the same time Sir George Douglas

been spoiled. [*Ibid.* p. 159.]

Scotland, and the hopefulness inspired by this, operating with the memory of the injuries lately inflicted by Henry, led to the almost unanimous rejection of his overtures.¹ Nor was this all. The landing of French troops involved their employment in hostilities with England, and plans were entertained for carrying fire and sword across the border.

As the moving spirit of the French faction, Cardinal Beaton was Henry's great opponent in Scotland, and specially obnoxious to him. In reporting the non-success of his mission the Earl of Cassillis suggested that the Cardinal might be removed out of the way if Henry would promise a reward. Tytler assumes that Sir George Douglas and his brother were privy to this design, but it does not appear that either of them knew anything of it until by the advice of Cassillis, who wished it to appear to emanate from Henry, a man named Foster was sent into Scotland to sound them on the subject. Sir George Douglas then, on being asked as to the possibility of such a deed being done, replied that he had little doubt of it. If the king would have the Cardinal dead, and made known that a reward would be paid for the murder, so lawless was the country, and so little beloved the man, that its accomplishment was very probable.² But, so far as Douglas was concerned, the matter was not pressed further.

While advising the King of England, however, of the warlike intentions of Scotland, and insisting that in the event of his sending an army into Scotland, respect should be paid to the estates of those who supported the English interest, Angus and Sir George Douglas joined the Scottish Council in their resolution to make war upon England. To have opposed the greater body of the nobles in their determination would have been to court destruction, but they appear in uniting their forces with the expedition to have done so in the hope of making it as futile as possible. At least they took credit for so doing in a letter to Henry,³ and the retreat of the Scots is ascribed by one writer to the "dissait of George Douglas and the wangaird, quha wald not pass agane throw his tyisting."⁴

In their letter Angus and his brother, with two other nobles, suggested to Henry the expediting of the cause they had at heart by sending a powerful army into Scotland, which should war only against those who were opposed to the fulfilment of the English treaties. To this Henry replied by sending his army and demanding the active service in it of his Scottish supporters. These replied that such a demand was unreasonable unless the king informed them of his full intentions, so that they might judge of the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 438.

² *Ibid.* p. 465; cf. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 337-342.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 160, 161.

⁴ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 40.

probability of success. No answer seems to have been vouchsafed, and once more the southern counties of Scotland were overrun by the English and destroyed, neither friend nor foe being respected. From Tantallon Sir George Douglas wrote to the Earl of Hertford, who commanded the English army, begging for the sake of their friendship and "auld acquaintance" that he would be favourable to his kinsmen the lairds of Wedderburn, Blackadder, and West Nisbet, and refrain from destroying his own lands of Boncle and Coldingham, but this appeal was without effect, for some of these places were levelled with the ground.¹

Sir George Douglas then submitted to Hertford, as the King of England's lieutenant, his plan for a successful reduction of Scotland. Let two armies be despatched, one from Berwick, and the other to be landed at Dumbarton, both to march upon Stirling, while a fleet with provisions should be sent up the Firth of Forth, prepared to maintain the troops in Scotland until the strongholds were taken and garrisoned. At the same time let the English king deal prudently with the nobility, and by means of gentle proclamations calm and uphold the minds of the people. Douglas would have the western army under the command of the Earl of Lennox, who was beloved in the west of Scotland, while the Cardinal was hated there. The expedition would require to be undertaken during the present year. Moreover, Sir George plainly told Hertford that if he would succeed he must seek the counsel of those who best knew how affairs could be advantageously managed in Scotland, and put confidence in them, by taking them along with him in his purposes, and securing that they would be rewarded for their services. If he would do so Sir George Douglas assured him that he would get more of the nobles to serve him, and advance the king's projects.

Douglas also upbraided Hertford for the treatment which he had dealt out to those that were friendly to the king's cause. He had "beyne scharpe" to them while he had spared the king's enemies. Wise men should use their friends gently to give occasion to them to serve well, and that others may follow the same course. "The king's majesty," he goes on to say, "will never recover this country with fire and sword, but with gentle handling of his friends, which, I trust, might be done with no unreasonable charges. And I take unto my record Almighty God, how my mind has been to the union of these two realms and saving of Christian blood unshed." If Hertford knew, he concludes, that it was by his means that no opposition was presented to his late work, he would think him worthy of thanks instead of blame, and all the more that he might shortly be in trouble on account of having done so. He wishes, therefore, to know what the king intended to do, as it was a very easy matter

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 162; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 527.

for him and his fellows to be in as high favour as any in Scotland if they would but declare themselves enemies of England. But that, he said, they would not do.¹

In thus seeking to compose the troubles of the country by invoking English aid, Sir George Douglas and the nobles who inclined to his views can be no more justly blamed than their political opponents who invoked assistance from France to carry out their aims. It is only matter of surprise that the Douglasses, amid all the enticements they had to fall in with the prevailing faction in Scotland, and the repeated discouragements they received from Henry, adhered so persistently to the policy of an English alliance. There is some reason to suppose that the Earl of Angus from this time cooled in his ardour for the prosecution of the English policy, but, so far as appears, Sir George Douglas endeavoured to maintain it to the last. When in October 1545 it was proposed to marry the young queen to the eldest son of the regent Arran, he strenuously opposed it, and stood up for the fulfilment of the English treaties, and for some time at least prevented his brother from giving his consent, although threatened with the regent's serious displeasure if he refused to yield.²

Possibly the consistency of Sir George Douglas to the alliance with England on the basis of his own two treaties of 1543 was largely aided by the fact that, with others of his kinsmen, he had formed a strong attachment to the reformed faith. He was amongst those who supported George Wishart, the reformer, and on one occasion, when he preached at Inveresk, Douglas openly declared his acceptance of the true faith, and his determination to stand by it. "I know," said he in presence of the audience, "that my lord governour and my lord cardinall shall hear that I have bein at this preaching. Say unto thame that I will avow it, and will nott onlie manteane the doctrin that I have hard, bot also the persone of the teachare, to the uttermost of my power."³ Indeed, in opposition to the assistance procured from France by the Cardinal, which was employed as much for the suppression of the reformers as for defence against England, the reformers identified themselves to a large extent with the public policy of Sir George Douglas, and for a time their political watchword was the "godly marriage and peace."

In 1545 Sir George Douglas was appointed a member of the Privy Council, and continued such during the remainder of his life, taking very frequent part in its discussions.⁴ He also attended the meetings of Parliament between 1545 and 1551. From the Parliament which met at Edinburgh in August 1546, after the death of

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 163, 164.

vol. i. p. 135.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 550.

⁴ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i.

³ Works of John Knox, Laing's edition,

pp. 5-120, *passim*.

Cardinal Beaton, Sir George Douglas was sent as one of three commissioners to treat with Norman Leslie and his confederates for the rendering of the castle of St. Andrews. It had been proposed by the besieged themselves, on condition of getting a remission, and the commissioners carried with them a blank remission under the great seal. But they returned with the report that their efforts had been unsuccessful,¹ and, as is well known, the castle for ten months longer resisted all efforts to reduce it.

Meanwhile Sir George Douglas was working harmoniously with the regent, and exercising his powerful influence in the Privy Council, so much so indeed that all that was done there was ascribed to him. Along with his brother, the Earl, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, he granted a bond of manrent to the regent Arran, promising good service to him as the young queen's representative during her minority.² As a privy councillor, he had been appointed to take his turn with other three in attending as secret advisers upon the regent for one month, twenty councillors, divided into sections of four, performing this duty in rotation. On a re-arrangement of the order of attendance, he was assigned the first month, beginning on 20th March 1546-7.³ But if the diplomatic correspondence of the time is to be credited, he was much more frequently in secret consultations with Arran, and took care to preserve the balance of power from falling too much to the regent's side.

In connection with the siege of St. Andrews, England had already intervened with hostile intent. In view of intelligence of continued warfare the council reviewed the system of bail-fires, and ordained that the first, that on St. Abb's Head, as being the nearest England towards Berwick, should be under the charge of Sir George Douglas. Each bail-keeper was to keep a post-horse ready to send word to the next, so that the news of an advancing foe might be doubly secured.⁴ This order was made in May, and in August preparations were made for opposing a double invasion of Scotland, on the east at Berwick, and on the west at Carlisle. Somerset, Lord Protector of England, was himself in command of the eastern army, and the Earl of Lennox led the invaders on the west. It was proposed that Sir George Douglas should endeavour to deal with Somerset, but a herald who was employed to obtain a safe-conduct was sent back with the stern rebuff that he would grant no further delay, and the English leaders at once began their advance into Scotland. Resistance was expected from the Scots at the Peaths, near Cockburnspath, where, at the advice and cost of Sir George Douglas (so the wives

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 471.

² Original Bond in Charter-chest of the Duke of Hamilton.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 73.

at the village of Dunglas informed the Englishmen), cross trenches had been cut, but they were not used. The castle of Dunglas, which belonged to Douglas, and was held for him with a small garrison by Matthew Home, a nephew of Lord Home, surrendered after a short parley, and the defenders were allowed to depart. The castle was ordered to be demolished, but so strongly had it been built that the foundations had to be undermined, and the edifice blown up with powder.

The Scots had entrenched themselves on the west side of the river Esk awaiting the English advance, and when the armies came within view of each other, the Earl of Huntly, who was in command of the Scottish rear, is said to have sent a challenge to Somerset after the manner of ancient chivalry. Patten, however, who accompanied the English expedition, and wrote an account of it, says that he afterwards heard the Earl of Huntly, who was made prisoner at Pinkie, say that he never sent any such challenge, but that it had been done by Sir George Douglas in his name, in order that his messenger might bring back information of the disposition and strength of the English force. Somerset defeated this by meeting the herald at such a distance from the camp, that his eyes could do him little service, though he had the look of one, says the historian, who could do the work of a spy well. He adds, that when rehearsing the story, a gentleman Scot, who had been taken prisoner, and was present, remarked with an oath that it was like enough, "for he kend George ful well, and sayd he was a mete man to pike wharels (quarrels) for oother men to fight for."¹

After the disastrous defeat of the Scots at Pinkie, Sir George Douglas and others renewed their promises and proffers to England, more, it is to be feared, for the purpose of saving their houses and estates, than with any definite design of rendering active assistance to England. Douglas was appointed as one of several ambassadors sent to England in the beginning of October, and probably in connection with this visit he submitted his plan for the reduction of the south of Scotland.² His return was anxiously awaited at Douglas Castle by the chiefs of the English faction, and whatever their ulterior objects, they succeeded through him in obtaining assurances for themselves and their estates. Sir George Douglas proposed his plan to Somerset through William, Lord Grey, and so effectually persuaded him, that Grey recommended his counsels and expressed his confidence in the fidelity of Douglas. But the English Council told Grey to be wary in accepting the assurances of Douglas, and to labour with him to get the young queen placed in their hands. The element of ecclesiastical reformation entered into the scheme of Sir George Douglas, for he suggested that when the country and garrisons had been secured, the bishoprics and abbeys could be

¹ Patten, in Dalryel's *Fragments of Scottish History*. ² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 164-168.

suppressed, and their possessions distributed among the lords of the English faction in reward for their services.

The English Council ultimately accepted and acted on the plan of campaign submitted by Sir George Douglas, who, however, managed to keep himself and his friends for a considerable time from active participation with the English wardens. Douglas even gave his consent along with his brother to the marriage of the young Queen Mary to the Dauphin of France.¹ But the wardens were very wrathful at the repeated delays, and threatened severe retribution if he proved false. The English faction had frequent consultations together, to consider what was to be done in view of the pressure brought to bear upon them by Lord Wharton, the English warden at Carlisle. On one occasion, 6th March 1547-8, they met at Leynton (Linton?) with a servant of Lord Wharton, when Sir George Douglas "related all his proceedings and departure with my lord lieutenant, and was very pleasant." It was agreed that the Earl of Angus should sign a blank paper, wherein Sir George Douglas would gather certain articles of their demands upon the governor as to the abbacy of Arbroath and others, which it was thought Arran would not yield, and so cause for quarrel would arise, which would give occasion for their concluding with England. Douglas remarked, that if he could have the Lord Protector assured to him, he and his brother would stand with England, but he would credit the word or writing of none other. Before dismissing Wharton's servant to tell what had taken place, Angus desired him to tell Wharton that he had done him and his much displeasure, and he wished that it should be discontinued. "And tell the Lord Warden from me," said Sir George Douglas, "that my brother and I always pleased the last King of England, the king that now is, my lord Protector, lords of the Council and Lord Lieutenant, and all others in authority for England, except Lord Wharton, and he can never be pleased with us, and if he will not be satisfied, we will learn him his A B C again."²

Wearied out by the protracted delays of the Scots, the English Council instructed Lord Grey to advance into the Lothians. Grey did so, and among other places which he assaulted and carried, was the castle of Dalkeith, where he captured the Master of Morton and his mother, Lady Pittendriech, with other members of the

¹ Letter, M. d'Oysel to Duc d'Aumale, 24th June 1548. Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat relatifs a l'Ecosse*, Tome i. pp. 670, 672.

² Letter, Lord Wharton to the Lord Protector, 14th March 1548, in State Paper Office,

London. "I have answered Angus and George Douglas," Wharton adds, "by the same man that when I was a boy I learned my A B C, and if George Douglas and I be in the same school together, I shall learn him to spell and read two of the first lines."

Douglas family. They were taken on 4th July, but a few days later Grey dismissed Lady Pittendriech, as she promised to bring her husband over to the English side. Her success is doubtful, and when Grey returned to Berwick, he reported to Somerset that Sir George Douglas had made himself sick and was in despair.¹

A desultory warfare continued for nearly two years longer, but Douglas does not appear in any active capacity during that period. In the beginning of the year 1550, according to the Scottish computation at the time, 25th March, he once more appears in his place as a privy Councillor.² In the following month peace was agreed upon between France, England, and Scotland, and Sir George Douglas along with George, Abbot of Dunfermline, were appointed to receive the Castle of Inveresk from its French garrison, who were about to return to France. The knight and the abbot jointly bound themselves to maintain the castle in as good order as they received it, and to hold it for the queen, sending timely notice to Edinburgh of their inability to do so, if at any time it should be threatened by a force too powerful for them.³

A few months after peace had been secured, the queen-dowager resolved to pay a visit to her daughter, the young Queen Mary, in France. She took with her, among others, the Chancellor Huntly, and also the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maxwell, Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, but required the barons named to enter into a mutual bond for themselves and their friends to refrain from injuring or troubling each other, either in word or deed, from that day, 5th September 1550, until they returned to Scotland, and for twenty-four days thereafter.⁴ Sir George Douglas passed to France with the queen, and his name does not occur on the sederunts of the Privy Council until after her return. On the way home Douglas had a last opportunity of visiting the English Court, as the queen-dowager paid her respects to King Edward the Sixth before she returned. The period of his absence seems to have been rather more than a year.

He was at Edinburgh in February 1551-2, taking part in the arrangements for the marriage of his cousin's son, William Douglas, younger of Glenberrie, afterwards ninth Earl of Angus, with Giles Graham, daughter of Robert Graham of Morphie. One condition of the contract was that if the spouses happened to succeed by line or taillie to any other lands than Archibald Douglas of Glenberrie at that time possessed. Robert Graham should augment the tocher of his daughter according as David, bishop of Ross, and Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech should advise. Sir George also attested the contract.⁵ In the following month he once more appeared at the Privy

¹ Letters in State Paper Office, London.

² *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 107.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 83.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 245-247.

Council board,¹ but evidently for the last time, as his name does not again occur, and he was dead before the close of the year.

Elizabeth Douglas, the wife of Sir George Douglas, was the only daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendriech, in the county of Elgin. The family of Douglas of Pittendriech is first known in Scottish record in the person of James Douglas, who was the king's chamberlain in Moray in 1466 and subsequent years. For his services King James the Third bestowed on him in feu-farm, on 20th February 1468-9, the lands of Pittendriech, near Elgin,² for ten marks yearly, eight of which were to be paid to a chaplain in Elgin Cathedral. To this grant other lands were added, including a third part of Duffus, a third of Sheriffmill, the half of Surestoun, and the lands of Levingshauch and Caldcotts.³ Godscroft relates the tradition that James Douglas was the son of a John Douglas, a descendant of the family of Douglas of Strabrock, who accompanied Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, to that northern earldom, and married there a niece of John Winchester, Bishop of Moray, who had been a mistress of his master's.⁴

James Douglas of Pittendriech married Elizabeth Hay, and had two sons, David and Alexander. He had also a brother, who rendered important service in capturing a noted traitor McBre, and conveying him to Edinburgh for trial and execution.⁵ Pittendriech descended to David, the elder son, who married, according to Godscroft, Katherine, daughter of the Laird of Innes, and had issue Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Douglas. From Alexander Douglas, the younger son of James Douglas of Pittendriech, probably sprang that influential family of Douglasses who occupied the highest civic positions in Elgin and Banff, and of which Alexander Douglas, Bishop of

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. i. p. 120.

² These lands were a royal possession in the time of King Alexander the Second [Registrum Moraviense, p. 35], and later the property of the Earls of Moray, one of whom, James Dunbar, for the repose of his soul, granted them to maintain a chaplainry in the Cathedral Church of Elgin [Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. p. 211].

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 984, 1074, 1955; The Chiefs of Grant, by William Fraser, LL.D., vol. iii. p. 32.

⁴ MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. p. 139. The Douglasses of Strabrock held part of the lands of Duffus. But that family disappears from the page of record after 1430, and their lands are mentioned as being in the king's hands after the Douglas forfeiture. It is proper in this connection to recall the fact that Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, who was slain in 1455, left a son named James, whose history has not been ascertained.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vii. p. 544. The name of the brother is not given.

Moray, was a member. It may here be noted that the lands of Pittendriech and others mentioned were bestowed upon the younger son of Elizabeth Douglas, James, Earl of Morton, who afterwards gave them to one of his illegitimate sons, Archibald Douglas of Pittendriech. Archibald married Elizabeth, daughter of William Sutherland of Duffus, and was a well-known supporter of his father, the Regent, on whose execution he was forfeited and banished.¹

On the marriage of Sir George Douglas to Elizabeth Douglas, her father appears to have settled his possessions upon them in fee, while he enjoyed the liferent. He was still alive in 1528,² when his daughter, and no doubt he himself with her, took strong exception to their lands being involved in the forfeiture of Sir George Douglas, by protesting in Parliament, through an agent, that the forfeiture should not be to their prejudice;³ but in vain. It is a somewhat grim index to the rapacity of those times that John Stirling of Keir, on the very day of the forfeiture, asked and received from the king these lands of Pittendriech, etc., by a charter under the great seal, and that next day they were requested from the king by his own natural brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, who also received a charter of them.⁴ Moray must have taken possession shortly after, for on 7th October following, Elizabeth Douglas, as daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendriech, and present possessor of the lands, executed a formal cassation of his sasine, and protested against the deprivation.⁵ Seven years later, when King James the Fifth had reached his twenty-third year, he was prevailed upon to grant the lands again to Elizabeth Douglas in liferent, and her younger son James in fee, on the ground that the lands had been the ancient heritage of the now deceased David Douglas of Pittendriech, and that his daughter had committed no crime, as also in consideration of the good services of Elizabeth Douglas and her friends, and for large sums of money. In his charter to her the king revoked the grants formerly given to Keir and Moray, and promised to ratify the grant on attaining his twenty-fourth year.⁶ But he did not do so. He granted them instead once more to his natural brother, James, Earl of Moray, and revoked the charter to Elizabeth Douglas.⁷ The lands then remained with Moray until the reversal of the forfeiture of Sir George Douglas in 1542.

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 624.

² On 28th October 1526 he obtained a remission for intercommuning with Duncan Comyn, a rebel. [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 239.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 329.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 636, 665.

⁵ Notarial Instrument of Cassation of Sasine in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁶ 2d February 1535-6. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 1541.

⁷ 4th April 1538. *Ibid.* No. 1768.

On his return to Scotland Sir George Douglas arranged for the marriage of his younger son James to Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, and secured, as one of the conditions of the marriage, that the succession of the earldom of Morton should devolve on his son, as James, Earl of Morton, had no male issue. This Earl was sickly, and weak, both in mind and body, and appears to have been made by King James the Fifth the victim of a mean plot, although he was nearly related to that king, having married his natural sister, Katherine Stewart. The king, says Godscroft,¹ desired this nobleman's estates and title as a portion for his own natural son, James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, better known as the Good Regent, but he adds, it was at the instigation of the mother of James Stewart, Margaret Erskine, wife of Robert Douglas of Lochleven. The laird of Lochleven was the instrument employed by the king to secure his ends, and as he was to receive a substantial interest, lent himself readily to the scheme. Incapacitated by his afflictions and by age, the Earl of Morton was as inoffensive in political life as he was indifferent to it, and as no charge could be laid against him in regard of the State, it was thought to involve him in an act of contumacy and disobedience. In the expectation that by reason of his lameness and other diseases of body he would not be able to obey the royal command, he was ordered to ward himself in the town of Inverness during the king's pleasure. Despite his infirmities, and although it was in the month of October—winter was the term afterwards used in the complaint,—the Earl obeyed, but as he passed through Brechin, where the king was at the time, he was detained there by a second warrant, and compelled to resign his earldom and estates in favour of Robert Douglas of Lochleven. This done, he was at once restored to freedom, and Lochleven was invested, but only to make an unwilling surrender of all in the hands of the king, save only the bare lands of Aberdour and their baronial castle.

Soon after the death of King James the Fifth, steps were taken, under the guidance of Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, to have these resignations reduced, and haste was justified by an Act of Parliament which required "that all wrangis done be the kingis grace concerning heretage, takis, stedingis, and rowmes to his utilitie and proffitt suld be callit summerlie for the wele of his grace saule."² The suit was quite successful, and the proceedings of the king summarily decerned unlawful and annulled.

¹ MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. pp. 140-148. Godscroft had been misinformed on the subject of the Earl's marriage, his authority being Lady Trabroun, and a considerable part of his narrative falls with this.

But so far as narrated in the text, his statements are substantiated by the facts elicited in the judicial process which rectified the king's injustice.

² Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. p. 285.

The decree of reduction was issued on 24th April 1543, and it was anticipated, only by two days, by the charter of entail of Morton, executed by the Earl, in terms of an agreement with Sir George Douglas, dated the 18th of the previous month. The entire earldom was thereby conveyed to James Douglas, the younger son of Sir George, and Elizabeth, his spouse, in conjoint fee, and to their lawful heirs-male, with succession, in case of failure, to David, the elder son of Sir George Douglas, then to Sir George himself; failing lawful heirs-male of them, to Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, then to Richard Douglas, brother of the Earl of Morton, Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, Patrick Douglas of Corheid, and William Douglas of Whittingham in succession. In connection with this transaction, Sir George Douglas paid the Earl of Morton two thousand pounds, and it was provided that if the Earl of Morton had any lawful male issue, the whole earldom would revert to such issue on payment of five thousand merks in name of tocher with this marriage. Of course the Earl's own liferent and the terce of Lady Katherine his wife, were also secured.¹

Sir George Douglas made Dalkeith from this time his chief residence, so much so that it was frequently spoken of as his castle. It was a place of great strength and natural beauty, and within easy reach of Edinburgh. But he had other places, including Coldingham, Boncle, and Pinkie,² and to these he added about this time that of Cockburnspath, about half way between Coldingham and Dunbar. He purchased the lands and barony of Cockburnspath, with the lands of Bowshiel, Paddocleuch, Ranthochside, and Tournalie, from Alexander Sinclair, brother-german of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, who had received them from King James the Fifth.³ But they were almost

¹ See charters and other documents concerning the whole of this transaction in *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. i. pp. 1-4; ii. pp. 261-300. The territory of this earldom was very extensive, embracing the following baronies and estates, among others—Dalkeith, Garmiltoun, Dunning, Edmonstone, Caldercleir, in the county of Edinburgh; Bonytoun, Bernis, Kincaivill, Drumcorse, Dechmont, Holdene, and Knightsrig, in West Calder, and others in Linlithgowshire; Whittingham, in Haddingtonshire; Newlands, Linton, Kilbucho and others in the county of Peebles; Robertson, Edmestoun, and others in Lanarkshire; Aberdour, Tiry, Woodfield,

Seafeld, Binns, and Babertons, in Fife; Morton, in Dumfriesshire; Mordington, in Berwickshire; Ganochy and Petculane, in Perthshire; Preston, Borg, and Buittle, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright; Hutton-under-the-Moor, and Moffatdale, in the Stewartry of Annandale—with the numerous castles and ecclesiastical and other privileges appertaining to them.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 162.

³ Charter by Alexander Sinclair, dated at Dalkeith, 7th May 1546, in *Extract Charter of Confirmation of same by Queen Mary and the Regent Arran*, dated 4th April 1547. in *Douglas Charter-chest*.

immediately laid claim to by George, Lord Home, who did all he could to prevent the re-erection by Douglas's workmen of the castle of Cockburnspath, which had been burned by Sir George himself in an English raid during the period of his exile. The dispute became so great that at length the Privy Council interposed, and ordered both parties to submit their claims, and Home to desist from the molestation of those engaged upon the rebuilding of the hall. The case was ultimately decided in favour of Sir George Douglas, who produced evidence of his having leased the lands from his brother and Queen Margaret, as well as having purchased them from Sinclair, while no appearance was put in by Lord Home. The judgment of the Privy Council was pronounced on 24th July 1547;¹ but it is noteworthy that the confirmation by Queen Mary and the Regent Arran of Sinclair's charter was made during the dependence of this case. Sir George Douglas made over Cockburnspath to his elder son David, who was thereafter known by it as a designation, before he became seventh Earl of Angus.

Sir George Douglas died in the month of July or August 1552. Lesley mentions the event as having taken place during a judicial progress made by the Regent Arran through the north of Scotland. In the month of July Arran was at Inverness, whence he went by Elgin, Banff, and Aberdeen to Dundee and Perth, and during the holding of the Court at Elgin the death of Douglas took place. He was, says Lesley, a man of great knowledge and experience, "quhome I do heir remember, for that he was so well knawin in his tyme in France, Scotland, and in Inglande for his politeque and wechetie effares in the oft changes of the gouvemenent of Scotlande, quhairin his inventionis and moyens was not the leist."² Sir George Douglas was survived by his wife, who is mentioned in 1560 as residing at Pittendriech,³ and the date of her death has not been ascertained. By her Sir George Douglas left two sons.

1. David, who became seventh Earl of Angus, and of whom a memoir follows.
2. James, who became Earl of Morton and Regent of Scotland. Of him also a memoir will be found on a later page.

Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech had, it is said, five illegitimate children, one son by a daughter of Hume of Redbraes or Polwarth, and four daughters. In a jocular remark to Sadler he stated he had only once taken an oath, that to his wife, and he had broken it. The son was George Douglas of Parkhead, who in 1571 is called brother of the Regent Morton.⁴ He was for several years (1574-1578) Captain of

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 67, 72, 73, 76.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 408*.

⁴ Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii.

² Lesley's History of Scotland, pp. 243, 244. p. 102.

the Castle of Edinburgh,¹ and about the same time held the office of Provost of Edinburgh.² When the Regent Moray was assassinated in Linlithgow, George Douglas of Parkhead was riding a little behind him, and the horse on which he sat received the bullet which passed through the Regent's body.³ He shared in the reverses of his brother the Regent Morton, and, with his sons, was banished for a time.⁴ George Douglas married Mary, daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Parkhead, a close adherent of his father and uncle in their varied fortunes, and with his wife he received the lands of Parkhead, in Douglasdale. By her he had issue:—

1. Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, who in 1596 killed Captain James Stewart of Newton, sometime Earl of Arran, and Chancellor of Scotland, in revenge for the death of his uncle, the Regent Morton, and was himself slain in 1608 by Captain William Stewart, a nephew of Stewart.⁵ He married Elizabeth Carlyle, granddaughter and heiress of Michael, fourth Lord Carlyle. Their eldest son, Sir James Douglas, in 1609 received the title of Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald.⁶ They had two other sons, Archibald and John, who both died without issue.
2. George Douglas of Mordington, gentleman of the bed-chamber to King James the Sixth, who married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Dundas of Fingask, and had issue—(1.) Sir George Douglas, ambassador from King Charles the First to Poland and Sweden in 1633 and 1635, who died without issue; (2.) James, who had an only son who died without issue; and (3.) Martha, maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria, who married Sir William Lockhart of Lee, and had issue.

3. John Douglas, D.D., ancestor of the Douglasses of Edrington.

George Douglas of Parkhead had also four daughters:—

1. Elizabeth, who married, 1st, Sir Patrick Home of Ayton, and 2d, Sir James Dundas of Arniston.
2. Martha, who married Mr. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, the famous minister of Edinburgh.

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 362, 501, 624-627; iii. p. 231.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 578.

³ Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 511.

⁴ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 348, 387, 431, 624, 672, 685.

⁵ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 199.

⁶ Sir James Douglas, Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald, married Grizel, daughter of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, by whom he had a son, William Douglas, Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald, who sold the estate, and died abroad, without issue.

3. Mary, who married John Carruthers of Holmains.
4. Christian, who married, in 1575, Edward Sinclair, fiar of Roslin.¹

The four natural daughters of Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech were—

1. Elizabeth, whose mother was the Lady Dundas, and who married James Richardson, laird of Smeaton, and had issue.
2. Margaret, whose mother was ——— Fowler, in Edinburgh. Margaret married Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, and had issue.
3. ——— Douglas, who married Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno.
4. ——— Douglas, whose mother was the wife of the "Laird of Barraes." She married Sir John Selby of Twizel in Northumberland, and had issue.²

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 566, 568.

² Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 140.

*be for in your
george master of angus*



WILLIAM DOUGLAS, PRIOR OF COLDINGHAM, PROVOST OF METHVEN,
AND ABBOT OF HOLYROOD.

Circa 1495—1528.

THE youngest of the three sons of George, Master of Angus, was William Douglas, who, following in the steps of his uncle, Gavin, bishop of Dunkeld, was educated for the Church. William Douglas was probably born about the year 1495 or earlier, but nothing is found on record concerning him until about the year 1519, when he is said to have been appointed to the Priory of Coldingham.

That Priory, erected on the rocky and precipitous coast of Berwickshire, near St. Abb's Head, was long associated with the Earls of Douglas and Angus as its protectors and principal bailies, under whom the Homes, as bailies-depute, collected the rents and generally administered the affairs of the temporalities of the Priory. The Homes eventually obtained the office of bailie, and one of them, David, youngest brother of Alexander, Lord Home, became prior of Coldingham in 1515. He was slain in 1519 by a relative, James Hepburn of Hailes, and his benefice was afterwards given to Robert Blackadder, who only enjoyed it a few months, when he fell a victim to the sword of David Home of Wedderburn, with whom he was at feud. It is said that with the aid of Wedderburn, William Douglas now seized Coldingham,¹ but that his right to do so was contested by the late prior's cousin, Patrick Blackadder, Archdeacon of Dunblane, who, with consent of the regent Albany, had received the benefice from the Pope. Between him and John Home of Blackadder, who, through his wife, a daughter of Alison Douglas, had inherited the Blackadder estates, there existed a keen feud, and the archdeacon is said to have made attempts on the life of John Home. Home retaliated, and meeting Blackadder one day near Edinburgh, slew him.

After 1519 William Douglas was styled Prior of Coldingham, and he held the priory until 1522, when he was summoned for treason, and compelled to share the exile of his brother, the Earl of Angus, in France. He, however, maintained his right to the priory, and in 1524 proceeded to Rome on the subject. He was in Paris on 8th May, and later in Antwerp, with letters from his brother for King Henry the Eighth, to be forwarded by that king's agent there, William Knight, Archdeacon of Chester and Huntingdon. Douglas informed him that he was sued by a Scotch gentleman in the Court of Rome, and must appear there on 10th June.² After

¹ Letter from Dacre to Wolsey, 19th October 1519. Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 480.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. Nos. 315, 372.

effecting his escape from France, and appearing at Rome, William Douglas rejoined his brother, the Earl, in London, where they enlisted the good offices of the English king and his chancellor, Wolsey, with the Pope for a favourable decision to Douglas in regard to Coldingham.

Queen Margaret was strongly opposed to the appointment, as indeed she was at this time to the return of her husband, the Earl of Angus, to Scotland, and the acquisition by him of any influence in Scottish affairs. She wrote to her royal brother and his lieutenant, the Earl of Norfolk, begging them not to entertain the proposals of Douglas, especially as the king had given the priory to Adam Blackadder, who was probably the opponent of Douglas at Rome.¹ She insinuated that Douglas was intriguing with the French captain, Gonzales, at Dunbar, but Norfolk assured Henry that he had only gone thither from Berwick by the advice of himself and Dacre to ask Gonzales if he meant to depart, or if he expected Albany to return. It was November before William Douglas went to Coldingham, and he had no sooner done so than he received a message from the queen commanding him to leave it, and on pain of treason to have no greater a following than forty horsemen.²

Three months later, on 1st March 1524-5, William Douglas wrote to Wolsey that through his brother George he had learned that an answer had been received from Rome, and inquiring about the Papal bulls affecting Coldingham, as his adversary was pretending that they were issued in his favour.³ Through the English ambassador, Magnus, and by letters to Wolsey himself, the Earl of Angus also made inquiries as to what had been done by the king about insuring Coldingham to his brother. The same letters show that the Earl was seeking the influence of Henry and Wolsey for the promotion of his brother either to the Bishopric of Moray or to the Abhacy of Melrose, both of which had become vacant.⁴ The affair of Coldingham, at least, was shortly afterwards brought to a satisfactory conclusion, as on 8th June 1525 the Earl wrote to Wolsey thanking him for his services in obtaining his brother's promotion.⁵

In the following year, George Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood, was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld. As the Earl of Angus had now attained almost supreme power in Scotland, his brother William was made Abbot of Holyrood. On 21st June 1526

¹ As Adam was the name of the prior who succeeded Douglas in Coldingham, this gentleman probably had the king's gift renewed to him after the death of Douglas.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 473, 474, 573, 656, 657, 672,

674, 800, 801, 807, 861.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 100-102; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 1170.

⁵ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 104.

the appointment was confirmed by Parliament, ratifying the letters to the Pope which recommended the promotion of Crichton to Dunkeld, and of William Douglas to the Abbacy of Holyrood, and appointing that, if necessary, letters should be directed with the authority of Parliament. In this Act of Parliament he is called Provost of Methven, under which title he sat and acted as one of the Lords of Articles.¹ Under the same name he is mentioned two months previously as receiving the gift of a vacant benefice in the diocese of Dunkeld.² From 15th June 1526 until 7th July 1528, William Douglas, as Abbot of Holyrood, witnessed numerous charters by King James the Fifth, while the kingdom was under the sway of his brother, the Earl of Angus, as Chancellor,³ and he is mentioned as watching the young king nightly in the lodgings of the Bishop of St. Andrews in Edinburgh, alternately with his brother George.⁴ This vigilance was necessary in order to prevent the king passing into the hands of the faction opposed to the Douglasses, a catastrophe which ultimately occurred, when, as a result, the Douglasses were forced into a long exile of fourteen years.

William Douglas did not share this exile. His brother, the Earl of Angus, first fortified himself in his castle of Tantallon, and when it was besieged by King James the Fifth, retired to his brother's priory of Coldingham. Here he remained for several months, and thence corresponded with King Henry and the English Wardens about protection to himself and friends in England.⁵ On the 2d October King James came in person to Coldingham with five hundred men and took it, but, warned beforehand, Angus, with two hundred followers, escaped before it was invested. Placing Lord Home and his brother, the Abbot of Jedburgh, in the Abbey to keep it, the king retired, and was chased by Angus to the gates of Dunbar. Angus then returned to Coldingham, turned out the Homes, and made it his residence until he had completed his arrangements for retiring to England. Before this expedition by the king reached Coldingham, William Douglas, the prior, was dead.⁶ He was buried, according to Godscroft, in the church of Preston in the Merse.⁷

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 300, 305.

² *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, 19th April 1526, Lib. vii. fol. 3.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. Nos. 358-606, *passim*.

⁴ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2449.

⁵ 10th September to 14th November. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 129-138.

⁶ Letter, the Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, 9th October 1528; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 4830.

⁷ MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Pt. II. p. 65.

JANET DOUGLAS, LADY GLAMIS, WHO WAS BURNED TO DEATH IN 1537.

JANET DOUGLAS, a younger daughter of George, Master of Angus, married John Lyon, sixth Lord Glamis, and is mentioned as his spouse in a charter by King James the Fifth, dated 12th December 1527, confirming to them the barony of Baky, in the county of Forfar.¹ He died, it is said, in the following year, 1528, leaving with his widow two sons, John, afterwards seventh Lord Glamis, and George Lyon,² and a daughter Elizabeth, who is said to have married Ross of Craigie. Janet, Lady Glamis, married secondly, before 1535, Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, second son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll,³ but does not appear to have borne any children to him.

She incurred the displeasure of King James the Fifth by intercommuning with her brothers the Earl of Angus and George Douglas when they were forfeited and banished, and for that offence was twice summoned to answer before Parliament.⁴ As she did not appear the case was continued, and apparently she was ultimately forfeited in absence, as the gift of her escheat was given by the king to Gavin Hamilton, on 1st July 1531, when she is declared "fugitive fra the law, and at the horne."⁵ Yet at this time she was absent from the kingdom on "pilgrimage and other lawful business," by letters of licence under the Privy Seal, dated 20th September 1530.⁶ Before the close of 1531 Lady Glamis had returned to Scotland, and was charged with the crime of compassing the death of her late husband by means of poison. Not a few of the barons of Forfarshire chose rather to be fined than attend upon the assize of a lady they held in deserved esteem. Her trial was repeatedly postponed for want of a full assize, from November 29, 1529, to 26th February following, after which no further notice of judicial proceedings on this charge are recorded, and they appear to have been abandoned.

It was not until the year 1537 that the final proceedings against Lady Glamis, which

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 526.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 328*.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 3622.

⁴ 1st December 1528, and 18th January 1528-9. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 331.

⁵ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, *sub dato*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

ended in her conviction and death, were entered upon.¹ According to one historian she had given deep offence to one William Lyon, a near relation of her late husband, by refusing his overtures of marriage in her widowhood, and he determined to be revenged on her and certain others. Gaining the ear of the king he insinuated against them a charge of conspiring his death by poison. Animated by anger against the Douglasses as the king then was, he gave too ready heed to the insinuations of this informer, and Lady Glamis was indicted on the double charge of conspiring the king's death and intercommuning with her two brothers Archibald and George Douglas, the king's rebels. Her husband, Campbell of Skipnish, her sons John, Lord Glamis, and George Lyon, with an aged priest and relative of her first husband named John Lyon, were arrested with her, and confined in the castle of Edinburgh until the trial.

Witnesses were procured who affirmed the charges made against Lady Glamis, but their evidence has not been preserved. After her own examination by the judges she was asked if she had anything to say why she should not be condemned. She is said to have replied in a speech of marked ability, to the effect that it was not her own guilt but her nearness of blood to the exiled Douglasses which led to her trial. She challenged a full investigation of her life and character, and showed the improbability of her alleged designs against the king, as she and her friends constantly resided at a distance from the Court, and could not execute such designs. She boldly asserted her innocence, and finished by a pathetic appeal that if she must suffer those of her friends implicated with her should be set free, and she alone be the victim.²

It is added that the judges were so impressed with the bearing of Lady Glamis that they referred the case to the king, and begged him to exercise his prerogative of mercy, or at least to delay sentence. But he proved inexorable. Doom was therefore pronounced, and Lady Glamis suffered on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, where, says Buchanan, she "was burned alive, greatly pitied by the spectators; for her rank and that of her husband, her blooming youth, uncommon beauty, and the masculine courage with which she suffered, interested every one, and more especially as it was

¹ On 7th June 1537 a summons was granted by the Lords of Council, at the instance of Janet, Lady Glamis, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, her spouse, against John Lyon in Knokeany, to compel him to make payment of the yearly rent due by him for the lease of these lands. [Original summons in Charter-chest of the Duke of Argyll.]

² The speech is printed by Mr. Pitcairn in his *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. pp. 192, 193, from the *History of Scotland*, by David Scott, of the Inner Temple, 1727. Scott does not state his authority for the speech, but Mr. Pitcairn thinks that he had access to private documents relating to Lady Glamis.

generally believed that hatred toward her banished brother rather than the crime she was accused of, was the cause of her punishment."¹

This tragic event took place on Tuesday, 17th July 1537. The fate of Lady Glamis being the same as that usually accorded to witches, has given rise to the popular belief that she was burned for witchcraft, but there is no mention whatever of the charge of witchcraft in the recorded proceedings against her. That she was most unjustly condemned and executed has been generally accorded by historians, and her unhappy fate and cruel and barbarous death must always excite commiseration. Sir Thomas Clifford, the English resident in Scotland, in narrating the circumstance in a letter to his master, King Henry the Eighth of England, declares that so far as he can perceive Lady Glamis had been condemned "without any substanciall ground or proyf of mattir." Under pain of torture a confession of guilt was obtained from her son, then a youth of sixteen years of age, who afterwards retracted his confession as false, and extorted by fear and promises of saving his life and estate.² William Lyon, whose schemes had met with such unhappy success, is said to have been smitten with remorse, confessed his guilt to the king, and then fled from justice.

Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, the second husband of Lady Glamis, continued for some time longer in imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle. He at length attempted to make his escape by descending the rocks with a rope, when he fell and either was killed or died from the effects of his injuries. John, Lord Glamis, and his brother were detained in prison until the death of King James the Fifth, when they were liberated and restored to their ancestral possessions. The aged priest who had been seized along with Lady Glamis was put to death shortly after her execution.³

¹ Buchanan's History of Scotland, Aikman's translation, vol. ii. p. 317. A recent writer [Tytler, vol. iv. pp. 234, 235, 447-451] maintains that Lady Glamis was guilty of the crimes charged against her, but the arguments he adduces add nothing to the proof against the lady, the reasons for whose trial

and execution remain as mysterious as before, unless the popular view be accepted.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 420-422.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 183*-203*.

VI.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, SIXTH EARL OF ANGUS.

LADY MARGARET HEPBURN (OF BOTHWELL), HIS FIRST WIFE.

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, HIS SECOND WIFE.

MARGARET MAXWELL (OF MAXWELL), HIS THIRD WIFE.

1514—1556.

ON the death of George, Master of Angus, at Flodden, followed soon afterwards by the decease of his father, the fifth Earl, the succession devolved upon Archibald Douglas, eldest son of the Master, who became SIXTH EARL OF ANGUS. He was then about the twenty-fifth year of his age, having been born in or about the year 1489. When twenty years old he was contracted in marriage by his father and grandfather to Lady Margaret Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell.¹ But this union was of short duration, as Lady Margaret died in 1513, it is said in childbed, leaving no surviving issue.² Twelve weeks after the battle of Flodden, Sir Archibald Douglas³ was served heir to his father in the lands of Douglasdale, Crawford-Douglas, Tantallon, Jedburgh Forest, Abernethy, and Selkirk. When, a few weeks later, he received sasine of Tantallon, he had become Earl of Angus, and was infest under that designation.⁴ He was served heir

¹ The Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. ii. p. 117. Contract dated 26th June 1509.

dated 29th November 1513. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 213-216.

² Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 238.

⁴ 31st January 1513. Original Instrument

³ He is styled "knight" in the retour,

of Sasine in Douglas Charter-chest.

to his grandfather also, in the lands and barony of Bothwell, which he inherited direct from him.¹

The loss of the king and so many of the older nobles left the government of the country in a weak condition. James, Earl of Arran, whose propinquity to the king gave him a right to be considered in the appointment of a regent, was absent in France, and so was John, Duke of Albany, son of the exiled brother of King James the Third. The Scottish Parliament considered Albany, though born a Frenchman, most likely to harmonise the rivalries of the nobility. He was therefore asked to become Governor of Scotland, although by the testament of King James the Fourth, the regency, as well as the custody of the infant sovereign during his minority, was left to the queen. She, however, was young, and did not enjoy the confidence of the nation, while her brother, Henry the Eighth, sought to interfere with the government of Scotland. In April 1514 her posthumous son, the Prince Alexander, was born, and soon afterwards Henry began to scheme for the marriage of his sister, first with the Emperor Maximilian and then with Louis the Twelfth of France. The queen, however, preferred the kingdom of her son, where also she had suitors. The Scottish lords wished her to marry the Duke of Albany, and encouraged him to seek the union.² But declining all proposals, she selected as her second husband Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, and their marriage was celebrated on 6th August 1514.³

The royal widow, says Pinkerton, appears to have merited, and possessed, the admiration of all ranks. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year, and her youthful beauty and graces rather proclaimed the bride than the

¹ Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 22d March 1513-14, in Douglas Charter-chest, contains a precept from Chancery dated 1st February, which mentions the retour as having been expedite in January. The lands in the barony of Bothwell are specified in the charter

granted to the fifth Earl of Angus in 1492. [Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 134, 135.]

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. i. Nos. 4666, 5208, 5368; vol. ii. No. 1830.

³ Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 99.

widow. Her amorous propensities were strong, and were to be indulged at the expense of ambition and decency in precipitate marriages, and if we believe her brother and Wolsey, in yet bolder deviations. But eminent in accomplishments and in prudence, when unbiassed by her passions, her talents throw her faults into the shade. Her long letters display an intimate knowledge of affairs and characters, considerable ability, and patient industry. In her political conduct, he adds, she went to extremes, but the times were difficult, and that wisdom could not be mean which attracted the praise of the able Dacre, the prudent and magnanimous Surrey, and of the cautious cardinal (Wolsey).¹

Angus is described by his contemporaries as being an extremely handsome and good-natured youth, and from his high position he was able to wield great power and influence, though Dacre, the English warden-general, complained that he surrounded himself with youthful rather than experienced counsellors. Godscroft, with pardonable vanity, dwells at length on the glory which accrued to the Douglasses from this royal alliance, and notably that by it Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, became brother-in-law not only to Henry the Eighth of England, but also to Louis, King of France, who had married the Princess Mary, younger sister of Queen Margaret.²

The immediate result of this union was infelicitous to Scotland, as well as to the parties chiefly concerned. It was entered into by Margaret without the consent of her council, who seized the occasion to put in operation against her the will of the late king, by which her regency terminated on re-marriage. The queen stoutly resisted the invasion of what she deemed her inherent right, and was supported by her husband in her contention. Soon after her marriage she presented her husband's uncle, Gavin Douglas, to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, had

¹ Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 113, 114.

² MS. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. pp. 67, 68.

already procured his own election to the vacant see, but Douglas was placed in possession of the castle of St. Andrews, and Hepburn was warned by Angus not to interfere. Disregarding the threats of the Earl, Hepburn assaulted the castle. Angus hastened to raise the siege, but he had no sooner left the queen in the castle of Stirling than the Earl of Arran and Lord Home, the Chamberlain, appeared and compelled her to accompany them to the Council at Edinburgh. This diverted Angus from his purpose, until he had rescued the queen, and conveyed her back to Stirling. In the interval the castle of St. Andrews yielded to its assailants.¹

Margaret besought her brother to send an English army to her support, but Henry declined, lest, as he told Dacre, he should seem to aim at the crown of Scotland. He would much prefer that Angus and the queen should come to England, bringing the young princes with them. But Angus refused, and would not even consent that the queen should go, although safe-conducts to come into England were sent for him, and also for the queen, Lord Maxwell, and Gavin Douglas, then postulate of Arbroath. Angus and the queen were for some time at Perth, and the rumour arose that they had taken ship thence for England with the royal children, but this was contradicted by their return to Stirling.²

During this period the situation was further complicated by a misunderstanding between Angus and the Chamberlain, owing to the latter having obtained the office of warden of the East Marches. The retainers of the two noblemen were more than once marshalled against each other without coming to actual bloodshed. But when the queen and the rest of the lords drew together on terms of mutual agreement, Lord Home, at his own request,

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. i. Nos. 5614, 5641.

rumour also was raised that the queen had sent the young king into England, and obtained a poor child in his place in order to

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. Nos. 27, 47, 50, 66. A

deceive the Scots. [*Ibid.*]

was admitted to the queen's friendship. There were also some displays of force between the Earls of Angus and Arran, but at this juncture Albany was on his way from France, and it seemed as if all parties harmonised for the occasion so as to accord him a hearty welcome. On 15th May 1515, Angus, Arran, and Home were among the officers of state and lords of council who signed the truce with France and England in name of King James the Fifth, on behalf of Scotland.¹

Three days later John, Duke of Albany, landed at Dumbarton amidst general rejoicings. His first Parliament was appointed to be held on 10th July,² and on the opening day Albany proceeded in state to the Parliament House, accompanied by the nobles, Arran bearing the sword before him. At the commencement of the proceedings a coronet was placed on Albany's head by the Earls of Angus and Argyll, and he was declared Protector until the king reached his eighteenth year. Previous to this meeting of Parliament, the queen had sought to obtain recognition of her right to a share in the government, and though success was in any case doubtful, it was rendered hopeless at this time by the tenor of letters which were intercepted on their way from England to the queen and others.

As husband of the queen, Angus was regarded with deep suspicion, and opportunity was taken of this discovery to strike a blow at his pretensions. This was done indirectly by the committal of his uncle, Gavin Douglas, to prison, first in Edinburgh Castle, and then in St. Andrews, on the charge of seeking the influence of the English king in the matter of ecclesiastical preferment without licence from the King of Scotland. Almost immediately afterwards, Lord Drummond, maternal grandfather of Angus, and constable of the queen's castle of Stirling, was warded in Blackness, on the charge of advising that Henry should be constituted protector of Scotland, and

¹ Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 101; Nos. 237, 421, 464, Appendix No. 11 Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii.

² *Ibid.* No. 559.

have the care of the young king.¹ The queen took sorely to heart the imprisonment of her husband's relatives and the changed aspect of affairs, but when she went to Holyrood and entreated Albany with tears to liberate her friends, he threatened to deprive her of the custody of her children.

This was no empty threat, and on ascertaining the resolution of Parliament to sustain Albany's intention, the queen, accompanied by Angus, betook herself to her castle of Stirling,² determined to resist the bereavement by force. Of eight lords appointed to take charge of the royal children, Parliament sent four to receive them from their mother. Leading the young king by the hand, she, her husband, a nurse bearing the infant prince, and a few servants, awaited them at the outer gate of the castle. Before they could enter the queen commanded them to stand and deliver their message, on hearing which she ordered the porteuillis to be dropped, and replied that the castle was her own feofment given her by the king her husband, who had appointed her protectrix of her children, and she desired a respite of six days to consider her final answer. Angus, fearing lest the queen's action might involve him in a charge of treason, openly desired her to obey the wishes of Parliament, and on her refusal, took instruments that he had so done.

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 704, 779, 1830. At least this is said to have been the first accusation, but a few days later he was accused of striking a herald in the queen's presence, a year prior to Albany's arrival in Scotland. As Margaret puts it, Lord Drummond was accused by Albany because he "waffed his sleif at an harralde, and gave him upon the breast with his hand" for unbecoming deportment.

² Somewhat unaccountably, Pinkerton, followed by Tytler and Burton, makes the scene here described take place in the castle of Edinburgh. Their authority, who is Dacre

in his letter to the English Council, dated 1st August 1515 [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. No. 779], nowhere implies that this was so, and as the queen declared the castle to have been given her in jointure by her late husband, it could not have been Edinburgh, but Stirling Castle. Dacre, in the same letter, mentions the queen as being at Stirling prepared to resist the demand, and it must have been there that she met the lords of Parliament. Besides, she would not have been suffered to leave Edinburgh for Stirling after refusing obedience to the Parliament's commands.

Before the six days were expired, the queen offered to deliver the children into the hands of three lords and a knight, chosen by herself, her husband and Lord Home being of the number, but Albany declined her terms, and sent an armed force to besiege Stirling Castle. Meanwhile Angus departed to his estates in Forfarshire, but he was summoned thence by Albany, and commanded, on his allegiance, to proceed to Stirling and assist in starving his wife into submission. Before he left Stirling he had arranged with the queen that should Albany assault the castle, she should place the king upon the walls, crowned, and with the royal sceptre in his hand, that he might be seen of all, and that it might be manifest that war was being carried on against the king's own person. During the investment the Earl's brother, George Douglas, and Lord Home, entered the castle and had an interview with the queen. But she would neither leave the castle nor intrust them with the princes, and ultimately surrendered to Albany, pleading, while she yielded, for favour to her children, her husband, and herself. Albany assured her that he would respect the king, his brother, and herself, but would not come to terms with traitors. Angus accordingly kept himself at a distance from Court, and is mentioned by the English warden as being at the castle of Newark in Yarrow, and also in Teviotdale.¹

The queen submitted to go to Edinburgh with Albany, but finding herself treated like a prisoner, fled into England, accompanied by Angus, and at Harbottle, on 7th October, gave birth to her daughter, Margaret Douglas.² Albany was much disconcerted at the queen's flight, and wrote demanding her return, or if her condition would not permit of it, that Angus and his brother should come to Scotland as hostages, and they should receive a free pardon.

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 779, 783, 788.

² She became Countess of Lennox, and occupied an important place in the later his-

tory of the country. Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador at the Court of England, reports Wolsey as saying to him that this daughter was prematurely born, and had died. [*Ibid.* No. 1380.]

Lord Dacre, who was the instigator of the queen's flight,¹ took care that Albany's terms of peace should not be accepted by the queen. The regent in consequence declared them traitors, and seized the castles of Tantallon and Bothwell, belonging to Angus. Lord Home, who alone of all the nobles besides Angus adhered to the queen against Albany, was forfeited, his houses destroyed, and by a ruse of the regent he and his two brothers had almost lost their lives. But their brother-in-law, the Earl of Arran, warned them of their danger, and fled with them from Edinburgh. They joined Angus at Wooler, in Northumberland, and in the presence of the English warden swore with Angus to take the queen's part.² A day or two later Angus, Arran, and Home, entered into a mutual bond at Coldstream, on 15th October 1515, by which they obliged themselves to bring the king and his brother out of their present keeping, and provide for their safety by the advice of the noblemen of the realm.

The queen, after the birth of her daughter, was prostrated by severe illness, but as soon as she had sufficiently recovered, though still suffering from sciatica, she was removed from Harbottle to Morpeth Castle, another

¹ The English warden was instructed to stir up strife between Albany and Angus and others. It was Dacre who obtained the alienation of Lord Home from Albany, and after their animosity was perfected, laughed over Home's simplicity and misfortune. His letters show how effectually he did the work assigned him, and the malignant satisfaction which he displayed in his success gives an unfavourable complexion to his character. He on one occasion styles himself approvingly "the fiddling stick to hold Scotland in cumber and business." [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. No. 4217.]

² On the invitation of the French ambassador, with whose letter a pardon was sent, Home went to Douglas to visit Albany. He was made prisoner, compelled to sign certain documents, and conveyed in custody to Edinburgh, where he was committed to the care of the Earl of Arran. Albany also endeavoured to seize Lord Home's two brothers, George and William Home, by bringing them to Edinburgh to become sureties for their brother. But Arran knew Albany's intention, and conveyed them out of the city, the party walking fourteen miles on foot before obtaining horses. [*Ibid.* Nos. 1027, 1044.]

seat of Lord Dacre, and spent there the Christmas of 1515, surrounded by her husband, Lord Home and his wife, Lady Bothwell,¹ and others. During her stay at Morpeth a correspondence was maintained with Albany, who continued to offer terms of adjustment, and it was arranged that Angus should be reconciled to the regent.² The queen wrote requesting Albany to restore to her husband the castles of Tantallon and Bothwell, and to send her the jewels which she left in Tantallon. She wished to visit her brother's Court, and Albany offered her almost anything she pleased to induce her to return to Scotland,—the liberation of her husband's uncle and grandfather, the restitution of their lands to all her adherents, and all the service and pleasure he could do her. The queen was strongly inclined to yield, but Dacre, and his fellow-diplomatist, Magnus, took care to prevent that. They reported to Henry that they "penned her letters in such wise as the Duke would not consent, to prevent any renewal of friendship between them."³

¹ Lady Agnes Stewart, daughter of James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, who married, first, Adam Hepburn, second Earl of Bothwell; secondly, Alexander, Lord Home, Chamberlain of Scotland; and thirdly, Robert, Lord Maxwell. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 79, 956, etc.]

² On 28th March, John de Planis, French ambassador, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, and Gavin Dunbar, Archdean of St. Andrews, who had, as commissioners from Albany, just concluded a truce with England at Coldingham, and were also instructed to endeavour to make terms with Angus, met with him at Stanetoun, and there arranged the conditions of his return. The agreement is remarkable for this, that Albany demanded nothing on his part, and all the terms were concessions to Angus and

the queen. Among other things the Earl was to have a complete remission for himself, friends, and servants; the action begun against them for treason was to be dismissed; all castles and their contents, and all goods, were to be restored as Angus and the queen had left them, and any of his charters in the castle of Tantallon which had been taken away would be renewed; while the queen was promised a full discharge of all her dealings with Crown property. This was signed by the commissioners for Albany, and also by Angus. [Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 216-218.]

³ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 1350, 1387, 1557, 1598, 1671. The queen's jewels and apparel in Tantallon were sent by Albany to London in the following October. [*Ibid.* No. 2481.]

It was April 1516 before the queen left Morpeth for London, but Angus and Lord Home on her departure declared their intention of returning to Scotland and keeping peace with Albany. Dacre took them to task for breach of their promise, and the queen, he said, was "in much heaviness at their conduct," but Albany was gratified by their return. During the queen's absence, which lasted until June 1517, Angus continued on good terms with the regent, and also with the queen, with whom he corresponded. On one occasion she wrote to Albany asking him to allow her husband to come to her in London, and he replied that in this and all other matters he would be happy to oblige her to the best of his power, and that he had given Angus leave, but did not think he was willing to go. This was in March 1517, and immediately afterwards the terms of the queen's return were arranged, a safe-conduct for her sojourn in Scotland being granted in her son's name. Probably in view of the queen's return, Albany proposed to transfer the king from Stirling to Edinburgh for greater safety, and Dacre mentions that about this time Albany had thrice sent for Angus to come to him without obtaining obedience.¹

The queen entered Scotland on 15th June 1517, and was met by the Earl of Angus and a large retinue at Lamberton kirk.² Just a week earlier

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 1759, 2110, 2314, 2990, 3105, 3136-3138. This refusal by Angus was before 17th April, and in the following month a messenger was paid ten shillings for riding to Boncle to the Earl with the king's letter. [Treasurer's Accounts, ms.]

² *Ibid.* No. 3365. This narrative disposes of a passage in Tytler's history condemnatory of Angus at this period. That writer, indeed, throughout his work, evinces a strong bias against the House of Douglas in both its earlier and later branches. Referring to the

departure of the queen from Morpeth for London alone, he styles the return of Angus and Home, desertion of the queen, and says, "For the conduct of Home the queen found some excuse, but to be thus deserted at her utmost need by a husband for whom she had sacrificed her royal pomp and power, was an ungrateful return for her love, which Margaret's proud spirit never forgave. She waited only for her recovery to fly to the English Court, where she loaded Albany and Douglas with reproaches," etc. [History of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 112.]

Albany had sailed for France, leaving the government of the country in the hands of six regents, the Earls of Angus, Arran, Argyll, and Huntly, and the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.¹ Soon after the departure of Albany, M. de la Bastie, a Frenchman to whom had been committed the keeping of the castle of Dunbar and wardenry of the East Marches, was slain in an encounter with Hume of Wedderburn, and from Hume's relationship to Angus the suspicions of the Earl's co-regents were aroused as to his complicity. On such a charge, at least, George Douglas, the Earl's brother, was arrested and committed to prison,² and the Earl of Arran was appointed warden of the East Marches, to the disgust of Angus, who naturally had reason to expect the appointment.

Queen Margaret was still anxious to re-acquire the regency for herself, but professed contentment if the lords of Scotland would invest her husband with the chief rule. She told Dacre that her husband would take no part but to keep good rule if they would give him the authority; for, she adds, "it muste be a gret man that moste do it, and I thynke there schuld not be non afoor hym, consydering I have maryd hym."³ The lords, however, were averse to the supremacy of Angus, and after the queen had been some time in Scotland, finding that her income was not what she expected, she became much discontented. At Dacre's request Angus renounced all his rights to the queen's jointure lands, and agreed to their being administered on her behalf by two Englishmen and two Scotchmen.⁴ In his letter of obligation, the Earl of Angus refers to a promise made immediately after

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 395.

² Lesley, p. 111. The place of imprisonment is said to have been the castle of Edinburgh.

³ Pinkerton's History, vol. ii. pp. 467, 468. 20th September 1517.

⁴ These were Dacre and Magnus, Robert Ker of Selkirk and Alexander Crawford, master of St. Anthony's, a monastic establishment beside Leith.

his marriage with the queen not to interfere with her lands personally nor by others, and he renews that promise for the rest of his natural life.¹

But this arrangement brought no better result, and the queen had ultimately to report that no one would act for her. She complained to her brother of being troubled by Angus, who, though he had made such an agreement, did not keep it, and on the pressure of his friends had endeavoured to get her to cancel it; that on her refusal he left her, took Newark from her, and had not come near her for the last six months. She "will part with him, if she may by God's law, and with honor to herself, for he loves her not." She promises to send a servant to tell Henry of Angus's other misdeeds, which are too long to write, asks his forbearance in regard to this point, and declares she will not marry but where he wishes.²

This is the first intimation of any serious difference between Angus and the queen. They were living together at Edinburgh in July 1518,³ and Lesley states that in August of that year the queen ascertained that the Earl was entertaining another lady in Douglasdale. On that account she conceived such jealousy and hatred against him that there never was perfect love between them thenceforth, and she resolved on procuring a divorce.⁴ This source of their disagreement is the one adopted by Godscroft, who says the lady was a daughter of the laird of Traquair, and it is acquiesced in by modern historians, at least as a contributory cause. Pinkerton refuses to accept the idea of the Earl's infidelity, and gives as the source of their dis-

¹ Dated at Lamberton Kirk, 15th June 1518. Appendix to Ninth Report of Historical Mss. Commission, p. 191; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. ii. Nos. 3986, 4677; vol. iv. of this work, p. 74.

² Letter, Margaret, Queen of Scots, to Henry VIII., undated, but probably written about April 1519. Letters and Papers, etc.,

Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 166.

³ On 19th July 1518 the queen, with consent of her "derrest spous," made a grant to Marion Douglas, nurse of the king, of a piece of land at Linlithgow. Original Charter in Duke of Roxburghe's Charter-chest at Floors. Vol. iii. of this work.

⁴ Lesley, p. 113.

agreement the departure of Angus and Home from the queen at Morpeth.¹ It has, however, been shown that this view, which is adopted by Tytler, is incorrect. On the other hand, if the matter stood as stated by Lesley, the queen, instead of complaining of her husband's desertion of her for six months, would have had a more practical plea for her proposal to seek a divorce than the one to which she gave prominence. Whether Angus was guilty of irregularity during his marriage with the queen or not, she never urged that plea during her long and determined struggle to obtain a divorce.²

The queen's resolution to separate from Angus was strenuously opposed by her brother, and by means of Henry Chadworth, minister of the Observant Friars, he succeeded in persuading her to return to her husband. For this Angus expressed himself very grateful to Henry. He declared his readiness to do him any possible service compatible with his allegiance to his own sovereign. He was willing, even if commanded forthwith, to pass on foot to Jerusalem, and to fight with the Turks to the death in Henry's behalf.³ The queen herself cordially accepted the reconciliation, and threw herself heart and soul into her husband's cause. She lamented that the lords were bent on his destruction, and entreated her brother's assistance in his favour. Arran and other lords used all their influence to dissuade her from returning to Angus, threatening that they would cease to support her if she did. But

¹ Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 156.

² Several years after this breach Dacre referred to the matter in answer to charges by the queen that he encouraged Angus against her. "Madam," he says, "I gave him never counsel, but that it might stand with your honor according to my duty, as I am bound to do for your grace. And inasmuch as ye took him to be your husband, at your pleasure, without consent or counsel of your

brother, my sovereign, or any other of his natural subjects, it were your honor to resort to him, according as ye are bound by the laws of God, or else to shew the cause why, by the order of justice for the declaration of your conscience." [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 1845; Preface, pp. cccviii-cccx.]

³ October 1519. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 75, 76.

so far from encouraging them, she even travelled to Linlithgow in the vain attempt to reconcile these lords and her husband. In the middle of October 1519, she went to Edinburgh to visit the king, her son. Angus with four hundred horse met her on the way, and convoyed her in state to Edinburgh, and her entry to the city was welcomed by the lords there "with great triumph, in shooting of guns, and great melody of instruments playing."¹

These lords were Andrew Forman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Moray, the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Morton, Glencairn, Errol, Crawford, and Marischal, and Lords Ruthven, Glamis, Hay, and Gray, and they siding with Angus, held the town of Edinburgh. The other party, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Argyll and Galloway, the Earls of Arran, Cassillis, and Lennox, and the Lords Fleming, Ross, Semple, and Maxwell, were obliged to remain in Glasgow. The king was with the former in the castle of Edinburgh, and so strong did they feel themselves that they proposed to appoint a new chancellor in the room of Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. There was, at this juncture, a conflict for the supremacy on the part of the factions of Angus and Arran.² Neither party would yield to the other, nor consent to co-operate in national affairs, and several collisions consequently took place.

Arran had for some time held the office of provost of Edinburgh, but during the possession of Edinburgh by Angus, Archibald Douglas of

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. Nos. 467, 481, 482.

² As an instance of this rivalry it is related that when Albany secured the inclusion of Scotland in a treaty of peace between England and France, and ambassadors were sent to the Scottish lords for their approval, they passed through England, and were forwarded by Dacre from the borders, received by Angus three miles from Edinburgh, and convoyed by

him to the king. But they tacitly declined the authority of Angus, and went to Arran at Glasgow to transact their business, which gave so great offence to Angus that, when they were leaving the kingdom, he intercepted the envoys at Carlawerock, and upbraided them so sharply for their conduct, that they were in terror of their lives. [Lesley, p. 114; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. Nos. 482, 1091.]

Kilspindie, his uncle, was appointed to the civic chair,¹ and Arran was not permitted to enter the city, though the same restriction does not appear to have been laid on the nobles who adhered to him. An attempt by him personally to force an entrance was repulsed with bloodshed. Afterwards, in January 1519-20, a dispute arose between Angus and Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst, about the holding of courts upon the lands of Jedburgh Forest, Ker claiming the right to do so as hereditary bailie. The matter would probably have been amicably arranged, had not Sir James Hamilton, Arran's natural son, gone to Ker's assistance with four hundred Merse men. On his way, near Kelso, Hamilton was attacked by the Laird of Cessford, then warden of the Middle Marches, or, according to some, by Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan, whereupon Hamilton's followers from the Merse deserted him, and before he could reach the shelter of Home Castle, several of the few personal retainers he had with him were slain. This affray was known as the "Raid of Jedwood Forest." Lesley adds that on the following day Ker of Ferniehirst kept his court at the principal messuage of the Forest as bailie to the Earl of Angus, while Angus held his own court upon another part of the lands three miles distant.²

A more serious conflict took place between Angus and Arran in the High Street of Edinburgh on the last day of April 1520. A convention of the Estates had been appointed for the 29th of that month at Edinburgh, but the Hamiltons declared they could not trust themselves in that town so long as the uncle of Angus was provost. To avoid the appearance of impeding public business, and in obedience to a command from the absent regent, that in the interests of peace neither a Hamilton nor a Douglas should be elected provost, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie demitted office. Angus also withdrew many of his retainers from the town to allay the alarm of his opponents.

¹ The Earl's brother, William, was about this time appointed Prior of Coldingham. [Letters and Papers, etc., vol. iii. No. 480.]

² Lesley, p. 115; Godseroft, ed. 1644, p. 244.

The supporters of Arran now crowded into the town, and the lords of his party assembled in the house of Chancellor Beaton, in Blackfriars' Wynd, when, among other things, they resolved to attempt the arrest of Angus. Intimation of his danger was immediately conveyed to the Earl, and he sent his uncle, the Bishop of Dunkeld, to treat with his opponents, while he made preparations for defence. The bishop repaired to the meeting-place of Arran's council, and endeavoured to persuade Beaton to act the part of a peacemaker, and to delay any hostile action that was intended until Arran and Angus debated their differences before the convention; but the Chancellor replied, charging the Earl of Angus with complicity in the death of M. de la Bastie, and in the recent attack upon the son of the Earl of Arran. For these things, he said, Angus must go to ward. "There is no remeid, and I cannot mend it, upon my conscience." To enforce his seeming regret he smote upon his breast, whereupon a coat of mail which he wore below his rochet rattled. "Your conscience clatters,¹ my lord," replied Dunkeld, and turning from the Chancellor appealed to Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran, that Angus might at least be allowed to speak with the queen, and he would then withdraw from the town. This would have been agreed to by Arran himself, at his brother's desire, had not Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, who was defeated in the raid of Jedwood Forest, taunted his uncle with unwillingness to fight. This roused the spirit of the intending pacificator, and he retorted fiercely, "Bastard smaik,² thou liest falsely; I shall fight this day where thou darest not be seen." Bishop Douglas returned to report his ill success to his nephew; and while he could give but little hope of victory on account of Arran's strength and numbers, he encouraged the Earl to defend himself bravely. It would not become him, a churchman, he said, to engage in the fray, but he would retire to his chamber and invoke the Divine blessing on the endeavours of his nephew.

¹ Tells tales.

² Mean fellow.

Angus meanwhile had armed his few followers, who, with the servants of his uncle, only numbered about fourscore. Here his popularity with the citizens stood him in good stead, as from the windows of their houses they furnished his men with long spears. With carts and ale-barrels he blocked up all the wynds and closes leading from the neighbouring streets into the High Street, placed a few defenders with spears at the entrance of each, and drew up the rest of his men near the top of Blackfriars' Wynd, which alone was left open. From their heated debate Arran's councillors passed hastily, and without waiting for each other, to meet their opponents. Rushing upon the line of armed men that barred his way, Sir Patrick Hamilton was almost immediately slain by Angus's own hand, and after a short but sharp struggle the Hamiltons were defeated and chased from the city, Arran and his natural son fleeing on one dray horse through the North Loch to save their lives. The Master of Eglinton, and between seventy and eighty of the Hamiltons, shared the fate of Sir Patrick Hamilton. The Chancellor fled to the church of the Dominicans, and would, even there, have paid the penalty of his rash interference had not his fellow-bishop, whose suit he had so recently repelled, rushed to his rescue.

The victory, even had it been less decisive, would have been secured by the arrival, during the *mêlée*, of eight hundred borderers under William Douglas, prior of Coldingham, and Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, who forced an entrance by breaking open the gates of the city. Angus then made proclamation that no one should appear in arms unless his own retainers; but on his authority being re-established, the followers of Arran, who had not already escaped, obtained permission to leave, and a body of eight hundred horsemen marched out unmolested.¹ This fray was afterwards known by the name of “Cleanse the causeway.”

¹ Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 180-182; Lesley, vol. ii. pp. 278, 279; Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 115; Buchanan, Aikman's translation, pp. 186-188.

But the symbols of authority were in the possession of the opponents of Angus. This soon afterwards occasioned the defection not only of Andrew Ker of Cessford, the warden who had previously assisted him and his friends, but also of the civic authorities of Edinburgh. The former entered into alliance with Arran in August 1520, and in January following the latter gave their bond of support to Arran in maintenance of the king's authority, obliging themselves not to admit the Earl of Angus or his supporters or kindred into the town of Edinburgh while the Earl of Arran was there, until their quarrel had been redressed and harmony established.¹ It was only by displays of force that the Earl of Angus could maintain his footing in the country; but in these he was generally successful. In July 1521 he visited Edinburgh, accompanied by his brother William, prior of Coldingham, David Hume of Wedderburn, and a large retinue, for the purpose of interring the remains of the late Lord Home and his brother William, who had been executed by Albany, and whose heads still stood upon the Tolbooth. Angus then marched his forces upon Stirling, where he had been informed Arran and his associates were to meet. But his prey escaped him, and he returned to Edinburgh to complete the funeral obsequies of his departed friends. This was accomplished amid "great offerings and banquets," and Angus and his followers returned to their respective homes.²

¹ Original Bonds in Charter-chest of the Duke of Hamilton. Even the queen began to parley with her husband's enemies, and was soon induced to exert her influence in their favour. She corresponded with Albany, who sent her money, and sustained the hope that her demands would henceforward be promptly and dutifully attended to. Her resolution to obtain a separation from Angus was revived and fostered, and Albany undertook to use his influence with the Pope for a divorce. She was even said to have left

Edinburgh by night, being by arrangement met outside the walls by her husband's mortal enemy, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and escorted to Linlithgow. Her complaint against Angus was that he withheld her lands from her, a charge which Angus denied, save in regard to Cockburnspath, which was worth only about five marks sterling annually. [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. Nos. 1170, 1190, 1199, 1761.]

² Lesley, pp. 115, 116; Aikman's Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 279.

Albany returned to Scotland on 18th November 1521,¹ and was again cordially welcomed. On arriving in Edinburgh the Duke deposed the civic authorities who had been chosen by Angus, probably on his last visit, in place of those who had made the band with Arran. Angus held aloof, uncertain of the tendency of affairs, but had not long to wait. On the 6th December Albany issued proclamation for the meeting of a Parliament on 26th January, and three days afterwards a general summons of forfeiture was issued against the Earl, his brother William, prior of Coldingham, and several of their adherents, to appear in that Parliament, and be adjudged and decerned forfeited for certain crimes committed by them.² Angus and his friends retired to the Kirk of Steyl, probably Ladykirk, in Berwickshire, whence they negotiated with Henry the Eighth through Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld. As the proper guardians of the young king they represented his position as one of the utmost danger, and that while they were ready to hazard their lives in his defence, they could do little without assistance. They requested Henry's intervention with the Estates, and even with the Pope, for their reinstatement, the liberty of appointing the king's servants, and the power to prevent Albany coming within thirty miles of the place where the king was, or having any dealings with those who had the charge of the king's person.³

Furnished with these instructions and with letters from the Earl to Henry and Wolsey, as well as with a joint letter from the three lords desiring to know the pleasure of the English king as speedily as possible, the bishop set out for London. He had not been long gone before negotia-

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII. vol. iii. No. 1851. The queen met him at Stirling, and accompanied him to Linlithgow and Edinburgh. She was closeted with Albany. says Dacre, not only during the day but the greater part of the night, and careless of all appearances. They "ar never syndry," wrote

the Douglasses to Henry, "but every day togidder owder forrow none or eftir." [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 80.]

² Lesley, pp. 116, 117.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 79-82. Lords Home and Somerville were the principal supporters of the Earl at this time.

tions were begun in Scotland for his nephew's reconciliation. Albany had brought over soldiers from France, and since issuing the proclamation against the Douglasses, had laid siege to and taken the castle of Tantallon. By arrangement between the queen and Albany, George, Lord Home was offered a pardon if he submitted, and Dacre says that Angus was offered the forest of Ettrick if he would do likewise, and consent to a divorce. In replying to a charge by Wolsey of maintaining the breach between the queen and Angus, with a view to his own advancement, Albany declared his willingness to permit Angus to go to the queen, and he granted an assurance of safety to the Earl, on the strength of which the latter returned to Edinburgh.¹ Angus, indeed, had little choice in the matter, for there was slight prospect of his receiving any adequate support from his royal brother-in-law, and if Albany succeeded in isolating him, his destruction was almost certain.

Lesley makes the overtures for submission come from Angus, and represents that the Earl obtained the influence of the queen with the regent in his favour, when it was agreed that Angus and his brother George should pass into France, and remain there during the good pleasure of Albany. The overtures, however, came from the other side, and Angus told Dacre that he took the step to save his friends. But he almost immediately regretted it, as Albany, notwithstanding his assurance of safety, arrested the Earl, and sent him to France to be detained there. Buchanan simply records the fact that Angus was banished by Albany, but Lindsay, with evident reference to this incident, although his chronology is much confused, says, "The Earl of Angus was stolen quietly out of his lodging, and had to the ships, and convoyed quietly to France, and remained a season

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 77-79; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. Nos. 1855, 1865, 3271. The return of Angus placed the Bishop of Dunkeld in a position of

much delicacy, and he had to condone his nephew's action in the best way possible. [*Ibid.* Nos. 1886, 1897, 1976; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 85, 86.]

without company of any Scottish man, or scanty any knowing what part of the world he was in."¹

Lindsay's account of the method in which the banishment of Angus was effected is not improbable. He left Leith in one of two ships of war belonging to Albany, both of which sailed for France on 11th March 1521-2, with an embassy composed of Lord Fleming, and Thomas Hay, the king's secretary. Five merchant ships and a barque sailed in their company. The Earl was accompanied by his brother William, who was noticed and described as a bishop by John, Lord Berners, when, as deputy of Calais, he reported to Wolsey the arrival there of Albany's ships, and the landing of "the Earl of Angus and a bishop" as prisoners. This shows that the brother who accompanied the Earl was William, prior of Coldingham, and not George, as stated by Lesley and nearly every later historian. George Douglas had but recently returned from France, where he had been practically Albany's prisoner for more than two years.

At the French Court Angus was treated with great consideration. Sir Thomas Cheyne, an English agent there, who had been informed that the Earl was come as an ambassador, wrote to Wolsey that he had "never seen them show so much kindness to any ambassador before."² Finding that the Earl was unable to speak a word of French, Cheyne was exercised as to why he should be there as an ambassador, and on further inquiry he was informed that one of the chief causes of his coming was to ask the French king to write to Albany "to be good to a brother of his, being a man of the church, whom the said Duke had deprived of his benefices."³

¹ Lesley, p. 117; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 1986, 24th January 1521-2; Aikman's Buchanan, vol. ii, p. 280; Lindsay, Edition 1778, p. 197.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 2106, Dacre to Wolsey, 14th March 1521-2; No. 2135, Berners to Wolsey,

26th March 1522; No. 2205, Cheyne to Wolsey, 23th April 1522.

³ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iii. No. 2224. The reference is to the Earl's uncle, the Bishop of Dunkeld, whom Albany had proclaimed a rebel and stripped of his benefices.

Meanwhile affairs in Scotland, under what was practically a French rule, were becoming difficult and complicated. Henry the Eighth declared the return of Albany a breach of treaty, and threatened war if the Scots refused to dismiss him. With the Scots themselves Albany ere long became extremely unpopular, and they were ultimately far more eager to get rid of him than they had been to receive him. The unstable and intriguing conduct of the queen contributed largely to this result, as in her untiring efforts to get the principal rule into her own hands, she lent her influence alternately to whatever party would promise best for her interest. She corresponded with Surrey regularly, giving him information about the projects and strength of his opponent, so that, amid treachery and discontent, Albany became thoroughly disheartened, and was himself fain to depart. He attempted to do so in December 1523, but was prevented from going until the following May, when he left Scottish shores never to return.

Angus, through his brother, George Douglas, and other correspondents, while in France, was kept informed of the state of affairs in Scotland, and now resolved to effect his escape. He told the King of France plainly that he would remain no longer in that country. Apparently the Earl was so far at liberty that he could move about at pleasure from place to place, but was not permitted to pass the frontier. He shortly afterwards made an effort to escape, and informed his friends in Scotland of his intention, desiring them to delay deciding upon their line of action until they learned the result of the attempt. Pretending a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Pue, in Navarre, Angus left Boulogne on 21st March 1524, with the purpose of passing through Picardy into the domains of the Emperor of Germany, and making his way round to Calais, which was at this time in the hands of the English. This enterprise failed; but Angus was encouraged to renew his efforts by learning from one of his servants, who was taken by the English at sea and carried before Henry the Eighth, that the King of England would

welcome his return. He wrote to Henry from Paris on 8th May, regretting that his attempt to escape through Picardy had failed, but that he had sent his brother, the prior of Coldingham, through Burgundy to find some way by which he might go into Franche-Comté. If he should be taken, he trusts Henry will interpose for him. He added some information about Albany, and sent the letter by his brother, who succeeded in reaching Antwerp with it on 27th May, whence it was forwarded to Henry by the English agent there, Dr. Knight, as the prior was on his way to Rome about his benefice.¹

Angus effected his escape soon afterwards, probably by the same route as his brother. He landed first in Berwick, but immediately journeyed south to London without communicating with his friends, though it seems Gonzolles, a French captain, who had been left by Albany in charge of the castle of Dunbar, knew of his arrival, and offered to surrender the castle to him if he would secure the safe retreat of him and his soldiers to France. From London, where he was soon joined by his brother William, Angus wrote to Dacre, informing him of his arrival there on the 28th June, and his kindly reception by the king, the cardinal, and the council, and requesting him to inform his friends and forward letters from him to them and to the queen. During the Earl's stay in London pending negotiations for his restoration to Scotland, a story was circulated by an agent of the French king's mother, that Angus had left France on an understanding with Francis that he would be able to accomplish what Albany had failed in. Though Angus denied the false impeachment, it had the desired effect of raising Henry's suspicions and delaying the return of the Earl to Scotland. But the falsehood of the story was shown by the statement of the French king himself to the Scottish ambassador, "that the Earl of Angus having secretly escaped from the country without his permission or that of the Duke of Albany, was without any

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 253, 315, 372.

doubt animated with hostile intentions, and ought in consequence to be treated as a fugitive and rebel.”¹

Scotland being now free of Albany, Henry and his Chancellor thought that they had little else to do than write in favour of Angus, and he would be at once restored. To their surprise the queen replied with a resolute refusal even to hear of the return of Angus, and for three months she kept Henry and Wolsey in constant negotiations without coming any nearer their object. In conference with Henry and Wolsey, Angus divulged his plans for shattering the authority of Albany by raising the young king to the throne, as he had now entered his thirteenth year. Efforts were made to bring about a conference with the Scottish lords and Angus on the borders, and Angus went thither to be in readiness; but the queen assured her brother that she was quite able to carry out this plan without the assistance of Angus, and as he would interfere with her lands she begged her brother not to thrust her husband upon her, nor allow him to enter Scotland.

Arran was the lord on whom the queen most depended, and through his influence she managed to secure at least the appearance of cohesion among the rest of the Scottish barons.² He was at feud with Angus on account of the slaughter of his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, and though personally willing to be reconciled, he allowed the queen to overrule his own desires, and to present his opposition along with her own against the return of Angus. With the aid of Arran, she succeeded in accomplishing the “erection” of her son to the throne on the last day of July 1524, and very proud she was of the achievement. Writing to Norfolk, Dacre’s successor on the Borders, she asks him to remember that what she had done were “ryght gret aktys,” and

¹ 15 September 1524, Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, vol. i. p. 383; *Letters and Papers, etc.*, Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 469, 473, 474, 662, 666, 670, 727, 733.

and Maxwell, none of the lords were to be depended upon. Letter, Queen Margaret to Norfolk, 6th September 1524. *State Papers. Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 127.

² The queen herself says that beyond Arran

done at little expense to Henry, whose best assistance was rendered in the form of a bodyguard of two hundred men-at-arms to the queen and the young king of Scotland. The queen naïvely confesses that she employed them for other purposes than a mere bodyguard, and would not have wanted them for twenty times their value. She was especially anxious that Henry should "consyder that thys gret thyng, that ve have dwn, hath ben dwn vyth out the helpe of the sayd Erl of Angus," although it had been represented as improbable, whereupon the queen pressed the conclusion that the Earl's presence in Scotland would only do harm.¹

So long as harmony prevailed in Scotland under the queen's rule, and the intervention of France and Albany was prevented, Henry and Wolsey were satisfied, and were unwilling that any disturbing element should be introduced. They accordingly instructed their wardens to detain Angus. But the Earl chafed under the restraint. Gonzolles, the French captain of Dunbar, wrote to Albany that Angus was asking Henry's leave to return to France, as Henry had not kept his promise, and that the Master of Glamis had come to him to make arrangements for carrying Angus from England.² Meanwhile Angus was joined by his brother, George Douglas of Pittendriech, and at Henry's desire they journeyed to London. They were preceded by news of wide disaffection to Queen Margaret's government in Scotland. She appears to have employed her bodyguard more freely than wisely, and was guided in everything so exclusively by Arran and Henry Stewart, a younger son of Lord Avandale, of whom the queen had become enamoured, that Lennox and Glencairn abandoned her, and threatened open revolt. Argyll also retired to his own estates in disgust, and others were ready to consent even to the return of Albany. Henry

¹ Letter, Queen Margaret to Norfolk, 11th October 1524. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv., pp. 128-134.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 571, 576, 597, 670.

Stewart, it was said, had at this time in his keeping the great seal, the privy seal, the quarter seal, and the signet, while he also discharged the duties of Lord Treasurer, and ruled as he would. The common people even were also murmuring at the "ungodly lyving" of the queen, and her keeping Angus out of the country. One English spy reported that if Angus were allowed to return, more than half the nation would immediately give him their support, "he hath herd no man so well biloved in noo country."¹ Henry and Wolsey, therefore, despite the continued opposition of the queen, refused to keep Angus longer, and, after he and his brother George had signed a convention with Wolsey on 4th October 1524, they were dismissed, and left London on the following day.²

This agreement, which was drawn up by Wolsey after lengthened conferences with the Earl and George Douglas, from the latter of whom Wolsey obtained much information about the state of the country, is of great importance. Its terms obliged the Earl, if he assumed authority in Scotland, to confirm what had been done in raising the young king to the throne, and the dismissal of Albany from the regency; to resist any attempts by Albany or the King of France against the government of Scotland, and to prevent the passing of any Act of Parliament or Council, derogating from the authority of the young king, renewing the French regency in any form, or making any alliances with France, without the consent of Henry, to whom, it was stated, there was a probability that James might yet succeed. Angus would also do his best for the increase of peace and amity with England, by fostering a perfect understanding and love between James and his uncle, and the establishment and continuance of concord between the two realms. He would therefore nourish good order, quiet, and justice upon the borders.

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 148; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 670, 672.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 151-159; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 673, 687, 703, 704, 733.

Moreover, in reference to the disagreement which existed between the Earl and Queen Margaret his wife, he bound himself to do all that was in his power to recover her "grace, love, and favour." He promised to bear himself in a "gentil and lowely maner" to her, giving her the honour due to her rank, and seeking remission of anything in which he had offended her, that so they might "remayne and lyve in perfite love and charite, to the pleasure of God, their oune honours, and the weale of themselves and that realme of Scotlande." For this end he would labour by letters, the solicitation of friends, and otherwise, using also the mediation of the King of England. In the meantime, lest the prospects of such a reconciliation should be blasted by undue haste, the Earl promised to remain quietly within his own lands and to forbear going to Court, or intruding himself into the queen's presence before receiving her permission to do so. In matters of difficulty reference was to be had to Henry, whose decision the Earl bound himself to accept.

In regard to the feud with Arran, which was the only remaining obstacle to the Earl's return, Angus promised to do his best towards an amicable reconciliation on every point of difference, so that the two Earls might work harmoniously together and along with the queen, in support of the young king's government, and in resistance to French intervention or influence. In such a concord the framers of this agreement saw good hopes of a firm and prosperous government under James, and great security for the increase of the prosperity of both England and Scotland. But if Arran or the queen made defection to any contrary way, Angus was promised the assistance of the King of England, and, in case of necessity, reception and honourable entertainment for himself and his kinsmen in England.

The Earl of Angus also promised to assist Henry when required against any prince or person, except the King of Scotland, whose permission was to be obtained, and to lean to the friendship of England in opposition to that of France, using Henry's advice and counsel as that of one who had the

honour and welfare of his nephew and sister deeply at heart. Both parties then solemnly swore to observe their respective parts of the agreement, the Earl of Angus and his brother George signing one duplicate of the agreement, and Wolsey, on behalf of his royal master, signing the other.¹

When the Earl of Angus and his brother reached the north of England they were met by Norfolk at Raby Castle, in the county of Durham, and Norfolk did his best, under a prohibition to use any but gentle means, to persuade Angus to make Raby his residence until some more definite intelligence was brought from both the Courts of Scotland and England. Angus preferred, if he must wait longer, to do so in the town of Newcastle, but he strongly complained, and told Norfolk that on setting out he had received the assurance that he would not be detained on the Borders one hour. Norfolk assented to his remaining in Newcastle, but, unknown to the Earl, his movements were watched by night and day during the period of his detention, from the middle to the end of the month of October. George Douglas was permitted to cross the Borders, and wrote from Boncle, his residence in Berwickshire, on the 24th of that month, urging the Earl's coming to Scotland, adding that the current belief was that he was nothing but a prisoner in England.²

The Earl of Lennox also wrote to Norfolk that if Angus were not allowed to enter Scotland, he and Argyll, Moray, Glencairn, and other noblemen would be forced to seek aid elsewhere. Some of the lords testified their aversion to the rule of the queen and Arran by attempting an attack upon the latter in the palace of Holyrood. But their plan was betrayed beforehand, and Arran escaped. Lord Fleming was about the same time slain by John Tweedie of Drumelzier, a kinsman and adherent of Angus; and as Fleming was reputed the best Frenchman in Scotland, this deed was con-

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. pp. 159-165.

² *Ibid.* pp. 182-184; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 89, 90.

strued by Henry and Wolsey as evidence that the suspicions of the Earl's leaning to France could have no foundation. Wolsey was annoyed at the queen's stubbornness and her boasting of the Earl of Arran, and this made him all the more urgent to send Angus into Scotland, who, he told his agents, would "do more service in Scotland to the benefite of the king, his master, and to the kinges contentment, than five Erles of Arayn can do."¹ Orders were accordingly given that Angus should be no longer detained. The Earl appears to have entered Scotland by night, either on the last day of October or the first of November.

Information of the Earl's arrival reached the queen during a private interview between her and Magnus and Ratcliffe, two English envoys, on the very subject of the Earl's return. They won her over to conciliatory views, but these were dispelled as soon as Arran and Henry Stewart had been consulted. Arran, in private interviews with the English ambassadors, expressed his desire for concord, but he did not dare to displease his royal mistress by an open avowal. A humble letter sent by Angus from Boncle to the queen offering every service and satisfaction, and requesting an interview, was returned by her, and commandment given that he should not ride with more than forty horsemen in his company upon pain of treason. She even asked the English wardens to decoy him back to Berwick.²

A meeting of Parliament was held at Edinburgh on 14th November, which, in deference to the wishes of the queen, Angus did not attend.³ On the 19th of the month, Parliament was prorogued until the 15th of February following.⁴ Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 23d November, the Earl of Angus, accompanied by the Earl of Lennox, the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 188-190, 198.

² *Ibid.* pp. 210-217, 228-248; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 90, 91; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 792, 797, 806, 811.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 242; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 285-288.

⁴ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 836.

Master of Glencairn, the Laird of Buccleuch, and four hundred horsemen, rode up to the gates of Edinburgh. These were closed, but by scaling the wall the gates were thrown open to the armed band. At daybreak they passed to the cross, and made proclamation that they had come as the king's faithful subjects, for the purpose of serving his grace, and that no hurt nor displeasure would be done to any person. They afterwards required the lords of Council, alike for the weal of the realm and safety of the nobles, to take into their own hands the rule and guiding of their young sovereign, declaring themselves to be true and faithful servants of the king, desirous of no authority, but to be accepted as barons of the realm as their ancestors had formerly been.

The queen, who was residing at Holyrood, took alarm, and surrounded herself with a guard of four or five hundred horsemen. At her command the castle opened fire upon the city, but Angus refrained from everything fitted to cause a breach of the peace. Towards evening proclamation was made in the king's name that Angus and his friends should depart, which the Earl obeyed by withdrawing to Dalkeith,¹ and shortly afterwards to Tantallon. A day or two after these events, he wrote from that stronghold to Henry that he had done all that could be devised to bring the queen to an agreement, but she only pursued him for his destruction. He requests assistance for a time to enable him to maintain two hundred men, and that Henry should give no credence concerning him to the ambassadors sent by the queen and Parliament to treat for peace, as they were all hostile.²

Angus is next found in the west of Scotland concerting measures with Lennox, and, to the consternation of the abbot, proposing to spend the festive season with him in the Abbey of Paisley. The abbot fled on hearing of their

¹ Letter, Magnus and Radcliffe to Wolsey, 26th November 1524. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 256-258.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 91-93. 28th November 1524.

coming, and obtained the intercession of the English ambassador with Angus, who declared that he intended no displeasure to the abbot, merely desiring to spend the season in converse with Lennox, and had not anticipated any discontent on the abbot's part. When the Earl wrote to the English envoy he was at Kilmaurs, in Ayrshire, and on the 1st of January he was at Melrose,¹ from which it would appear that on learning the abbot's unwillingness, Angus and Lennox had not gone to Paisley. Before the close of the same month he was at St. Andrews, where a most important coalition was effected with James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Argyll, and others.

The Earl of Cassillis, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, were the queen's ambassadors to treat with Henry the Eighth for peace, and for the marriage of the young King of Scots with Henry's eldest daughter, the Princess Mary. Cassillis had now returned with some questions of importance for settlement, and the queen commanded Archbishop Beaton, Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, and John, Prior of St. Andrews, as lords of Council, to repair to Edinburgh for conference thereupon. They replied that as the business was of the first importance, it would be requisite to summon a larger number of the lords; but as deadly feuds existed on the part of the Earls of Arran and Eglinton with both the Earl of Angus and the Earl of Lennox, they recommended the queen to cause assurances to be given by each of these lords to one another to keep the peace for two months, under a penalty of ten thousand pounds. They also demanded that the king should not be kept in the castle of Edinburgh, but permitted to pass freely among his subjects in all parts of the realm, and his nobles permitted to do him dutiful service without fear or compulsion. They required a written obligation from herself and the king that no one coming to Edinburgh should be imprisoned or hurt, whatever his opinions, and that the captain of the castle would give his son and others as hostages,

¹ 15th December 1524. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 95-97.

not to fire upon the town without the command of the whole lords of Council. If the queen would not remove to the abbey, they asked hostages for the security of the lords.¹

To these requests the queen haughtily declined to listen, or give any guarantee for the safety of the lords, and, in the king's name, issued a proclamation virtually declaring them and their adherents rebels. This was met by the lords with a counter proclamation, setting forth the lawless state of the country through want of government, their determination to remedy disorders, put the king to liberty, and establish his authority by removing evil advisers, and surrounding him with wise and discreet councillors. They appointed a convention to be held at Stirling on the 6th of February, and declared null all letters or orders which were not issued by the Council chosen by Parliament.²

This proclamation was issued at St. Andrews on 25th January 1524-5, with the approval of the Earls of Angus and Lennox, who, with the Earl of Argyll and others, were at this time the guests of the archbishop. The day following the proclamation the three Earls and three churchmen sent a joint note, informing Henry of what they had done, declaring their desire that the queen should by good counsel be drawn from her present opposition, in which case they would gladly make her principal of the Council, and honour and serve her as such; but if not, they requested that he would divert his aid and support from her to them for the welfare of the king and realm.³

In terms of their proclamation the lords met at Stirling, and renewed negotiations with the queen, for the more speedy effecting of which they

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 1035. Only a few months previously the archbishop and some others had been seized and thrown into prison by the queen. They wished to prevent a recurrence

of such action. The Bishop of Dunkeld at this date was Robert Cockburn.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 315-317.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 312-314.

removed to Dalkeith. The queen endeavoured to incite the lords with her to give battle to Angus and his party, but they declined, unless the king himself went forth and suffered invasion at the hands of any of his subjects. This obliged her to give way, as she would not risk her son outside the castle, and she sent for Magnus to treat for reconciliation with Angus as the best way out of her difficulties. But with the morning her old enmity returned, and Magnus, who had consented to mediate, was forbidden. The Earls of Arran, Eglinton, and Cassillis, with Lord Maxwell and the Bishop of Ross, however, were despatched to parley with the lords at Dalkeith, and, according to Magnus, they "accoorded right well togader," but the queen would not agree to their arrangement.

As the day for the reassembling of Parliament drew near, the queen offered the opposing lords an interview at Edinburgh, if they would guarantee the continuance of her authority, or consent to the dissolution of the approaching Parliament without a meeting. But in the unsettled condition of affairs, the lords refused to dissolve the Parliament, whereupon the queen withdrew her party into the Castle, and shut herself up. The magistrates and citizens of Edinburgh then requested Angus to come into the town, and opened the gates. Angus and Lennox, at the head of six or seven hundred men, entered the city shortly after midnight on the 13th February, leaving the rest of their party at Dalkeith with other two thousand horsemen. These came into town on the following evening, and preparations were made for holding the Parliament. They made public proclamation of their intentions, and gave warning to the lords in the castle that if they fired upon the town, they would be held responsible in both persons and lands.

In this juncture of affairs the queen put herself in communication with the Earl of Angus, offering, through Magnus, to receive him into favour if he would guarantee the continuance of her authority. Angus immediately entered into negotiations, and terms were drawn up by him and his con-

federate lords which were accepted by the queen. By these the lords, while securing among other things the removal of the king from the Castle to Holyrood, and the appointment by Parliament of a council for his guidance, gave the queen a principal place in the council, and liberty to remain constantly with the king, providing he was not removed out of the kingdom. Angus came under special obligation not to exercise his *jus mariti* over the queen's lands and affairs until the following Whitsunday.¹

This agreement was made on 21st February, but the Parliament had been formally opened on the 15th, though, pending the negotiations, no business was entered upon until the 23d. Meanwhile, the lords of the queen's party asked and obtained assurances to come into the town, and they had friendly communings with the other party. When Parliament resumed both factions united,² and the principal business was the ratification of the articles of agreement between the queen and the lords, and the cancelling of certain processes of forfeiture against Angus and several of his adherents which had been begun by some of the late lords of Council. When the session closed, Angus was once more in possession of his legitimate rights as the foremost Earl in Scotland, and occupied a seat in the council of regency. To that council was referred the appointment of those who were to have charge of the king's person, and the disposal of the greater benefices, and Angus was placed on both these special councils, while he was also appointed by Parliament one of the lords of Articles. The Earl of Arran,

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 321-329.

² Magnus says, that after the sitting of Parliament on the 23d of February, which was attended by the king and his mother, they proceeded to Holyrood in state, "The Erle of Anguysshe bering the crowne, th' Erle of Arran the septre, and th' Erle of Ergile

the swoorde, and soe after, oone with an other, fell in further favour and good famyly-rite, and by meanes of frendes, with litle sute, the said Erles of Anguysshe and Arran were right well accoorded and agreed in suche wise and maner as I suppoos thay woll not breke ayeine." [State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 334.]

who was the noble next in power and authority to Angus, was appointed along with him to each of these councils, and both were now in accord on public affairs.¹

With the queen, however, this apparent harmony was but a hollow truce. It was merely the force of circumstances that induced her to come to terms at all, and she intended the agreement to last no longer than suited her purposes. The very day after signing the convention with Angus and his party, and on the eve of the solemn ratification of its terms by Parliament, she despatched a messenger to the Duke of Albany in France asking his aid and assuring him of her support. She acknowledged him as Governor of Scotland, and promised to prevent peace being made with England until she received his reply. She never intended, she said, making any appointment with Angus, and would rather leave the country than agree with him.² Her favourite, Henry Stewart, and his brothers, had accompanied the queen from the castle to Holyrood, and had attempted to mingle with the lords, but found it expedient within a day or two to effect their escape to Stirling.³

The queen was still intent on obtaining a divorce from Angus, and she now pled for it on the ground that her former husband, King James the Fourth, was alive at the time of her second marriage. This pretext was founded on an incredible and uncredited rumour that King James made his escape from the battlefield of Flodden, and was alive for three years afterwards unknown to her. In the hope that Angus would agree, the queen received him graciously, and urged him in many private interviews, and by private messages, to consent to her wishes. But Angus had more regard for his own honour and that of his daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, than to give his

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 288-291.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 1111, 1446.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 339.

consent to such an arrangement, and his refusal excited against him more than ever the exasperation of his unscrupulous wife. Writing to Wolsey Angus says, I have at all times offered my service to her grace, yet she will on no wise be contented with me, but perseveres evermore in her evil mind against me and all that take my way. Before the negotiations took place the queen expressed to Magnus her eagerness for the divorce, and said she would willingly give the Earl a thousand marks yearly out of her lands until she procured a benefice of that value for one of his friends, if thereby matters might be arranged between them. But, finding Angus inexorable, Queen Margaret carried the case to the Court of Rome, and informed Henry of the fact that the plea was depending.¹

The divorce formed one of the subjects to be treated of by John Cantelay, the queen's messenger to the Duke of Albany in France. Whatever were the inducements offered, whether her own hand in marriage or his restoration to the Scottish regency, or both, Albany once more took the case in hand and wrote to Octavian, his agent at Rome, to push it forward.² The divorce was not so hastily obtained as is generally supposed by historians, the proceedings lasting about three years. Albany moved the Pope in the matter, forwarding the queen's petition in June 1525, and it was not until 11th March 1528 that sentence was pronounced in her favour by Peter, Cardinal of Ancona, the judge appointed in the cause by Pope Clement the Seventh.

The sentence, contrary to the usual custom, gives not the slightest indication of the grounds upon which it was given, from which it must be inferred that there were no reasons worthy of being recorded, though Lesley has

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 324, 337, 357, 385 ; Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 100, 103.

divorce, as she desires nothing more than its conclusion, and had written to him with her own hand most pressingly. He wishes it was already done. [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 1446.]

² He tells Octavian to hasten the queen's

erroneously given currency to the story, which has been often repeated, that the cause of the divorce was a previous marriage of the Earl with a sister of Lord Home, from whom Angus was never properly divorced. He also states that the divorce was pronounced by the Archbishop of St. Andrews.¹ Besides pronouncing the divorce, the sentence ordained the Earl of Angus to refrain from interference with the queen's lands or goods, and condemned him in the expenses of the action.² At an early stage of the process at Rome, the queen had supplicated the Scottish Parliament for a vote of money to defray the expenses of her action, assigning as her reason that Angus was interfering with the revenues from her estates.³ But the request appears to have been refused, and the payment of these expenses ultimately fell upon Albany, who had done so much to assist the queen in the matter.⁴

For some time after proceedings for the divorce were commenced at Rome, the queen endeavoured, by keeping Angus in good countenance, to obtain his

¹ History of Scotland, p. 133. It is probable that in this statement Lesley has confounded Angus with Arran, who was divorced from a sister of Lord Home, owing to the reappearance of her first husband, Thomas, Lord Yester, who had been abroad, and was believed to be dead. This divorce was afterwards founded on as illegal, and gave rise to the pretensions of the celebrated James Stewart, Earl of Arran, the favourite of King James the Sixth.

² The sentence of divorce is printed at length in State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 490, 491.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 292.

⁴ A letter to Albany from John Duncan, one of the agents in the business of the

divorce, is interesting. It is dated 29th March 1528, rather more than a fortnight after sentence was pronounced. The writer intimates that he has laboured so effectually with reference to the Queen of Scotland's divorce, at the instance of herself and Albany, that sentence was pronounced in the queen's favour on 11th March, by the Cardinal of Ancona. As the matter is weighty, the cardinal and his officers expect large rewards. He thinks 100 ducats will be required to satisfy them, and that the queen relies entirely upon Albany to meet the necessary expenses. What has hitherto been spent amounts to over 250 ducats; but now that sentence has been obtained, Albany will have the means of proceeding rigorously against Angus. [Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, vol. i. pp. 71-73.]

consent. Even the king, at his mother's instigation, urged the Earl to please the queen. His own friends were divided on the subject, some preferring that the Earl were free to marry again, and proposing as a wife the Earl of Argyll's daughter.¹ Yet Angus would not consent, nor does he appear to have paid any attention to the proceedings at Rome. But he insisted all the more upon his *jus mariti* in respect of the queen's lands after the case had been submitted to the Roman Court. It was matter of constant complaint by the queen that Angus dealt with her lands, and Angus justified himself in doing so. Eventually he submitted the case in these terms: If the queen, he said, could find any lawful cause of divorce between them, though it was sorely against his mind, he would apply himself to it. But if no such cause could be found, and the queen would not receive him, with his most humble service, into her favour, he was content to refer the settlement of the question of goods and lands to the decision of the kings of England and Scotland.²

During the progress of the case at Rome the queen was desirous of marrying Henry Stewart, and being remonstrated with on the subject by her own son, would have fled to France and married Albany. This occasioned a message from Henry to Francis the First of France, through M. de Turenne, the French ambassador at the English Court, in which he expressed himself "much ashamed of his sister's misconduct and folly," and wished him to send her back to England if she carried out her purpose.³ She did not go to France. But no sooner did tidings arrive that sentence of divorce had been pronounced, than she secretly married Henry Stewart, a step which pro-

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 365. James, at his mother's instigation, promised to do many things for the Earl of Angus if he would consent to the divorce as a personal favour to his sovereign. [*Ibid.* p. 350.]

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 432.

³ Letter, M. de Turenne to Duke of Albany, 27th April 1527. Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, vol. i. p. 67.

voked the king, her son, to throw Stewart into prison for a time,¹ and brought down from Cardinal Wolsey a scathing letter of rebuke.²

At the close of the Parliament of February 1525, Angus was all-powerful in the council of regents, although the Archbishop of St. Andrews held the Great Seal as Chancellor, and represented the ecclesiastical side of that council. The queen appeared conciliatory, and peace and safety were so far restored that she and the king travelled fearlessly about the country. Thus they were at Perth when the English ambassador, Magnus, on 21st March, arrived from the south, instructed to seek redress for disorders on the borders, and bearing messages from Henry to James and his mother.³ Magnus found the Chancellor and Angus together at Dunfermline, on the eve of setting out for Edinburgh to take measures for repressing the irregularities of the borderers which the unsettled state of the Government in Scotland, and some laxity on the part of the English wardens, had encouraged. Angus

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 490, 491. Information could not have reached Queen Margaret before the 23d of March 1527-8, and she had married Stewart before the 2d of April. On the former date she wrote from Stirling to Albany, telling him she had received a letter, dated the last of January, from the abbot of Culross, his servant and hers, mentioning Albany's great diligence with the Pope and Cardinals in reference to the divorce, as well as in furnishing money for its furtherance. She thanks him a hundred thousand times, and tells him that she has more confidence in him than in any other man in the world, save her own son. She begs him to hasten it to a conclusion, let her know the result speedily, furnish the money which would be required, alike for the love of her and ending of all her troubles

and torments, and the good advancement of all other affairs between her and Albany. She hopes it may please God to enable her repay the money and all his kindnesses to her, and wishes him to write to thank the Abbot of Culross for his services, undertaken out of love to Albany, and at his desire. [Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat*, vol. i. pp. 73-75.]

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 4131. The conduct of Angus in regard of this divorce, which he does not appear to have acknowledged, stands out in marked contrast to that of the queen, for though she survived as the wife of Henry Stewart for nearly fourteen years after the divorce, the Earl did not again marry until after her death.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 347, 358.

declared to Magnus his intention of quieting the Borders. He hoped that, with the cordial co-operation of England, and by vigorous and concerted measures, their condition would be no longer cause of complaint by either country. Next to the serving of his own king, he had accepted office to please Henry, and he offered, if James would permit him, to accompany Henry into France with five hundred or a thousand men.

Before the arrival of the English envoy the Earl of Angus had been, on 15th March, appointed lieutenant of the East and Middle Marches, and letters were issued by the Council to the principal barons in the Marches, commanding them to appear before the lords and engage to assist him in the discharge of his office. On 27th March a large number of these did so, solemnly binding themselves by oath, and under the highest penalties, to rise with all their power, on twenty days' warning, and assist Angus in upholding the authority of the king against the thieves of Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Ewesdale. This bond was to endure until Candlemas (2d February) next. Robert, Lord Maxwell, was at the same time appointed warden of the West Marches. Both wardens had the authority of the Council to take pledges from the lairds for their obedience and service, and in case of refusal each was to assist the other in enforcing compliance.¹ Within a few days Angus departed to the Borders, but on what business does not appear, and he had returned to Edinburgh by the 8th of April.²

King Henry the Eighth was highly gratified by the appointment of Angus as warden of the Marches, as well as by the Earl's whole conduct and demeanour in Scotland, and in testimony of his regard, commanded Magnus to present to the Earl one hundred pounds. At the same time the envoy complained that the disorders on the Borders still continued. Without

¹ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, vol. xxxv. fols. 8-13, ms. General Register House. The bond by the lairds is printed by Pitcairn in

his *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. pp. 127-129.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353, 358, 359.

informing any of his colleagues of his designs, the Earl left Edinburgh, and at the head of a chosen band of his followers made a sudden descent upon Liddesdale, the retreat of the Armstrongs, then the most noted thieves on the Borders. He took twelve of the chief among them prisoners, including their principal captains, "Sym the Lorde, and Davy the Lady," burned their houses, and drove away before him their cattle and horses, which included six hundred kine, three thousand sheep, and five hundred goats.¹

The council of regency appointed by Parliament did not long cohere. The queen, annoyed that her authority was curtailed, retired to Stirling, and would neither remain with her son, nor take her place as one of the regents. She still maintained secret negotiations with Albany, sought a league with France, and was powerful enough to influence so many of the other members of the council that a treaty of peace with England could not be agreed upon. Arran stood aloof, but came to Edinburgh on assurance for a conference with Angus, which, however, did not produce agreement, and he retired to his own castle again. In these circumstances, the Earls of Lennox and Argyll, both of whom were about this time recipients of gifts from King Henry the Eighth,² joined with Angus in a mutual bond in defence of the authority of King James, and of one another in the maintenance of that authority, promising to assist one another with all their power, counsel, and support, as occasion should require. The bond provided for the reference of any dispute which might arise between the parties to a council of friends.³

Angus and his party kept the king in their own hands, entertaining him with the amusements of hunting and hawking. Certain historians have cast the reproach of the vices of King James the Fifth upon Angus, as having

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 370, 371, 384, 385.

² *Ibid.* pp. 374, 375, 380, 385.

³ 18th June 1525. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 222, 223.

unduly indulged the king to make him an easier captive. The charge, however, is but the echo of that made by those who wished to have the king in their own hands, and against whom it could more justly have been laid. Angus had control of the king for only a short period of his youth, and it would be no easy task to eradicate vices sown in earlier years, especially in one who received much encouragement to resist the will of his guardian.¹

Parliament had been appointed to meet on the 6th of July. It assembled on that day, and sat intermittently until the 3d of August, when it was prorogued to the 15th of January following. The king was present at some of the sederunts, but the queen would not leave Stirling, merely sending the petition to Parliament for the expenses of her divorce, and excusing her absence on the pretext of fear of injury from Angus. She offered to come if she received assurance of immunity from bodily harm. This evoked from the Earl a public demand for "instruments," that the queen had petitioned for these expenses, and he offered to find caution for her own personal safety and that of her household during the whole session of Parliament and three days beyond, under such penalties as the king and the lords chose to impose. His declaration regarding the latter was also given in writing, and is of some interest as a statement from the Earl himself:—

¹ The young king, indeed, seems to have been unhappy in his early training. His mother, although her affection was undoubted, had failings which certainly did not lean to virtue's side, and the distractions which her inconstancy evoked, appear to have aided in exercising an untoward influence upon the youthful monarch's education. He had as his tutor Gavin Dunbar, who had recently been made Archbishop of Glasgow, but the king, though in his fourteenth year, could not read an English letter without help. The lords of

Council deemed the queen-mother's influence pernicious, with a tendency to produce a disposition to cruelty in the king; for when she took displeasure at any of the lords or other courtiers, she caused her son "to be sad, hevvy, and pensive, to look doune and glowme upon thaym, and to have unto thaym some soore and sharpe woordes." They therefore thought he should be "otherwise educate and brought up, thenne yet his grace is." [State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 349, 350, 368.]

“ My lordis of consale, this is the ansuer that I, Archibald Erle of Angus, makis to the quenis grace. In the first, quhar scho desiris surtie of me of bodelie harme, my lordis, I traist it is nocht unkuawin to all your lordschipis that I neuer as yit did hir grace ony harme in hir persoun, nor neuer tendis to do. And as I traist it has nocht bene vse that men hes gevin cautioun to thar wifis, nochttheles, for the plesour of hir grace and to geif hir occasioun to adheir to me as to hir husband, for the wele of baith our conscience, I am content to do all thingis that is nocht hurt to my saule, or that I may do of gud zele. And according tharto I sall bind me vnder gret sowmez that hir grace sall be harmeles of me, and all that I may lett, as the law will that a manis spous be harmles of hir husband ; and sall treit hir grace at my power sa lang as we are vndiuorcit, as law, conscience, and honeste of hir grace requiris. And geif your lordschips will requiest or consell me to find vthir maner of assouerance quharthrow hir grace may tak occasioun nocht to adheir to me hir husband, lik as scho is bundin and oblist be the law of God and halikirk, my lords, that your lordschips, and in speciale spirituale, will pleise to avise geif ye may geif me that consale, and geif I may vse the samin saillie, for I am aduertist be men of religioun and vtheris of conscience that sic thingis may nocht be lefully grantit without displesour of God, and incurring of deidlie syn, quhilk na man suld do, considering all hir desiris intendis to abstract hir grace fra me hir husband, quhilk, as I vnderstand I may na way do lauchfullie, for and (if) hir grace be wele consalit scho suld nocht refuse this my resonable desiris.”¹

The queen, however, did not come, although she was frequently sent for to give her consent to several important measures, whereupon the Parliament passed a resolution depriving her of the authority committed to her at their last session.²

The Earl of Arran came to Edinburgh at the opening of Parliament, and

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.

² *Ibid.* p. 298 ; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 387. James being present when this resolution was under discussion, intervened on his mother's behalf, amid the plaudits of the Parliament. He trusted, he said, his mother had not so highly offended as to be

deprived of her authority, and asked for a respite. At his request Parliament consented to let the Act lie in abeyance for twenty days, during which, if the queen came and took part with the lords, she should retain her authority. But if she did not, the Act was to be enforced.

continued in attendance throughout the session. He and other lords of his party were appointed to take the care of the king's person in rotation with the lords adhering to Angus, the whole being divided into four sections, each section to remain with the king for three months. The first period, from August to 1st November, was assigned to Angus and the Archbishop of Glasgow, with others; the second period, until Candlemas [2d February], to Arran, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and others; the third, until Beltane [1st May] to Argyll and the Chancellor, with others; and the fourth, until Lammas [1st August], to Lennox and the Bishop of Dunblane, with others. Terms of agreement between Angus and Arran were again put in train, and concessions made on both sides for the sake of peace. But while obeying the king's letters to attend Parliament, Arran had also been summoned at the instance of John Somerville of Cambusnethan, who sought the reduction of a sentence of forfeiture pronounced against him by Albany's Parliament in April 1522 for his part in the raid of "Cleanse the Causeway," and other attacks upon the party of Arran. This cause, after a number of protests, was wisely deferred till the last day of Parliament, when the forfeiture was unanimously reversed, on the ground that it had been unjustly pronounced in face of a remission for the crimes on which it was based.¹ As the forfeited lands had been conferred on Arran and his friends, and would have to be given up, it is probable that they took renewed cause of offence at this decision, as they appear to have again withdrawn from the public service.

During the period in which the custody of the king was placed in the hands of Angus affairs did not go smoothly in the kingdom. The queen, instead of coming to Edinburgh, removed into the Highlands, and placed herself under the protection of the Earl of Moray, who was courting the queen's favour in the hope of getting her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, in

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 292, 293, 298.

marriage.¹ The intrigues of the queen with France, in which she was secretly favoured by most of the prelates, procured a visit to the Scottish Court of a French ambassador, who promised, on Albany's behalf, that if James but spoke the command, that nobleman would fly to his service. Angus left the Court, and so did the Archbishop of St. Andrews, that they might not be thought to countenance the ambassador's presence. Even James for a time declined to see him until it was necessary, for the sake of courtesy, that he should be admitted to an interview, after which the king retired to Dalkeith. But these events, together with the limitations in favour of France which had been imposed upon the commissioners appointed to negotiate with England, frustrated the efforts of Angus to establish peace with England,² and prolonged the feeling of suspense which such a settlement would have allayed. The English king was annoyed at the delay, but was conciliated by Angus, who also eventually succeeded in breaking down the opposition in the Council.³

Perhaps rumours of impending hostilities by the queen's party aided in facilitating agreement in the Council concerning the peace. She had contented herself in her Highland retirement with the thought that when the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 329. There is still extant in the Earl of Moray's Charter-chest, a notarial instrument setting forth that on 10th January 1527-8, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, a natural son of King James the Fourth, appeared in the chamber of the queen in Holyrood Palace, and asked her to fulfil, and cause to be fulfilled, a certain contract between that Earl and the queen respecting the marriage of her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, with that Earl, and to complete all other arrangements necessary and proper for their marriage, as required by the contract. The queen replied

that it was impossible for her to do so; and the Earl took instruments before James, Bishop of Ross, Alexander Ogilvie of Findlater, and others, that the queen had so dealt with him.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 395, etc.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 105-107. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 426-429, etc. The treaty was concluded at Berwick on the 15th of January 1525-6. It was ratified by the Earl of Angus on behalf of Scotland. [Fœdera, vol. xiv. pp. 114, 122.]

king was put under the care of the Earl of Arran in November, it would be an easy matter to re-establish her authority and destroy that of Angus. In this, however, she was disappointed. Opposition to Angus had arisen, not only in the Council, but in different parts of the kingdom, and Angus, as his period of guardianship of the king drew to a close, refused to allow him out of sight, fearing lest the passing of the king into other hands would so weaken his authority and strengthen the party of the queen, that his influence would cease, and himself be personally in danger. The Earl therefore, probably with the consent of the Council, retained his guardianship of the king, and thus defeated the expectations of the queen. She then resolved to attempt to gain possession of the royal person by force, and arrangements were so secretly made, that, unknown to the Council, a large force assembled at Linlithgow, prepared to march upon the capital. The combination was a powerful one, embracing a large portion of the strength of both the north and south of Scotland. The Earls of Arran, Eglinton, and Cassillis, Lords Ross, Semple, Avandale and Home, with the Homes, the Kers of Ferniehirst and Cessford, all led their followers to Linlithgow, where the queen, attended by the Earl of Moray, the Bishop of Ross, and other northern barons, was to meet them. They gave out as the reason of their action that Angus intended to convey King James into England, and also circulated a rumour that the king was dead.

With but twelve hours' notice, Angus, Lennox, and Argyll assembled their forces, and after despatching a hurried joint note to the Earl of Westmoreland, who was awaiting the coming of Angus for redressing grievances upon the Borders, stating the unhappy cause of the delay, they passed forward to Linlithgow. They carried the king with them, in order, doubtless, to prevent actual fighting, as their opponents by resisting the king would lay themselves open to the penalties of rebellion. Before Angus reached Linlithgow Arran left the town, and meeting the queen and her northern contingent on their

way from Stirling, compelled her to fly with them to Hamilton. The Earl of Moray and the "northland menn," finding that Arran had deceived them, refused to accompany the queen in the flight, and came in to Linlithgow, where they were received by the king and Angus, tendered their submission and service, and accompanied them back to Edinburgh.¹

Owing to the watchfulness of the queen's party for an opportunity to get hold of the king, Angus was unable to be absent from Court, and several appointments of border days had to be postponed. The English wardens complained to the Scottish Council of the repeated delays; and Angus was somewhat sharply taken to task for refusing justice when at last he did appear on the borders. The English laid the blame on his being at feud with Lord Home and the Kers, in consequence of which he was afraid of displeasing the rest of the borderers, and said that the Homes and the Kers professed their willingness to obey the council, but demurred at being ordered by Angus. If so, it was a mere pretext, for on being commanded by the Council to appear at Edinburgh they disobeyed, and were threatened with the treatment of rebels if they continued in their refusal, a threat which was carried into effect at the first meeting of Parliament.² The real difficulty was the question whether Liddesdale was within the jurisdiction of the Earl of Angus or of Lord Maxwell, and on the Council deciding that it belonged to the former, he at once promised redress, and obtained the thanks of the Council for his readiness. The raiding propensities of the borderers had not, indeed, been eradicated, but the state of the borders generally cannot have been critical at this particular period, when Magnus reports to Wolsey on 1st March 1526, "There hath bene noe better rule upon

¹ The letter to the Earl of Westmoreland was written by the three Earls on 10th January 1525-6, and the detailed account of the proceedings was furnished by Angus himself, in a letter dated 20th January fol-

lowing. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 107-109. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 430. 439.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 303, 304.

the bordours many yeres thenne is at this present tyme." Rumours of an intended invasion by Albany compelled Angus once more to delay coming to the borders, until the safety of the country was secured.¹

After the dispersion of Arran's forces, the Council were more united in their policy, and the attempt by the queen and Arran was overlooked. Advantage, however, was taken of the king's arriving at the age of fourteen to confirm the government still further in the hands of James himself. Something of this nature was indicated in a joint letter by the Council to Magnus immediately after Angus returned to Edinburgh,² and on 14th March, at a meeting in Holyrood, under the presidency of the king, the Council assumed to themselves the execution of all the ordinances of the last Parliament respecting the guiding of the king, and appointed Parliament to meet on the 12th of June following. At its meeting the action of the Council was confirmed. It also declared its former ordinances no longer in force, recognised the king as having assumed supreme authority, and ratified his dismissal of all former councillors and officers of state, that he might appoint others at his pleasure.³

This Parliament was a triumph for Angus, and effectually established his supremacy in the country. He had been able to lead the young king into harmony with his plans, and his most determined opponents were conspicuous by their absence. Neither Arran nor the queen attended, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, probably offended at the opposition made by Angus to his suit for a Cardinal's hat and the position of Pope's legate in Scotland, transferred his services to the queen. But Angus used his position with moderation. In order to gain Lord Home and the Kers, he procured their

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 444; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 1912, 1968, 1978, 2003, 2004, 2017, 2020, 2031.

² *Ibid.* No. 1912. James would reach the age of fourteen on 11th April 1526.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 299-304.

exoneration from the processes for treason commenced against them,¹ and although Arran was absent he was elected a member of the Privy Council as well as a lord of Articles. This forbearance shortly afterwards bore fruit in bringing all these over to the party of Angus.²

But no sooner was the Parliament over than the king appears to have contracted a dislike to the new rule. Spontaneously, but under the solemnity of an oath, he granted a private bond to John, Earl of Lennox, in which he promised to use the counsel of Lennox in preference to that of any other person, and to do nothing without his advice.³ Buchanan says that James was wont to confide freely and fearlessly in this Earl, whose accomplishments, appearance, and suavity of manner were fitted to captivate those who associated with him.⁴ From this time Lennox ceased to work in harmony with Angus, whom only a year previously he had bound himself to support during life; and Argyll, too, quietly withdrew himself from Court. One historian states that the attendants of James were under the influence of the queen.⁵

On 4th July, the Scottish Council wrote to the Earl of Cumberland, one of

¹ This is evidenced by George, Lord Home, entering into a bond of manrent with the Earls of Angus and Lennox at this time. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 225.

² Among other measures enacted at this Parliament was one forbidding the carrying of pleas to Rome without the authority of the king, and at all ports searchers were to be stationed to see that none carried gold or silver, coined or uncoined, out of the country. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, provost of Edinburgh, was appointed searcher-principal, with instructions to escheat all money so taken, retain one-half for the labours of the searchers, and pay the other half into the royal treasury. Archibald Douglas was

shortly afterwards appointed Lord Treasurer, on the Master of Glencairn, then holder of that office, being discovered aiding the young king in an attempt to escape. William Douglas, prior of Coldingham, brother of Angus, was by this Parliament promoted to the abbacy of Holyrood; and the Earl received a gift of sixteen hundred pounds for his services upon the borders. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 304-308.

³ Bond dated 26th June 1526; The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 226.

⁴ Buchanan, Aikman's edition, vol. ii. p. 291.

⁵ Calderwood, edition 1842, vol. i. p. 69.

the English wardens, who had complained of outrages by the Scots, that James was about to come in person to punish the thieves, and would leave Edinburgh on the 17th. The Council say they have determined on the destruction of all thieves on the Borders, if England will do the same.¹ In pursuance of this purpose, James made a progress with his Council to Melrose, and thence despatched a special messenger to inform King Henry of the changes at the Scottish Court, and to ask his advice and co-operation in certain affairs.² He then proceeded to Jedburgh, whither the chiefs of the border clans were commanded to bring in the more notorious criminals residing within their bounds. The order was obeyed, and many of the thieves were executed, while others received pardon on promising amendment of life.³

After a short stay at Jedburgh, whence James wrote to King Henry the Eighth,⁴ the Court began its return journey to Edinburgh, and had almost reached Melrose, when three thousand armed men, under Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme, appeared posted on an eminence in front, barring the way to the bridge of Melrose. On being summoned by Angus to disperse his troops, Scott refused, saying he knew the king's mind better than Angus did. Leaving the king in charge of his brother George, and in a position where he could both witness the conflict and be under the eye of Angus, the Earl prepared for battle. His forces, though not more than three hundred in number, were tried and trustworthy, while part of Scott's array consisted of border outlaws of Liddesdale and Annandale, who drew off as soon as hostilities commenced. The fruits of the clemency shown by Angus to the Homes and Kers at the late Parliament now appeared, for though they had taken leave of the king, after accompanying him some part of the way home

¹ Letters, and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2299.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 449-452.

³ Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 292.

⁴ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 504; cf. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 4551.

from Jedburgh, on hearing of Scott's attack, they returned and aided Angus. After a severe struggle, in which Scott was wounded and eighty of his vassals slain, Angus put his opponents to flight, and conveyed the king in safety to Melrose. The Kers paid dearly for their fidelity by the death of one of their chiefs, Andrew Ker of Cessford.¹

This attack by Sir Walter Scott was the result of a plot formed by the king and Lennox, and on being charged by Angus with complicity, Lennox justified the suspicion by withdrawing from Court, and concerting with the queen offensive measures on a scale which promised better success. An appeal from Magnus to return to her duties was ineffectual to terminate the queen's long retirement in the north of Scotland, but she now came to Dunfermline to consult with the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Lennox to get the king out of the hands of Angus. She wrote to her brother and Wolsey, complaining of her son's being held in thralldom. James, she says, had written to her, and to the Archbishop and Lennox, on the subject, and they had resolved to provide a remedy. The Archbishop also wrote from Dunfermline, and James himself sent a letter to Henry, sealed with his mother's signet, because his own seals, he said, were withheld.²

Angus, though, as Magnus informs Wolsey, likely to be put in peril, or forced to surrender his care of the king, took measures to fortify himself against the powerful coalition now being formed against him. He secured the assistance of Arran and of others by bonds of amity and friendship. But there was treachery in his own camp, and the young king by this means

¹ Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 293; Calderwood, vol. i. p. 70; Lesley, p. 134. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 330; The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 151. During the remainder of Angus's supremacy, notwithstanding offers of favour

and reconciliation, Scott withdrew from Parliament, and went to France for a time.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 113; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 1968, 1974, 2414, 2415, 2425, 2430; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 452-454.

had very nearly escaped. Early one morning in August the Earl of Lennox appeared on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh, with two hundred chosen horsemen, and, selecting eight, despatched them with eight spare horses to the vicinity of the town. The king, and at least the Master of Glencairn, then Lord Treasurer, were privy to the plot, and they had almost effected their escape before they were discovered. This obliged the Earl of Angus to place a stricter guard upon the king's movements, and for greater safety during the night to remove him to the house of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, where Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, and William, Abbot of Holyrood, assisted by forty of the townsmen, watched him nightly.¹

Though foiled on this occasion, Lennox was not daunted. The queen, the Earl of Lennox, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and all their party, Sir Christopher Dacre wrote to his nephew, William, Lord Dacre, intend to have the king from the Earl of Angus. The queen's party increases, and the Earl of Angus's party groweth less.² The former mustered an army, it is said, of ten or twelve thousand men, at Stirling, and marched by Linlithgow upon the capital. Though Lennox was his own sister's son, Arran now repaid the clemency of Angus by leading a large array to Linlithgow against Lennox. Angus left Edinburgh at the head of another army, taking the king with him. James showed the greatest reluctance to lend his presence in ranks hostile to those whose action he had inspired, and endeavoured by feigning indisposition to hinder the progress of the troops. So Angus left him in charge of his brother, Sir George Douglas, to pursue the journey at his pleasure, and himself pushed forward.

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 455-457; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 225, 226.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 456. As shown by Angus himself, there were arrayed against him the Archbishops of St.

Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, the Earls of Lennox, Crawford, and Cassillis, the Lords Lindsay, Ross, Semple, Lyle and Avandale, and other prelates and barons. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 113.]

Arran anticipated the arrival of Lennox at Linlithgow, and posted his troops at the bridge of Avon, about a mile further west. To cross that river, Lennox was obliged to have recourse to a ford at Manuel, and on his way thither was subjected to a galling fire from the surrounding heights, which were all manned by Arran's soldiers. An action was thus forced, and had only commenced when the Douglas war-cry was heard, and though the combined troops of Angus and Arran numbered only six or seven thousand,¹ little more than half the numbers of their opponents, the forces of Lennox were soon completely dispersed. Lennox himself was slain, to the great grief of the king, and also of the Earls of Angus and Arran. The king had sent a special messenger to secure that, in the case of defeat, Lennox should be spared, but he was too late. On finding the dead body of his nephew amongst the slain, Arran could not refrain his tears, and casting his own scarlet cloak over the inanimate form, exclaimed, "The wisest, the best, the bravest man in Scotland has fallen this day." He then placed a guard of his own servants over the corpse, and made arrangements for its honourable interment.²

Following up his victory, Angus marched upon Stirling, where it was supposed the queen and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the prime instigators of the rising, were. Beaton, however, had fled, and lurked, it is said, among the hills, frequently changing his place of concealment. According to Lindsay, he kept sheep on Bogrian Knowe, disguised as a shepherd.³ Stirling Castle surrendered to Angus, but was restored to the queen on her consenting to put Henry Stewart and his brother James out of her company, to break off her political alliance with the archbishop, and be guided by Angus and

¹ Information by John, Duke of Albany, to Francis the First. Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2539.

² The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 359, 360. Among those who fell at

Avonbridge were the Abbots of Melrose and Dunfermline, brother and nephew of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. [State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 458].

³ Pitscottie's History, edition 1778, p. 216

his friends.¹ The archbishop's places of Dunfermline and St. Andrews were attacked and pillaged by the victorious troops.²

On the return of the Earls of Angus and Arran to Edinburgh, they received a conjoint grant of the ward and non-entry of the lands of the deceased John, Earl of Lennox, and also of the offices held by that nobleman. To Arran also was given the marriage of Matthew Stewart, son and heir of Lennox, while Angus was appointed keeper of the town and palace of Falkland, and Steward and Chamberlain of the lordship of Fife, for seven years.³ The lands of several of the other chief conspirators were forfeited and divided among the principal supporters of Angus and Arran. Parliament also exonerated Angus and Arran of any blame which might be charged against them in either of the conflicts which had been waged since its last meeting, declaring that they and their adherents had borne themselves truly, honourably, and manfully in these two battles, that they had just and righteous cause to fight in defence of their prince, and deserved great honour, loving thanks, and rewards.⁴

During the meeting of Parliament in November 1526, the queen came to Edinburgh and was received in royal state. The king and the lords rode out as far as Corstorphine to meet her, and escorted her to Holyrood. Through the Abbot of Arbroath, the Archbishop of St. Andrews made overtures for peace, and ultimately purchased reconciliation by some concessions about the Abbey of Kilwinning to Arran, the payment of two

¹ Letter, Patrick Sinclair to Wolsey, 21st October 1526, State Paper Office, London.

² Buchanan, vol. ii. pp. 293-296; Lesley, pp. 135, 136; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 279-281.

³ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, ms., Lib. vii. fols. 24, 25. Angus afterwards, on 27th April 1527, gave his half of the ward of the lands

of the Earl of Lennox to Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, by whose hands that Earl had fallen, and who was nearly assassinated in the courtyard of Holyrood Palace, by a servant of Lennox. [Hamilton Charters at Hamilton Palace.]

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 312.

thousand merks to the Earl of Angus, and a thousand merks each to Sir George Douglas, Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, and Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. This pacification was made against the wishes of both Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech and his brother William, the Abbot of Holyrood; but the Provost of Edinburgh was urgent for it, and the Earl, whose whole actions testify to his inward desire to rule with the goodwill and concord of his fellow-nobles, declined to entertain the fears and suspicions which possessed others. "He is gentill and hardy," wrote Magnus to Wolsey in connection with this transaction, "but he wanteth witte in conveyance of grete causes, oonles the same be doone by some other thenne by hym selff." The Earl probably thought he had so sufficiently shown his power that the queen and the archbishop would now be content to concur in his rule. At all events peace was made, and the archbishop returned to Court. But neither he nor the queen remained there long. The queen insisted that Henry Stewart should be allowed to come to Court; her son refused permission; whereupon she retired to Stirling, which she had already bestowed upon Stewart, and was followed thither by the archbishop.¹

After a journey by James and the Earl of Angus to the north of Scotland, during which a deadly feud between the families of Leslie and Forbes was amicably composed, Angus, in response to repeated complaints by the English border wardens, made another descent upon the obnoxious clan of the Armstrongs. He came unexpectedly upon their haunts in Liddesdale, and seized a number of the raiders. Eighteen of them were slain in the onset, other fourteen he hanged at once, and twelve more were carried

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 460, 461, 463, 468. It was the general opinion that Angus made a mistake in consenting to this arrangement. Henry himself, on hearing news of Angus's successes, had uttered a note of warning on this very point, that Angus and

his friends should not believe the blandishments which the archbishop would probably use with the intention of revenging himself when occasion offered. [Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 2500.]

prisoners to Edinburgh as pledges for the good behaviour of the rest. As the Armstrongs did not desist from their depredations these prisoners were also hanged shortly afterwards, and a stronger force of six thousand men, led by the king and the Earls of Angus and Arran, marched to Jedburgh, where the chiefs of the border families gave their bonds for the maintenance of order.¹

At a council held in August of this year, at which the Archbishop of St. Andrews was present, Angus was named Chancellor, and the Bishop of Aberdeen was appointed to assist him therein. As Chancellor Angus appears in crown charters witnessed by him from this date.²

Since the unsuccessful efforts of the Earl of Lennox to remove James from the guardianship of the Earl of Angus, the young King of Scots gives no indication of any impatience of the Earl's rule. Perfect harmony seems to have existed between them notwithstanding the influence of the queen-mother which was still being exerted against Angus and in favour of France. Towards the close of the year the Duke of Albany was threatening to return to Scotland, and, pretending he had the consent of James, asked a safe-conduct from Henry to make his journey through England. The rumour alarmed James, who wrote to Henry to refuse his consent, and also to Albany to wait until he was sent for, as his coming would not be for the welfare of Scotland, and he had not authorised any one to ask him to come. Angus also wrote on the subject, and Albany's intention was frustrated.³

Much correspondence passed at this time between Angus and the English wardens, and also between the Courts of England and Scotland, respecting Sir William Lisle, an Englishman, who with his sons had escaped from Newcastle prison, and taken refuge among the Armstrongs in Liddes-

¹ Lesley, pp. 136, 139; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 2964, 4186; Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 298.

vol. iv. No. 3370; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 486-589, *passim*.

³ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 3394, 3773-3778; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 121-123.

² Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII.,

dale. His extradition was demanded, but Angus was unable to comply with the request, although he was in turn entreated, offered a reward, and threatened if compliance was not made. Lisle escaped into that part of the border country known as the Debateable Land, and neither Scottish nor English wardens could reach him. He finally gave himself up to the English.¹ Early in the year 1528, Angus undertook another expedition against the Armstrongs, but, failing to get the assistance of the Kers, as they had entered into a bond of assurance with that clan, he returned and issued letters proclaiming the Armstrongs rebels. These were sent to Lord Maxwell, warden of the West Marches, who refused to execute them within his wardenry, whereupon Angus assembled his own power and once more appeared in arms against the Armstrongs. He was at Jedburgh for the purpose of carrying out the letters himself, on 2d April 1528, but whether he did so or not does not appear. Possibly the marriage of the queen to Henry Stewart, their retreat to Stirling Castle, and its investment by the king, recalled him to the metropolis.²

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 117-125.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 490. Lesley says that on 27th March the king besieged his mother and Henry Stewart in the castle of Edinburgh. The queen on ascertaining that the king was present in person, at once opened the gates, and on her knees entreated his favour for herself and her husband. She refused to rise until her request was granted, and the writer adds that they were both warded in the castle during the king's pleasure. [History, p. 140.] According to a letter from Lord Dacre to Wolsey, it was the castle of Stirling, and not Edinburgh, to which the queen and Stewart betook themselves, and in which they were

besieged by Lord Erskine at the king's command. Stirling Castle was a more likely place for Queen Margaret to betake herself to than Edinburgh. Pinkerton quotes this incident from Lesley, and not seeing its connection with the queen's marriage to Stewart, which he dates about two years earlier, suggests that the queen took refuge in the castle of Edinburgh on account of some attempted extortion by Angus on her jointure lands. [Vol. ii. p. 289.] Tytler, who follows Pinkerton too closely in this, as in many other points of his history, adopts his view, and embellishes the simple narrative with supposititious incidents, taking occasion to indulge in one of these periods of "virtuous indignation"

Another descent on the borders was organised by Angus to take place in June 1528, when the king with a powerful army was to attend in person, and make thorough work of the whole matter. To insure success the English wardens were asked to co-operate by providing means to prevent the escape of the Scottish thieves into England, and they responded with alacrity.¹ But the intended expedition did not take place.

So smoothly had matters progressed now for a considerable time, and so effectually had all opposition apparently been disarmed, that the Douglasses greatly relaxed their vigilance over the movements of the king. As a result an event occurred towards the end of May 1528 which entirely changed the position of Angus in relation to the government of Scotland. The king, apparently without any previous warning, suddenly repaired to Stirling Castle, and ordered the captain to admit no one without his orders, his intention being to shake himself free from the guardianship of Angus. This incident has been generally termed an escape, and the manner of it variously related.

Lindsay of Pitscottie, whose account has been accepted by Pinkerton, Tytler, and other modern historians, more, there is reason to fear, from its fulness of romantic detail than for its veracity, says that the Archbishop of St. Andrews invited the king and the Douglasses to spend Easter at St. Andrews, where he made them "great cheer and merriness," and gave them considerable gifts, "that he might pacify their wraths therewith and obtain their favours." Their stay was prolonged, and Angus, becoming weary, went to Lothian on his private business, while his uncle and brother also left Court. The king, seizing the occasion to free himself from the oversight of the Douglasses, under pretence of hunting passed to Falkland, attended only by James Douglas of Parkhead and a hundred gentlemen. Calling upon the

which in his pages he so frequently hurls at pp. 193, 194.]

the heads of the successive chiefs of the Houses of Douglas and Angus. [Vol. iv.

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 4298, 4323, 4349.

Laird of Fernie, then Chamberlain of Fife, the king instructed him to summon all the tenants of the king's lands to meet him at Falkland at seven o'clock next morning for the chase. He then went to Falkland, and after an early supper retired to bed so as to be up betimes for the morrow's sport. Seeing the king in bed, James Douglas set the usual watch, and himself retired. When all was quiet, and before Sir George Douglas had arrived from St. Andrews, King James summoned a yeoman of the stables, and donning the servant's habiliments slipped out. Horses were quickly saddled, and attended by only two menials James rode to Stirling, which was reached by daybreak. He was received by the captain of the castle, who at once refused entrance to any but those whose presence the king desired.

Sir George Douglas, Lindsay continues, on coming to Falkland was informed of the king's plans for the morrow, and suspecting nothing, retired to his own chamber. But the morning brought intelligence of the king's escape, which was confirmed by the discovery that his bed and chamber were unoccupied. As soon as the chiefs of the Douglasses could be assembled, an expedition was made from Falkland to Stirling, but the king sent a herald, who commanded them, under pain of treason, not to approach within six miles of the king. This caused them to retire to Linlithgow.¹

In this narrative, however, circumstantial as it is, there is a manifest confusion in the chronology of events. The reconciliation between Angus and the Archbishop, as before stated, took place at the close of the year 1526, and was at that time celebrated by magnificent Christmas festivities at Holyrood.² In 1528, Easter fell upon the 12th of April, and from the national records it is ascertained that instead of being either at St. Andrews or Falkland for any lengthened period at that season, James was never at either. From the 7th April to the 3d of the following May, the king was at Edinburgh, whence he removed to Stirling for a few days, but returned

¹ Lindsay, pp. 217-220.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 461-463.

to Edinburgh before the 20th of the latter month, and remained there until the close of the month, when he was again at Stirling.¹ Lindsay further states that the Laird of Fernie was Chamberlain of Fife, an office really held by Angus himself; but in view of what has just been stated it is unnecessary to advert to the other inconsistencies of Lindsay's narrative.

Buchanan's relation of the episode is similar to that of Lindsay without the elaboration of detail, and he adds the story of a compact made by James with his mother for the exchange of Stirling Castle for that of Methven, a story totally incompatible with the fact that both Stirling Castle and the estate of Methven were parts of the queen's jointure, and at that moment in her own possession.²

In marked contrast to the florid account of Lindsay is the simple statement of Bishop Lesley, a historian much more trustworthy. He knows nothing of the intrigues with which others seem familiar, and simply says:—
 "In this yeir (1528), the king being neir the aige of sevintene yeiris, and of guid discretione and judgement accordinge to his aige, and nocht willinge to remane langer under the tutell and gouvernement of the Erle of Angus and his cumpanye, convenit diverse nobill men at Striveling; be quhais counsall he send ane herauld to the Erle of Angus and his assistaris, being than resident in Edinburgh, commanding thame under pane of treassoun that thay suld depart furth of the said towin, and that nane of thame suld come within foure myllis to the king, quhair evir he happenit to be."³

The simplicity of Lesley's narrative recommends its acceptance, all the more that what King James himself says on the subject confirms it. In explaining his action to his uncle, Henry the Eighth, James says that by the representations of several lords of Council, he became suddenly convinced that the regime of Angus and his friends was beneficial neither to himself

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. Nos. 570-598.

² *Ibid.* No. 592.

³ Lesley, p. 140.

nor to the country, and that it was the cause of certain disorders which existed. During Easter he summoned Angus and his friends before him and several of his council, showed them the discontent that existed with their rule, and in gentle manner asked them to reform the disorders and abuses that existed. They replied with good words, but did not amend, and under cover of an expedition against the border thieves, sought to bring him and his friends into risk and danger. For safety the king withdrew to Stirling Castle, sent for his lords and barons, and by their advice determined to remove the Douglasses from their places of authority to their own lands.¹

The king and Angus were together at Edinburgh on 27th May, when the latter wrote to Sir Christopher Dacre of their joint intention to raise an army by the 22d of June for the repression of the borderers. In his letter Angus says he writes at the command of King James, who himself had written on the same subject to Henry.² Three days later King James was at Stirling.³ On the 23d of June, when the English were expecting the advent of James and Angus on the borders, King James wrote to his uncle Henry and the Earl of Northumberland that the projected expedition was postponed, and he further explained to the King of England that it was on account of the discontent of part of the realm and council with the administration of the Scottish Chancellor, Angus. A council, he said, would meet at Edinburgh on 10th July next, when means would be devised for fulfilling the former purposes.⁴ On receiving the king's

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 548, 557, etc.

² *Ibid.* p. 495.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 597. In a summons on 1st December 1528 against John Home of Blackadder, Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, and others, they are accused of counselling and aiding the Earl of Angus in unlawful convocation of the lieges at Edin-

burgh for eight days immediately preceding the 1st day of June last, for the purpose of traitorously invading the person of the king. [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii p. 331.] There is probably a mistake here, in substituting either June for a later month or "preceding" for "subsequent to."

⁴ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 498.

letter, Northumberland despatched a spy into Scotland to discover what had taken place. He could only ascertain, however, that on the 19th of June King James, by advice of the queen, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earls of Arran, Argyll, Eglinton, Moray, and others, had made open proclamation that neither the Earl of Angus nor any other Douglas should come within seven miles of him, because they had spoiled the realm for their own profit and kept no justice. The nobility had been commanded to meet the king at Stirling on the 29th June, and accompany him to Edinburgh on the 10th July, when the Earl was to be called to account. As for Angus, Northumberland informed Wolsey that he was willing to relinquish all his offices if pardoned for past acts, but if he were not to obtain pardon, he and his friends would fight with his enemies about the king.¹

The breach between the king and Angus must thus have taken place between the 27th and the 30th May. The queen was then living in Stirling Castle, and it could only be expected that under her influence James would be induced to resist the power of Angus. On 6th July they came from Stirling to Edinburgh, and on the 9th proclamation was made that no one should communicate with the Earl of Angus, his two brothers, or his uncle, and that none pertaining to them should be found in Edinburgh, or its precincts, after four o'clock that afternoon, upon pain of death. Two days later the Council met and appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow chancellor in room of Angus, and Lord Maxwell provost of Edinburgh in place of his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie. Angus was ordered to betake himself north of the Spey, and cause his brother George and uncle Archibald enter into the castle of Edinburgh by rotation as his sureties. A meeting of Parliament was summoned for the 2d of September, and an envoy was despatched to the English Court to inform Henry of what had been done.²

¹ Letter, 2d July 1528. Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 4457.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 501, 502; Diurnal of Occurrents. p. 11.

James and his mother returned to Stirling on the 14th, and remained there until the 29th of August, when they returned to Edinburgh.¹

On seeing the disposition of the king towards him, Angus had retired to Tantallon, but the others returned to the capital. Two days before the king's arrival from Stirling, when Archibald Douglas, with his nephews, George and William, were seated quietly at dinner in the town, they were surprised by the appearance of the new provost, Lord Maxwell, who with a small company of men surrounded the house in which they were. The Douglasses had with them the household servants of the Earl of Angus, and these were scattered over the town. Nearly all, however, effected their escape, and joined the Earl at Tantallon.

When Parliament met, the forfeiture of the Douglasses was already determined upon, and the lords at Court had arranged who were to receive the lands.² The trial of the Earl of Angus, his brother George and uncle Archibald, and also of Alexander Drummond of Carnock, for assisting them, was amongst the foremost business. Protection until the decision was announced was promised to the parties charged to come personally and plead; but they declined the offer. The same day proclamation was made that on Monday next (7th September) the king would march from Edinburgh towards Haddington, the Merse, and elsewhere as might be thought expedient, for the ordering of matters concerning the common weal, and pacifying the country. All lords, barons, and freeholders then in town were commanded to meet him on that day, with the fencible men of the south-east of Scotland, armed and furnished with victuals for fifteen days' service.³ The issues of the trial were thus provided for beforehand.

On the third day of the Parliament, the Earl of Angus sent his secretary,

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. Nos. 613-629.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 509.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 322.

John Ballantyne, with reasons in the form of a protest why he and the others accused should not be compelled to answer at that time to this summons of treason, viz.:—Because they were not men of law themselves, and were unable to procure an advocate, and that this being holiday season, it was not competent to the king to hold his Parliament at such a time. Then while claiming the benefit of their protest to re-open the case at any future time, for restitution if aught was now done to their injury, they made, through Ballantyne, reply to the several charges laid against them in the summons.

Being charged with disobeying the king's commands that the Earl of Angus should pass north of the river Spey, and that his brother George and uncle Archibald should enter the castle of Edinburgh as his securities, they say that such things being dangerous to their lives, it was no treason to disobey, especially when the procedure was instigated by their enemies. As to convocation of the lieges against the king's coming to Edinburgh, they replied that they had never assembled any men against the king, but always to do him service, as they would ever be ready to do.

Further charges were giving treasonable assistance to the Laird of Johnstone in clan raids, and treasonably furnishing the castles of Tantallon, Cockburnspath, Newark, and Douglas against the king. To the former they replied that they had nothing whatever to do with the matter, nor knew of it save through the common voice of the country. They did not deny that they had provisioned and fortified their houses, but they denied doing so to the king's prejudice.

The principal charge was "the haifing of the kingis persoune in our cure and reule contrar the ordinance of the counsale." To this they answered: "We did neuer sick thing. As is wele kend, the kingis grace raid quhairuir he plesit, with mony or few, thir thre yeris bigane, and oft tymes neuer ane callit Douglas in his company, quhilk we refer to all the cuntre." With this was coupled a charge of exposing the king to danger in various battles, against which the Douglasses produced the decision of Parliament after the

defeat of Lennox, and demanded that no verdict should be given in contravention of that deliverance.¹

Ballantyne offered that the Earl would come and answer in person if the Master of Argyll, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton were placed in the hands of his friends as hostages for his safety. But the offer was not entertained, and in absence, Angus, his brother George, and his uncle Archibald, were adjudged to be forfeited in their lives, lands, and goods.² A similar sentence was passed upon Alexander Drummond of Carnock. The sentence upon Angus, according to a contemporary letter, was not pronounced, as customary, with the consent of the whole Parliament, but only by a committee of six Bishops and five Earls chosen by the king, and all hostile to Angus.³

Angus had already written to Henry asking his protection if driven out of Scotland, and on the day the forfeiture was pronounced,⁴ he and his brother, the Abbot of Holyrood, came to the river Tweed opposite Norham, and calling across the river, asked an interview with Roger Lassells, the steward of the Earl of Northumberland. Angus inquired of Lassells if he had yet been informed of the intentions of King Henry and Wolsey regarding him. He was informed that no recent intelligence had been received, at which he expressed surprise, and asked that accommodation might be provided for his daughter, the young Earl of Huntly, and the wife of Archibald Douglas; also, that if there were need, accommodation should be afforded to himself, his two brothers, his uncle, and their followers. He was not quite prepared, he said, to withstand the intended invasion of his lands by the king, for which the royal troops were assembling. But if shelter were granted him and his in Norham for a few days until King James dismissed his forces, he would then

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323.

² *Ibid.* pp. 324-326.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 509. These were the Archbishop of Glasgow, the

Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, and Dunblane, and the Prior of St. Andrews, the Earls of Argyll, Arran, Eglinton, and Moray, and Lord Maxwell. [*Ibid.* p. 513.]

⁴ Saturday, 5th September 1528.

return to Scotland and occupy his own lands in spite of all his enemies. None would oppose him, he confidently affirmed, unless they had the king with them. Lassells, who knew that it was the intention of the King of England to shelter the Earl, at once granted the request.¹

As already remarked, a partition of the lands of the Douglasses had been made in view of the predetermined decision, and on the day of forfeiture the king granted a large number of charters of these lands in larger or smaller portions.² On the 8th of September all those who had participated in the Douglas lands were instructed to bring their charters to the king to be sealed and signed. This was duly done, after which the king handed them to a page to keep. On the writs being asked for, James demanded of his council if he could not revoke what he had done. An answer was given in the affirmative, whereupon, calling for a notary, the king formally revoked all he had done, and commanded the expectant barons to go and chase Angus out of Scotland, and then they would receive their charters.³ This was the day after that on which the host should have left Edinburgh for the Douglas lands in the Lothians, but the royal expedition did not take place owing to disagreement among the lords. The dispersion of the troops then assembled, though ostensibly on the ground that it was harvest-time and that the king was unwilling to destroy the grain, was currently rumoured to have arisen from fear of Angus.

Driven to bay, and having nothing more to lose than what had been,

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 510.

² *Ibid.* pp. 509, 513. Among the more considerable donatees was the Earl of Argyll, who received the lordship of Abernethy; while the Earl of Arran obtained Bothwell; the Earl of Murray, Boncle; Lord Maxwell, Crawford-Douglas and Dunsyre; Sir James Hamilton and the Sheriff of Ayr obtained Douglasdale; the Laird of Buccleuch, Jedburgh Forest; Mark Ker, Preston. The

king reserved Tantallon and the superiority of Angus for himself. Lord Home, it is said, was offered all the Earl's lands in the Merse, but declined the gift, on account of which the king threatened to pay him a visit when in that district. See also for smaller grants, *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii. Nos. 635-657.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 510, 511.

under colour of law, taken from him, secure also of asylum in England in the event of ultimate defeat, the Earl of Angus practically went to war, not with King James, to whom he said he would always testify his loyalty, but with those who, from personal enmity, had procured him this reverse.¹ He did not purpose entering England unless by constraint; so fortifying himself, first in Tantallon, and then in Coldingham, he gathered round him a numerous band of the Scottish borderers. He requested Henry to grant permission to the English borderers to follow his standard,² and compliance being secretly given, he was soon in a position to contest the advance of James.

On the very night of the dismissal of the king's troops at Edinburgh, the 10th September, Angus despatched a band of eighty men towards the capital, where the king still was, and burned the two villages of Cranston and Cousland, a few miles to the south, "that the king mycht have light to see to risse withall upon Fryday in the mornynge."³ Probably this action provoked James to carry out his intentions in spite of the unwillingness of his lords, for he ordered preparations to be made for an attack on the castle of Douglas, and himself led a strong force to Lanark, whence he directed the assault. He could scarcely, however, have awaited the overthrow of the castle, for he returned to Edinburgh within six days,⁴ and Angus declared that the castle would hold out unless the king brought heavy ordnance to bear upon it. The result of this siege has not been ascertained, though Tytler concludes it was abandoned. Probably the king returned after placing

¹ In his "Lady of the Lake," Sir Walter Scott has happily caught the spirit of the Earl's submissive feelings towards the king. He is represented as saying, in response to an invitation to take up arms against James—

"Against his sovereign Douglas ne'er
Will level a rebellious spear.
'Twas I that taught his youthful hand
To rein a steed and wield a brand.

I see him yet, the princely boy!
Not Ellen more my pride and joy.
I love him still, despite my wrongs,
By hasty wrath, and slanderous tongues."

[Canto II. Stanza xxxv.]

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 129, 130.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 510.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 683-685.

the castle in a state of investment by the retainers of the surrounding barons, who were, for the most part, hostile to Angus.¹

Coldingham Priory, whither the Earl had now withdrawn, on account of its proximity to England, was the next object of the king's attack.² James appears to have thought somewhat lightly of the task, for he brought only five hundred horsemen to beard the lion in his den. Angus, well informed of all the king's movements, left the priory on his approach, and, surrounded by a band of two hundred borderers, observed from a distance what was taking place. Lord Home and his brother, the Abbot of Jedburgh, accompanied the king, in order that the latter might be placed in possession of the priory. Meeting no resistance, the king placed Lord Home and his brother in possession, and towards evening turned to ride back to Edinburgh, when Angus was observed approaching. James wisely declined a combat, as the men under the command of Angus had increased to five hundred; so, giving

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 512. In 1537 King James appointed James Gordon of Lochinvar captain and keeper of the castle of Douglas for five years, and also gave him a lease of the Mains of Douglas for the same period. [Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xi. fols. 21, 44, ms. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.]

² Godscroft relates that, on learning his forfeiture by Parliament, he went to Tantallon, in order, for one thing, to secure his charters. His neglect to do so, on his former retirement into England, was not to be repeated. He resolved to bury them privately in some part of the Castle grounds. There was in the castle an enormous beef-pot of brass, in which the little kitchen-boys that stirred the spits used to lie for warmth. This the Earl chose for the purpose, and with

the aid of Simon Penango, the captain of the castle, and a stalwart trooper, both of whom were pledged to secrecy, the muniments were transferred from the charter-chest to the pot, the lid securely clasped with iron, and the pot buried under a little bridge near the farthest gate of the castle. The three feet of the pot stood upon the solid rock so as to preserve it from water, and there the writs remained for fifteen years until the Earl's return from England. The other two persons concerned in the concealment died during these years, but the story was told by Simon Penango's posterity to William, tenth Earl of Angus. The huge brass pot was afterwards the subject of a dispute between James, Earl of Morton, and his nephew, the eighth Earl of Angus. [Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 100.]

rein to his steed, he had to submit to the indignity of a flight, the Earl pursuing him to the gates of Dunbar. Angus then returned to Coldingham, expelled the intruders, and continued his own sojourn there.¹

This adventure took place between the 2d and 4th of October, but the king prepared a more formidable expedition, which set out on the 18th of that month for the capture of Tantallon Castle. The king's army was composed of twelve thousand men, and included his best artillery. To aid in the assault the king borrowed some of the choicest guns in the castle of Dunbar,² and for their safe restoration, left, it is said, three of his lords in pledge in the castle. The gunners and men-at-arms plied their ingenuity and skill for sixteen days to force a surrender, but in vain; and on the 4th of November King James abandoned the siege and returned to Edinburgh. "Thare was nevir," said Angus, "sa mekill pane, travell, expensis, and diligence done and maid for the wyning of ane houss, and the sammyn escaip in Scotland, sen it was first inhabit." Before raising the siege the king sent a detachment of his troops under the Earl of Bothwell and Lord Home to dislodge Angus from Coldingham, but evidently with no success.

When the royal troops left Tantallon, Angus immediately went into the castle, and strengthened the garrison. James had unwisely left his artillery to follow him under the charge of a single company of horse and a band of foot soldiers, and Angus, choosing eighty horsemen, went in pursuit of the guns. He waited until the moon rose, and then made a sudden descent upon the convoy at Dirleton, dispersing them with considerable slaughter, and seizing all the artillery, the captain of the footmen, and the master of the

¹ William Douglas, the late Prior of Coldingham, had just died; vol. iv. of this work, p. 136; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 517, 518.

French captain for the Duke of Albany, and the borrowed artillery are described as two great cannons called "Thrawn-mouth'd Mow and her Marrow," also "two great bosards and two moyan, two double falcons, and four quarter falcons."

² Dunbar Castle was at this time held by a

artillery. David Falconer, the principal captain in command, was slain, and was much lamented by King James, as he had the reputation of being the best soldier in Scotland. Angus, however, did not intend to appropriate the guns, and after convoying them some distance on their way to Edinburgh, dismissed the master of the artillery with the greater part of his charge, but kept some of the artillery, and carried off the captain of infantry as a prisoner. He instructed the liberated master of artillery to commend his loyal service to the king, and show him that he was his true subject, who had done nothing deserving of the treatment he had received; that his actions were directed against those ill-advised persons whom the king kept about him, and that had it been his pleasure he could at this time have caused the king more indignity than such persons could ever have amended.¹

James was so enraged at the non-success of his efforts to reduce the strongholds of the Earl of Angus, and the additional dishonour of losing his artillery, that, it is said, he solemnly swore that the Earl of Angus and his friends should never be received into favour by him. He also caused the lords, some of whom he suspected of favouring Angus, to take their oaths that they would never solicit for the Earl's restoration.²

Yet there were frequent efforts at reconciliation with King James on the part of Angus. From the outset of the quarrel Angus sought and obtained the sympathy and support of King Henry the Eighth, who, by letters and otherwise, endeavoured to subdue the animosity of the King of Scots towards his noble subject. Before the meeting of Parliament at which he was forfeited, the Earl obtained letters of intercession from Henry to James, and in sending them to the king, Angus made offer of "great gifts," if thereby he might purchase reconciliation. But even if James had been willing personally at this stage to have listened to entreaty, he was surrounded by those whose

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 137, 138; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 519-522.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 12.

interests were so opposed to the return of Angus to Court, that their utmost influence was employed to prevent his restoration. His application for Henry's intercession was also used by his enemies to defeat that end.¹

Yet James himself had so early as 13th July gone to Henry for support against Angus, hinting, and by no means obscurely, that his uncle was the cause of his misfortunes, through bringing Angus from France, and obtaining the elevation of the Earl to the positions he had occupied in Scotland. Henry passed over this insinuation with a remonstrance and warning to James to be more careful of what he said, but insisted on knowing the reasons for his sharp dealing with the Douglasses. These were furnished by James after the forfeiture had taken place, through an envoy, Patrick Sinclair, to counteract whose representations, as he was confessedly hostile to the Douglasses, Angus sent his brother George to the English Court.

The English king, while he dealt with James about the harshness of his procedure, and endeavoured to dissuade him from hostilities against Angus, recommended the Earl to seek, by every concession possible, to regain the favour of his prince. Angus was willing to do so. During the siege of Tantallon, at the Earl's request, King James sent two of his most trusted courtiers, Sir James Hamilton and the Sheriff of Ayr, to confer at Cockburnspath with George Douglas² and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, but the terms offered by the king are not recorded. They were such, apparently, as the Earl would not accept.³

In December another effort at reconciliation was made by Angus,

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 129.

² He had by this time returned from London, on leaving which he was presented with £20, and when crossing the Borders on his way home, he was presented, at Henry's command, with the gift of £100, for the use of his brother the Earl. [Vol. iv. of this

work, p. 135; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 511, 513, 520, 530; Letters and Papers, etc., vol. iv. No. 4859; vol. v. p. 303.]

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 530, 536; Letters and Papers, etc., vol. iv. Appendix, No. 204.

through Andrew Cairns, minister of the Friars Observantines in Scotland. The friar bore a letter from Angus written from Coldingham to King James, in which the Earl offers his humble service, entreats the king to call to mind his faithful service and obedience, affirms, as he shall answer to God, that he never "faltit agains" the king, either in word or deed, and refers him to his frequent offers for reconciliation, such as none could more obediently, nor with more sincere purpose to perform, have made to their sovereign. He pleads that it was no crime in his dire necessity to have applied to the king's uncle for his intercession, nor could it be reputed so if he had made like supplication to all Christian princes. The Earl makes an ample offer of service; he himself and his castles are at the king's command, if only his majesty would receive him to favour. He concludes with an appeal that if the king were kinder to him he would be better able to serve him.

On hearing the letter read, King James, with consent of his council, accepted the offers contained in it, and promised on the word of a king, with his hand upon his breast, that he would observe and keep every point if the Earl kept his promises. The king instructed the friar to tell Angus to surrender his castle of Tantallon at once to such persons as the king should name, and to fulfil the other things named in his letter. He was also to cause his brother and friends to make similar offers for themselves. To this Angus replied adhering to his offers, but requiring, before carrying them into execution, to see the king's part of the bargain in progress also, so that the one should be "endit" with the other. With regard to the request about his relatives, Angus replied that the quarrel was with him alone, and whatever he did for himself he did for them. "Or I leif furth the leist lad at pertains to me I had levire nevire haue heretage in Scotland."¹ The result was, as Magnus, the English ambassador, anticipated, to little purpose.

¹ Original Document in British Museum, in History of Scotland [vol. ii. p. 483]. Cf. also London. It is also printed in full by Pinkerton State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 540.

The peace made with England by Angus in 1525 had now expired, and for some time James laboured with Henry for its renewal. The English king took the opportunity to press upon James the injustice of his conduct towards Angus, for whose attainder, notwithstanding all the representations made by James, he told him he saw no good reason. When at last Henry sent commissioners to treat with the Scottish embassy, he, in compliance with a request from Angus, made his restoration a subject of the negotiations. But the Scottish commissioners had been instructed if this matter were moved, rather to take their leave than enter upon it, and consequently nothing was done until both parties advised further with their respective governments. James took it so heavily to heart that his uncle showed more favour to the Earl of Angus than to himself, that he burst into tears.¹

On the renewal of negotiations, the English envoys were instructed not to imperil the prospects of peace by insisting too much upon the restoration of Angus, and a truce for five years was agreed upon. At the same time, by a separate document, the position of Angus, his brother, and his uncle, was defined. If they were restored on "making lowly suit" to James, it was to be at the request of Henry, either by letters or messengers. Meanwhile, the receiving of them at any time by Henry into England was not to be accounted a breach of the treaty; and it was further provided that the Earl and his friends should render the castle of Tantallon and their other strongholds into the hands of James.²

Magnus, who was one of the commissioners, employed himself busily in the interval between the two meetings on the Earl's behalf, writing in his most persuasive terms not only to King James, but also to the queen, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Adam Otterburn, one of the Scottish commissioners. On a visit to the Scottish Court during

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 523-530, 534.
vol. iv. Nos. 4829, Appendix, 204; State ² Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. pp. 276-278.

January 1528-9, Magnus dealt personally with James and others for the fulfilment of the wishes of his master regarding Angus, but without avail.¹ "By all the wayes and meanes I couth devise or persuade," says Magnus, "I couth fynde noe remedy for the said Erle of Anguse, not somyche as to have any his frendes to come ynne and to make offer for his reconsiliation. And, as I was required and mooved frome the said Erle of Anguse, I offerde to the said king, to be geven to his said grace for reconsiliation of the said Erle and his frendes, twoe thowsand pownde, which in anywise wolde not be regarded, accepted, nor taken."² So far from accepting any proposals, James furnished Magnus with a long indictment against Angus for the information of Henry.

In this "Credens," as the document is called, King James expresses surprise that nothing he or his Council could say would convince Henry that the Earl of Angus, and his confederates, had committed crimes worthy of forfeiture. He then goes on to say that when, at the first coming of the Earl from France into Scotland, the royal authority was placed in his own hands under the guidance of regents, Angus, not content with fellowship, removed all the other regents and lords, save those who assisted in his evil deeds, and held James under his sole guidance for two years or thereby; and that during that time he was repeatedly exposed to danger. Angus had even conspired his death, and would have compassed it, if other lords of his party had consented. Moreover, that in return for assistance, thieves and broken men were countenanced by Angus in raids on the English borders; that by his abuse of the royal authority, friendship with foreign princes and states had decayed; while the revenues were squandered by him and others of his kin and friends

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 534-561; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 4892.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 558.

James himself said that Magnus had at this time exhausted all the arguments that any one could have offered on behalf of Angus.

whom he had made royal officers. Then follows the narrative already quoted as to the withdrawal of the king to Stirling; and, by the faith of a prince, adds the king, he intended nothing more than to remove Angus and his friends from authority and office, leaving them their lives and lands, until they rebelled openly, assembled their forces, and would have stopped the convention by battle.

James further adds that at Henry's intercession alone, had favour been offered to Angus and his friends, which they refused; and his uncle would grant that he could not with honour, and without great damage, show grace to the Earl unless he first expelled him out of the realm. Grace he and his friends should never have save at the intercession of Henry, and perhaps, when once they were expelled, James might listen to proposals in their favour.¹

So early as the beginning of November, a safe-conduct for Angus and his friends to come into England had been granted by Henry, but with secret instructions that it should be withheld, so that Angus might remain in Scotland and do all the harm he could. The English borderers might be allowed to assist him if they wished, and Northumberland thought they would do so readily, the Earl was so well beloved in England. Angus made frequent raids throughout the Lothians, probably upon those who had taken possession of his lands.² A ship, called the "Martin," was wrecked upon the Skateraw, on the Berwickshire coast, and fell a prey to the horsemen of Angus and the peasants of the district. The latter carried off and used as firewood the stalks of cinnamon with which the vessel was partly laden.³ These raids on the part of Angus continued for several months, and the young Earl of Bothwell was appointed lieutenant of Lothian for the purpose of operating against Angus, and driving him out of the country. In the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 547-549.

² *Ibid.* p. 520; Letters and Papers, etc., vol. iv. No. 4882.

³ Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 99.

middle of February, when Magnus was returning to England from his visit to the Scottish Court, he had to run the gauntlet between the retainers of the two nobles, and he complained that he was placed in extreme peril by Bothwell's party.¹ Angus remained in Scotland until at least the 18th of May 1529, when he wrote to Wolsey from Preston in the Merse that he could no longer well remain in Scotland,² and he appears then to have withdrawn to Berwick, awaiting the intimation of Henry's pleasure regarding him.

While in Berwick Angus resided with Thomas Strangeways, the controller of Wolsey's household, to whose care he had intrusted his daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, during the last few months of his sojourn in Scotland. Carlisle Herald was despatched on 12th July from London with letters to Angus and to conduct him to the king. With Henry and Wolsey the Earl personally arranged the terms of his residence in England, the Earl being granted a pension of one thousand merks yearly, his brother George one of smaller amount, and Archibald Douglas, their uncle, a sum under £100 annually. Angus was to reside with the Earl of Northumberland, and that nobleman promised to entertain him in "loving wyse."³

During the first few years of the residence of Angus in England, he was the subject of repeated exchange of correspondence between the English and Scottish Courts. Before the close of 1529 Henry again pressed James to agree to a reconciliation with Angus, but James declined and complained somewhat of the unreasonableness of his uncle's importunity in this matter. After the agreements which had passed between James and Angus, already referred to, one part of the king's letter is surprising, and evinces the insincerity of James in the former negotiations. "We nevir as yit," he says, "grauntit to the reconciliatioune of the said Archibald, nowther be writings

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 561.

³ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. Nos. 5844, 5886; vol. v. pp. 313-315, 317, 321, 324.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 139.

nor word." The Scottish Council wrote at the same time that they were opposed to any reconciliation between the king and Angus.¹

A few months later, the Earl of Arran lay on his deathbed, and, sending twice or thrice for King James, recommended him to be reconciled to Angus. He told the king, with the earnestness of a dying man, that among all his lords, Angus was the only one true to him, and had been made the victim of calumnies by his enemies. This incident appears to have made a temporary impression upon James, as he shortly afterwards sent for Angus. The Earl went alone to the king, his brother George remaining at Berwick to see how matters fell out. It would seem that the submission made by the friar Cairns was revived at this time, for Angus rendered the castle of Tantallon into James's hands, and it was immediately garrisoned by the royal troops.² But "hard and difficill it was to satisfy our king," says Calderwood. "The castell was raundered, but the conditionns upon the king's part were not kepted, except that favour was graunted to Alexander Drummond, to returne home to the countrie, not so mucche for performance of anie promise, as in favour of Robert Bartan, who had requested for him."³

Indeed, by this submission, instead of regaining the favour of James, the Earl experienced the very reverse. Henry's overtures were once more renewed and declined,⁴ and in October 1531, James demanded that Angus should be removed by Henry from the Borders. The King of England reminded James that the reception of Angus into England was made lawful

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 572 ; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 6078.

² Letter, Philip Dacre to Lord Dacre, 4th April 1530. Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 6305.

³ Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 100. The

custody of the castle of Tantallon was granted on 6th August 1531, by King James the Fifth to his secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, who had formerly got the lands in feu-farm. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 806, 1049.]

⁴ In December 1530. Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 6779.

by the late treaty, and that the arrangement then made was mainly as a preliminary step to the Earl's reconciliation, in view of which it seemed convenient that the Earl should remain near the Borders, rather than that he should seem to be cherished at the English Court against his sovereign. But if the presence of Angus near the Borders was displeasing to James, Henry would oblige him, if in return he would attend to the better administration of justice on the Borders.¹

When, not long after, Henry recalled the attention of James to the propriety of showing himself more gracious and benevolent to Angus, the King of Scots, by his ambassadors, demanded the withdrawal of Henry's favour from Angus, and the restitution of Berwick.² This was almost equivalent to a declaration of war. Indeed, although the term covered by the treaty of peace had not expired, the relations between the two kingdoms were becoming strained. The Borders were in a more unsatisfactory condition than ever. James was reported to have sent troops to the assistance of Henry's enemies in Ireland, and news of divisions and alienations between James and his nobles moved Henry to entertain the idea of attaching Scotland to his own Crown.³

In view of probable hostilities Angus was summoned by Henry to Court, and on condition of getting his annuity increased from one thousand merks to £1000, promised "by his othe and in the worde of a gentleman" to serve

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 589, 590.

² *Ibid.* p. 600; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. v., No. 1202.

³ The Earl of Bothwell, after suffering imprisonment for six months, and deprivation of lands at the hands of James, offered Henry his allegiance and service for this end, and he suggested that the Earl of Crawford,

who had been disinherited of a large portion of his estates, the Earl of Argyll, who had been imprisoned and deprived of the rule of the Isles, and the Earl of Moray, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton, on account of the disfavour in which, after long and painful services, they were held, might easily be alienated from King James to the same service. [State Papers, etc., vol. iv. pp. 598, 616.]

in the war with as many of his friends and servants as he could procure. The Earl was to tender his oath of allegiance to Henry, and recognise him as supreme Lord of Scotland, and his own prince and sovereign. The increased annuity was to continue until the Earl was restored to his lands in Scotland either by Henry's conquest, or at the hands of the King of Scots by Henry's means. Henry further promised that if Angus so served him, he would make no peace with James which did not comprehend the reconciliation of the Earl and restitution of his lands.¹

A period of Border warfare succeeded this arrangement, and in the raids into Scotland, with which the English retaliated those of their Scottish neighbours, the Earl, his brother and uncle, acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their employers. Among other enterprises a midnight visit was paid to James, Earl of Moray, at Coldingham, immediately after his appointment to the office of Lieutenant of the Eastern Marches, when Coldingham and other neighbouring towns were burnt, and the Earl's provender destroyed. Dunglass, Cockburnspath, and other places shared a similar fate shortly afterwards. A no less destructive invasion of Teviotdale brought James himself to the Borders with a strong army, but he did not enter England, and the hostilities were only terminated about the end of August 1533, by the Scots suing for and obtaining a truce for one year.²

This was followed in May 1534 by a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, which provided for the maintenance of harmony during the lives

¹ 25th August 1532. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 139, 140.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 622-638. In one of these raids the Scots are said, by Lesley, to have chased the invaders to Berwick, and made a prisoner of the Earl of Angus, who, however, was secretly liberated,

to the great offence of King James. [History, p. 145.] The story of the chase is perhaps authentic, as Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme is reported to have taunted Angus with having once chased him out of Scotland, adding that he hoped to do so again. [State Papers, vol. v. p. 251.] But the story of the capture and release is somewhat doubtful.

of both kings, and a year after the death of either. By a separate treaty the fortress of Edrington, or Cawmills, in Berwickshire, which had been taken by the English and held by the Douglasses as an outpost in the English interest, was surrendered to the Scots, and Angus was permitted to reside in England.¹ This, however, was not in conformity with the agreement between Henry and Angus in August 1532, which stipulated that if a treaty were made it should comprehend the reconciliation of the Douglasses.

Once more Henry approached James on behalf of the Douglasses, moved to do so by the Douglasses themselves. Henry's appeal was in the strongest form possible. He instructed his ambassador, Lord William Howard, to seek the most fitting opportunity to remind James that Henry could not forget again to recommend the reconciliation of the Earl and his brother to him, and the restitution of their estates and honours. Not only had the ancestors of the Earl of Angus been of noble countenance in Scotland, and done good service there to their prince and sovereign, but the king adds "this man hathe ever in harte ben as trew and loyall unto his Sovereigne lorde, the Kinge's saide good brother and nephew, as any of his house hathe ben afore tyme." He had certain knowledge also that both the Earl and his brother preserved their allegiance and affection for their natural sovereign and liege lord, and was persuaded that their actions had not deserved the punishment which by the means and sinister information of their enemies they had sustained.²

When this failed, the occasion of James going to France for his bride was chosen to make a last attempt, and Henry obtained the influence of the King of France in aid of his own.³ Still James was inexorable, and so far from relaxing, that, on returning to Scotland, he pursued the friends of Angus with cruel severity. On charges obviously false, Janet

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 538, etc.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 142-3; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 5.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 143-145.

Douglas, Lady Glamis, was burnt to death in Edinburgh, and the Master of Forbes, who was connected with the Douglasses, was executed. Others, supposed to be friendly to Angus, were imprisoned, and for simply conversing with George Douglas in England, respecting efforts being made for reconciliation, Adam Otterburn, till now an honoured and faithful servant of the king, was thrown into prison at Dumbarton. "Few do escape," wrote Norfolk from the Borders to Cromwell, "that may be known to be friends to the Earl of Angus, or near kinsmen. They be daily taken and put in prison. It is said that such as have lands of any good value shall suffer at this next Parliament, and such as have little shall refuse the name of Douglas and be called Stewarts." "So sore a dred king, and so ill beloved of his subjectes, was never in that londe; every man that hath any substance fearyng to have a quarrell made to hym therefore." Angus himself was watched for by the Scots on the Borders, and he was now "owte of hope" of ever attaining his inheritance save through war.¹

This bitterness of spirit against the Douglasses was further evinced by James at the Parliament held in December 1540, when, by his special command, James Foulis of Colinton, Clerk of Register, made request that, if Parliament thought it expedient, the dooms of forfeiture against the Douglasses and their friends should be extracted and sealed with the king's great seal and the seals of the three Estates, "for the fortification, approbatioun, and confirmatioun therof." The reasons assigned were—"Be caus the memor of tratouris suld remane to the schame and sclander of thame that ar cumin of thame and to the terrour to all vtheris to commit siclik in tymes cuming, and be caus bukis may be tint, and throw oft handilling be worne away, and vtheris wayis the saidis domes of forfaltour be distroyit." The obsequious Parliament declared the request very reasonable, and gave its consent to the arrangement. In the same Parliament James procured the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 98, 108, 109, 112, 141.

passing of an Act attaching the principal baronies of the Earl of Angus to the Crown, and exempting his adherents from the benefit of a general remission.¹

Shortly afterwards, Queen Margaret was suddenly stricken with palsy, and died within four days at Methven. Her life with Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, had been an unhappy one, and from him also, had her son permitted her, she would have been divorced. On her deathbed she bitterly reproached herself for her conduct to the Earl of Angus. She sent for her son, the king, but as he did not come until her death took place, she desired the friars, her confessors, "that thay shold seek on thar knees befor the kyng, and to beseche hem that he wold be good and grachous unto the Erell of Anguyshe, and dyd extremly lament, and aske God marcy that she had afendet unto the sayd Erell as she hade."²

The last years of King James the Fifth brought him little peace or comfort. His ungenerous and harsh treatment of his nobles and barons, besides the Douglasses, alienated them from him, and their service was given more through fear than affection. The clergy were weary of his exactions and sought relief at the hands of the Pope. His children died in infancy, and his years seemed embittered with suspicion and remorse.³ He is said to have relented towards Angus ere his life closed. Involved by his clergy in hostilities with England, the shameful defeat of Solway Moss in 1542 so affected the king that he fell sick and died. "His minde," says Calderwood, "was distracted diverselie. Sometimes he would be avenged upon the traterous dealing of his owne, as he alledged; sometimes he was advising upon new

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361, 363.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 194.

³ Sir Walter Scott, in his "Lady of the Lake," puts into the mouth of James the following lines, which aptly reflect this condition of mind:—

"Why is it at each turn I trace
Some memory of that exiled race?
Can I not mountain maiden spy,
But she must bear the Douglas eye?
Can I not view a highland brand,
But it must match the Douglas hand?
Can I not frame a fevered dream,
But still the Douglas is the theme?"

[Canto i. stanza xxxv.]

preparatioun for the warres, for which he saw now it was necessar to call home the Erle of Angus, upon whatsoever conditionns he could. 'I sall bring him home,' sayeth he, 'that sall take order with them all.'"¹

On the death of King James the opposition to the return of the Earl of Angus was removed. The Scots only desired his bond that he would take their part against England. Whether he granted such a bond or not does not appear. But in less than a month after the king's death Sir George Douglas, in a meeting with the Earl of Arran, now regent of Scotland, and Cardinal Beaton, smoothed away all existing difficulties, and the Earl was cordially welcomed to Scotland, proclamation being made on the evening of the 16th January 1542-3 that the Earl and his brother were restored to their lands and possessions.² When Parliament met in March this decision was passed into law, and the Acts of forfeiture reduced and rescinded, ten reasons, chiefly of a technical nature, being given why the forfeiture should be annulled. The similar decreets against their friends were likewise annulled, and Angus and they were reponed to their honours, estates, and goods as these existed before the pretended forfeiture, the regent delivering to them the sceptre and baton in token of their restoration.³

As formerly related, the lands of Angus, on his forfeiture in 1528, had been distributed among the favourites of King James the Fifth. But, singular to relate, these had been almost entirely resumed by the

¹ History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 151. During these hostilities the Earl of Angus and his brother ranged themselves on the side of the English, and in the battle of Haldane Rig, fought in August 1542, they narrowly escaped sharing the fate of some of their party in being made prisoners by the Scots. [*Ibid.* p. 144.] Calderwood says that James Douglas of Parkhead was here taken,

with a base son of the Earl of Angus, named Sir James Douglas. But this must be George Douglas, afterwards postulate of Arbroath and bishop of Moray.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 238, 239, 585.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 413-424. This was done on 15th March 1542-3.

king, and added to the Crown patrimony.¹ Though James certainly had no intention of subserving the interests of the Earl by this action, the restoration of the lands to the Earl was thereby simplified. The only difficulty that occurred was in reference to the barony of Abernethy, which had been granted to Colin, Earl of Argyll, and was still held by his son Archibald. This was settled in a friendly way by arbitration, in the following month of April, though Argyll was one of the few nobles who were not altogether friendly to the return of the Douglasses.² The castles and houses belonging to Angus had suffered considerable dilapidation during the absence of their owner, and all moveable goods had long since disappeared.³

The Earl of Angus was received into the councils of the nation, and appointed one of the regent's privy councillors.⁴ He was one of the strongest advocates among the Scottish nobles for a thorough alliance with England, and, along with his statesmanlike brother, supported the proposals of Henry the Eighth, which ultimately were accepted by the Scots and formulated in a treaty of peace and another treaty for the marriage of the infant queen of Scotland to Prince Edward of England. Angus was

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361. King James had not permitted the nobles to enjoy the Angus lands long. On 16th June 1534 he bestowed the lordship of Douglas on his eldest natural son, by Elizabeth Shaw, James Stewart, and in October following he added the baronies of Dunsyre, Crawford Muir, Bothwell, Jedburgh Forest, Boncle, Tantallon, and the superiority of Kirriemuir. Failing heirs-male of James Stewart the destination was successively to James Stewart, the king's natural son by Margaret Erskine, to James Stewart, his natural son by Christian Barclay, and to Robert Stewart, his natural son

by Euphemia Elphinstone. But because the son of Elizabeth Shaw had been otherwise provided for by benefices, the king on 31st August 1536, revoked his grant of Tantallon and Boncle, and gave these, in one barony, to James Stewart, his son by Margaret Erskine, who afterwards became the Regent Murray, and to the other sons mentioned in succession. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 1391, 1425, 1620.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 230-232.

³ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 321, 322.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland vol. ii. p. 414.

in a manner bound by promise to Henry to further this purpose, but had no sympathy with Henry's ulterior designs on the supremacy of Scotland, though he could not well oppose Henry in stating them. It was self-evident that if the treaty of marriage took effect, the union of the kingdoms under one sovereign was an assured fact, and the question of supremacy could be left for adjustment till then.¹ He was at one with the policy of his brother George, which has been stated in the previous memoir, and declared himself in this respect an "Englishman," in contradistinction to the policy of the opposing party in Scottish politics, who, from their preference to a French alliance, were called "Frenchmen."

That the Earl's political views were not those of a mere time-server is evinced both by his declarations and by the whole tenor of his life, throughout which the strength of his convictions was tested by repeated reverses from friend and foe alike; and though under pressure these convictions were occasionally concealed, they were again the ruling power of his conduct whenever the restraint was removed. So early as 1527, and before he had occasion to seek the shelter of England, he expressed his opinions in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey. He reminds the English Chancellor that his ancestors had in all times sought to further love and peace between the two realms, and were he to presume to such foolhardiness as to neglect the "futsteppis of wysmenn past of before" he might well be reputed unwise. Since he grew

¹ With many in Scotland the treaty of marriage was not popular. Sadler adduces Sir Adam Otterburn as an able representative of such, who, in conversation expressed surprise that Sadler should expect the fulfilment of such a treaty. "If you had the las," said Otterburn, "and we the lad, we coulede be well content with it; but I cannot beleve that your nacyon coulede agree

to have a Scotte to be kyng of England. And lykewise I assure you, that our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be king of Scotland. And though the whole nobilite of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people and the stones in the strete wolde ryse and rebelle agenst it." [Sadler's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 559, 560.]

to any perfection, his whole mind and intention had ever been to study every way possible for the maintenance of this concord, an anxiety greatly heightened by his accession to the office and authority he then held.¹

Within a week or two after his return to Scotland the Earl contracted marriage with Margaret, daughter of Robert Lord Maxwell. Lord Maxwell was taken prisoner at the defeat of Solway Moss, and probably returned to Scotland with Angus, whom he met at Darnton.² The marriage was at first opposed by the regent, but he ultimately gave way, and the union was completed on 9th April 1543.³ By the contract the Earl became bound to infest his spouse, either in the barony of Bothwell or in lands in Douglasdale of the annual value of one hundred merks.⁴ The Earl appears to have done both, as on the day of the marriage Crown charters of both these subjects were granted to the Earl and his Countess.⁵ Godscroft, who erroneously places the Earl's marriage with Margaret Maxwell before the forfeiture in 1528, has a story that with his daughter Lord Maxwell gave the Earl, in addition to the dowry of five thousand merks promised in the contract, five small pieces of artillery, a brass falcon, a brass hagbut, and three sling-pieces, and that the Earl placed these in his castle of Douglas. There they remained until 1652, when Oliver Cromwell carried them away.⁶

As yet the Earl of Angus had been able to prevent the ascendancy of the French faction in the country, but the Earl of Lennox was brought over from France by Cardinal Beaton and Mary of Guise, the Queen-mother, to strengthen their party, and as a rival for the regency with the Earl of Arran. Lennox landed at Dumbarton, and, fortifying the castle of Dumbarton in the French interest, defied the authority of Arran. The regent, accompanied

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 121-123.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 229, 230.

² The Book of Carlsruock, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 24.

⁵ Registrum Magui Sigilli, vol. iii. Nos. 2891, 2892.

³ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 119, 135.

⁶ Godscroft's ms. History, Part ii. pp. 97, 98.

by the Earl of Angus and others, marched against him with a force of four thousand men, when Lennox, alarmed, sent a "very kind letter" to the Earl of Angus, desiring an interview, and offering to be ruled by him in everything the regent required. At the interview between Angus and Lennox, the latter consented to submit to the regent, render the castle of Dumbarton, and acknowledge Arran as "second person of the realm." Instead, however, of doing so, he retired into the Highlands, on the advice of the Cardinal, and Arran on reaching Dumbarton neither found the Earl nor obtained the castle.¹

But what the force of arms could not achieve was accomplished by a gentler though no less potent power. Lennox was smitten with the charms of Lady Margaret Douglas, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret, and he proposed to the Earl to marry his daughter, and thereby make with him a happy and permanent alliance. Lady Margaret was still at the Court of her uncle, King Henry, and Angus referred the matter to that monarch. So long as Henry hesitated in giving his decision Lennox wavered between the English and French factions, but on obtaining the consent of the English king to his suit, he threw in his lot with Angus, and married Lady Margaret Douglas at London on 6th July 1544.

Arran, on the other hand, withdrew from the English to the French faction, and by doing so threw the country into perplexity and commotion. Angus and his party, intent on observing the treaties with England, drew together at Douglas, and made a mutual bond of defence. They refused to countenance the proceedings of the regent's party in crowning the infant Queen Mary at Stirling, and Arran, to establish his authority, declared war against the Douglasses. He besieged James, Master of Morton, in his castle of Dalkeith, and reduced the castle of Pinkie, a tower belonging to Sir George Douglas.

¹ Angus, who was still receiving assistance from Henry, asked and received an increase of allowance for a time, in order to raise troops to oppose Lennox. [Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 196, 197.]

Angus had sheltered Sadler, the English envoy, in Tantallon, but was compelled to dismiss him on a threat of indictment for treason. Such a process indeed was commenced against Sir George Douglas, and hostilities on a more extensive scale were imminent between the two parties.

France had lately despatched some ships with assistance for the Scots against England, including ten thousand crowns in gold and fifty pieces of artillery. These arrived at Dumbarton, whither Lennox hastened to await them. The messengers, ignorant of the revolution that had taken place in the affairs of Scotland, unsuspectingly transferred their treasure to Lennox, and by its aid an army was equipped for operation against those for whom the money was intended.¹ By its means, in January 1543-4, the Earls of Angus, Lennox, and Cassillis, and Lord Kilmaurs, with four thousand men, took possession of Leith, and George Douglas, with five hundred Mersemen, advanced to Musselburgh. But he was chased thence by the Earl of Bothwell, and fled, it is said, to the regent at Stirling, who brought him back to Edinburgh.²

If this account be true, then probably it was due to the diplomacy of Sir George Douglas, and to avert bloodshed, that Angus and Arran agreed to a compromise. Commissioners from both parties met in Greenside Chapel at Edinburgh, and on the footing of letting bygones be bygones, Angus agreed

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 28; Lesley, p. 175, says 50,000 crowns, and munitions of war valued at 10,000 more. Some historians exclaim loudly against the venality of certain Scottish lords who accepted monetary aid from England, but have nothing but praise for the reception of the large sums of French gold which came frequently to aid the furtherance of the French policy.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 30. Bothwell

is said to have taken at this rout Simon Penango, whom the writer calls the Governor of Coldingham. This may have been the son of Penango, the former Captain of Tantallon, who, Godscroft says, was taken along with Sir James Hamilton of Finnart on a charge of communing with the Douglasses, and was brought to the ladder-foot to be hanged, but made his escape at the last moment. The historian adds, however, that Penango died before 1542. [MS. History, Part II. pp. 100, etc.]

to coalesce with the regent in upholding the authority of Queen Mary against a threatened English invasion. It was, in truth, an enforced submission to save the graver consequences of rebellion, as Angus and his party had to give pledges and securities for their loyalty. Sir George Douglas was warded in the castle of Edinburgh as security for Angus, and was himself required to surrender his second son, James, Master of Morton, as his own pledge.¹

But the coalition was in no way cordial, and Angus, to counteract the impression which his submission to Arran made on Henry,² shortly afterwards wrote to the English king, affirming his continued allegiance to the English policy, and soliciting the assistance of an army to overawe their opponents. Henry, however, refused compliance with this request, though he yielded to others of a minor and more personal nature.³ Yet he was at this time preparing an expedition against Scotland, to be directed exclusively by himself. The Scottish lords friendly to him naturally wished that any plans for the furtherance of their object by arms, and in which they were expected to take part, should first be arranged with them. But Henry suspected the sincerity of his Scottish coadjutors, and this want of co-operation, while it ruined the realisation of his aims, placed the lives of the lords of the English party in Scotland in constant jeopardy.

The Earl of Lennox, though more leniently dealt with by Arran than his fellows, being only bound to his allegiance under a monetary penalty, fled to Glasgow, and fortified that town against the regent. Thither Arran went in hostile guise about the 1st April, and reduced the town. Before the forces were dispersed Angus and Lord Maxwell went to the regent at Glasgow to intercede for the life of Sir George Douglas, when they were both seized and conveyed in custody to Hamilton Castle.⁴ There they remained five

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 355-359; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 151-153.

² *Ibid.* pp. 17-20, 153.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 361-370.

⁴ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 369.

weeks, and then Angus was consigned to the fortress of Blackness, on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth. The death of the Earl had been resolved upon, and probably had taken place if the arrival in the Forth of the English expedition, under the Earl of Hertford, had not induced the regent to liberate him, his brother, and Lord Maxwell, in order that they might assemble their retainers and aid in expelling the invaders. Arran even promised them large rewards for their assistance.¹

The Scots appear to have been totally unprepared for Hertford's invasion, and save the resistance made by the castle of Edinburgh, which did some havoc among the English troops, no opposition was offered to their advance. Edinburgh and Leith were both sacked, and then Hertford withdrew his forces in two divisions, his ships invading the villages and towns on both sides of the Firth, and his army retiring by the coast, leaving a record of its track in ruined and smoking villages and towers.²

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 428-430.

² *Ibid.* pp. 379, 380. Before setting out from the Tyne to the Forth, and while Angus was in prison, the English leader made an attempt upon the integrity of one of the captains of Tantallon. The Earl had placed the castle in the joint care of Alexander Jardine and John Douglas, and the former was the bearer of a missive from James, Master of Morton, to Hertford. Though the English lord used, as he says, "all the meanss and wayes my poure wytte coulde devise" to induce Jardine to make over Tantallon to him, he was no match for the wary Scot. The delivery of the castle would re-establish the impaired credit of the Earl of Angus in the eyes of the world, it would be safe from falling into the hands of his enemies, and it would be restored to him

when he was set at liberty. So Hertford pled; but if the honour of his master was not enough, Jardine and his brother captain would be liberally rewarded, and receive yearly entertainment from the English treasury. He professed, says Hertford, to wish the castle in the hands of the king of England, but maintained that their instructions were to deliver the castle to no man without the Earl's consent, nor could they do so without failing in their duty to him. "And for example he axed me what I wolde thinke in my servaunt having any such charge of myne, if he shulde so use me in case semblable." Hertford replied that he would praise a servant who had so much regard for his master's honour. Jardine, however, could not see the matter in that light, and said he would wait until he knew his lord's mind.

Since his reconciliation with Arran, Angus had been treated by Henry as having abandoned his service, and his later protestations to the contrary, the interception of which had procured his imprisonment, did not alter the measures of resentment meditated by the English king. Hertford carried instructions to mark his master's displeasure by the most extreme destruction of the Douglas lands. The fulfilment of these instructions exasperated Angus to such a degree that he turned his back upon Henry, and coalesced more heartily than before with the Scottish Court.

The accession of the Earl of Angus to the Scottish Council was marked by a temporary change in the regency. James, Earl of Arran, was discharged from its further exercise, and the Queen-dowager elevated to his place. Arran declined to acknowledge the new régime, or to demit his office, and from June to November of 1544 the country was practically without a ruler. Arran, however, was sufficiently powerful to summon and hold a Parliament in Edinburgh in opposition to one held by the Queen at Stirling in November, and had instituted processes of treason against Angus and his brother. But at this juncture, by means of Cardinal Beaton, harmony was restored, Arran continued in his office, and these processes abandoned.¹

On 13th July 1544 Angus was appointed Lieutenant of Scotland south of the Forth,² chiefly for the purpose of conducting operations against the English, who had made repeated raids into Scotland, and perpetrated great destruction. In the unsettled state of affairs the Earl did not find ready obedience, and was treated by Arran as a usurper of his authority,³ so that nothing effectual was done until, after the reconciliation, he and Arran together went to the Borders. The English had obtained possession

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 33-36; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 445-450.

² Angus assumes this title in a precept of *clare constat* granted by him at Douglas

Castle on 25th October 1544. [Original in Douglas Charter-chest.]

³ The Scots of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 182.

of a considerable part of the Scottish borders, and having fortified Coldingham Priory they sallied thence to devastate the country far and near. With eight thousand men, and a train of artillery, Arran besieged the Priory, but hearing that an English army was approaching from Berwick, and fearing that his unpopularity with the army might induce them to place him in the hands of the English, he fled precipitately to Dunbar. Angus tried in vain to rally the nobles, and when he could not stay the rout, proclaimed his determination either to save the artillery or die a soldier's death. He would attempt at least to preserve his country from such a dishonour. His words found a response among the common soldiers, who rallied round him and drew off the guns safely to Dunbar, Angus covering their retreat with a small but compact force, though constantly molested by the English horse.¹

The appointment of Angus as Lieutenant on the Borders was confirmed by the Council shortly after the retreat from Coldingham, and he was commissioned to raise an army of a thousand men. The army was to be levied for three months, to be under the sole command of Angus, and a monthly allowance of one thousand merks was to be made from a special taxation. For the support of the Lieutenant's authority all nobles and landowners in his district were commanded to tender to him their oaths of service, and to give their service when required, under pain of treason. Other promises were given him of material and monetary support.² These promises, however, do not seem to have been fulfilled, as in the following February, at the instance of his brother Sir George Douglas, Angus tendered his resignation, but it was not accepted. Buchanan records a spirited interview which took place between Angus and the regent, and, in the light of

¹ Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 344; Calderwood, vol. i. p. 180.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 237. Commission dated 21st December 1544. On the 7th of the same month he received the grant of a

pension of one thousand pounds yearly, which was to endure until one or more benefices of that value had been gifted to him, or to persons nominated by him. [Original letters of pension in Douglas Charter-chest.]

statements made in contemporary letters by Sir George Douglas, the truthfulness of his narrative appears to be wrongfully impugned.¹

Buchanan relates that after Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Bryan Latoun, two English knights, had, through the supineness of the Scottish government, overrun and subjected nearly all the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, they repaired to the English Court and obtained from Henry a gift of all the territory in Scotland which they could conquer, and an English force to enable them to keep possession. Much of this district belonged to Angus, and he urged upon the regent the duty of taking measures to obviate this national disgrace. Arran was almost entirely at the bidding of Cardinal Beaton, and complained to Angus in reply that he was not supported by the nobility. That is your own fault, not theirs, replied Douglas. They are ready with their lives and fortunes to defend the commonwealth, but you despise their advice, and direct yourself by the nod of priests, who, unwarlike abroad, are seditious at home, and, while free from danger themselves, waste the fruits of other men's labours upon their own voluptuousness. Thus suspicions are engendered, destructive alike of mutual confidence and cordial co-operation. If in important affairs you would frankly consult those who are to risk their lives in their achievement, their deeds would emulate illustriously those of their ancestors in times of national disaster. But if through indolence we permit the enemy to conquer us in detail, we shall shortly be forced either into submission or exile. With regard to ourselves, I am accused of treachery, you of cowardice; let us, by doing at once what it will be impossible eventually to avoid, wipe out those accusations, not by words, but deeds of battle.

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 328. Referring to the resignation of the lieutenandry by his brother, a step which he himself defended in the Council, on the ground that the promises made were not fulfilled, Sir

George Douglas, in reply to the question how then the country was to be defended, said the regent should defend it, being a lusty young man, and it was his office, etc. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 154.]

The regent responded to this appeal by summoning a council and concerting measures for an expedition on a large scale. Proclamations were issued for the muster, but without waiting for these reinforcements Arran and Angus with the few men they had—only three hundred horse—set out for the Borders. The two English knights were again in the field, to slay and to take possession. They carried on their warfare with great cruelty, and ruthlessly destroyed several of the monastic houses, including Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose. On hearing of the grant by Henry of a large part of his estates to the two English knights, Angus is said to have sworn a great oath that if Sir Ralph Eure presumed to act upon it he would write his sasine upon his own skin with sharp pens and bloody ink. Another thing roused Angus to still greater exasperation. Eure, not content with destroying the fabric of the Abbey of Melrose, added the wanton insult of defacing and destroying the tombs of the Douglasses which he found there. He was about to experience the vengeance of a Douglas.

The small Scottish force under Angus and Arran reached Melrose after the English had done their work of spoliation and were retiring towards Jedburgh. Their opponents were numerically much stronger—between five and six thousand men, partly English, partly foreign mercenaries, and partly Scottish borderers pressed into the English service, the last-named being distinguished by a red cross badge upon their arms. It was accordingly deemed prudent to delay a conflict until reinforcements arrived. The English, on learning that the Scots were so few in number, returned to crush them by simply overwhelming them, but the Scots kept themselves in the hills, watching the movements of their enemies, and allowed them to fatigue themselves all night long in a vain search. At daybreak the English again retired towards Jedburgh, followed by the Scots, whose numbers had now been increased to six hundred horse by the arrival of Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, and three hundred followers. Another welcome addition came in

the person of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, though only with a few retainers, but intimating that the rest were within an hour's march.

Eure and Latoun drew up their forces on Ancrum Moor, and the Scots, who had taken possession of an adjacent height, on the advice of Buccleuch descended to the hollow of Penielheugh, dismounted, and sent their horses back to a hill in rear. They were themselves concealed from the view of the English, but, as was intended, the retirement of the horses was interpreted as the retreat of the Scots. The English, wearied by their night-search for the Scots, were unwilling to repeat their nocturnal entertainment, and thought that by an immediate attack, before the Scots could retreat into the hills, they would dispose of their foes once for all. Accordingly, forming in three lines, they advanced to the pursuit, but were suddenly confronted by the firm array of the Scots. Just as the battle was about to begin a heron flew from the neighbouring marsh right over the head of Angus. In the ecstasy of the moment, looking up, he exclaimed, "O that I had here my own white goshawk, then we should all yoke at once." With an irresistible charge the Scots drove back the English advanced line upon their second and third lines of support, and involved their ranks in inextricable confusion. It was not now a battle, but a rout, and so thoroughly demoralised were the English troops that the Scots, it is said, lost only two men killed, while of their enemies were slain two hundred, and no fewer than one thousand prisoners, many of noble rank, were taken. Eure and Latoun were both left dead upon the field.¹ The victory of the Scots was materially assisted by the impressed

¹ Buchanan, vol. ii. pp. 345-348; Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 181, 182; Lesley, p. 188, places the losses of the English much higher, upwards of nine hundred slain, two thousand taken prisoners, and twelve pieces of artillery captured. He says also that the Scots lost three killed. The battle is referred to by Sir

Walter Scott in "The Eve of Saint John,"—

"He came not from where Ancrum Moor
Ran red with English blood,
Where the Douglas true, and the bold Buccleuch,
'Gainst keen Lord Evers stood!"

[Border Minstrelsy, vol. iv. p. 186.] The engagement, according to tradition, was fought on a spot afterwards called Lilyard's Edge,

Scottish borderers, who no sooner saw signs of flight in the English ranks than they tore off the obnoxious badges and turned their swords upon their former comrades.

The news of this reverse to his arms in Scotland, and the death of his generals, roused Henry to fury, and he is said to have declared that nothing short of the death of Angus could wipe out this disgrace. Angus was informed, and replied, "What ! is our brother-in-law offended, because, as a good Scotchman, I avenged on Ralph Eure the abusing of the tombs of my forefathers at Melrose ? They were more honourable men than he, and I ought to have done no less. Will he have my life for that ? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Cairntable. I will keep myself there from his whole English army."¹

The service rendered at this time to his country by Angus was highly appreciated, as it restored the borders between England and Scotland to their original position, and re-inspired the Scots throughout the entire Lowlands. It was remembered twenty years later, when the Earl was dead, and made one of the moving causes for extending special crown favours to his successor in the earldom.² So pleased also was Francis the First of France, from whom Henry had just taken the town of Boulogne, to hear of the success of the Scots over the English, that he despatched some troops to the assistance of the former, a large sum of money, and decorations for several of the nobles.

in commemoration of the heroic deeds of a Scottish woman, called Lilliot or Lilyard, who with other women took part in the sanguinary fray. A monument was erected bearing the inscription :—

"Fair maiden Lylliard lies under this stane,
Little was her stature, but great was her fame ;
Upon the English loons she laid mony thumps,
And when her legs were cuttit off, she fought upon
her stumps."

[*Ibid.* p. 199.]

¹ Calderwood, vol. i. p. 182. There is a hiatus in Calderwood in the sentence, "Little knows King Henrie the . . . and the skirts of Kernetable," which in Godscroft MS. [Part ii. p. 122], is supplied as "Tathie Butt." What is referred to has not been ascertained. Cairntable is a lofty hill at the head of Douglasdale in Lanarkshire.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 566.

Angus received the insignia of the order of St. Michael, or "the Cockle," with a collar of gold, four thousand crowns between himself and his brother, and a message that he should never lack such honour and pleasure as the French king could do for him.¹

On the arrival of the French ambassador with the troops, the Scottish lords, in a Parliament at Stirling in June 1545, pledged themselves, in return for the French king's kindness, to defend themselves against England, and also to invade that country at such times as should be deemed expedient. The Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas subscribed this bond, with the rest of the lords of Parliament, there being no dissentient voice. The former was chosen as one of those who, with the queen, the regent, and the cardinal, were to arrange the time and manner of defence and invasion. A muster was appointed of all fencible men between sixteen and sixty, at Roslin Moor, on 28th July following, and the Act ordaining this was signed by the Earl of Angus with the rest of the Committee.² The Earl of Hertford succeeded Sir Ralph Eure on the Borders, and stirred up Henry to renew the warfare. But to please their French allies, the Scots anticipated his intentions, and recommenced the hostilities by invading the north of England. They did no great damage, owing probably to the presence of the Douglasses in the army, who endeavoured to modify the measures of their comrades.

The Douglasses had not abandoned the English confederation, but maintained their opinions in favour of the English marriage and peace by written and oral messages to Henry, who professed to have abandoned his ideas of conquest.³ They and their supporters even requested Henry to send an army into Scotland, and promised their co-operation, provided Henry would give them a proper share in the direction of the movements of the army. But

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 460.

³ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 421.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. 425, 465; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 159-164. vol. ii. pp. 595, 596.

this the English king continued to decline, as he suspected their sincerity. Yet he sent his army, and under Hertford great havoc was again wrought in the southern counties of Scotland, the Douglas lands being particularly marked out for devastation. Hertford beat back Arran's army, but obtained no permanent footing in Scotland.

A peculiar permit, by the regent to the Laird of Buccleuch, suggests that Henry's suspicions of the real intentions of Angus and his friends were not altogether unfounded. By letters under the signet of Queen Mary, and subscribed by the regent, Buccleuch was authorised to "intercommune with the Protector and Council of England, and sic utheris Inglismen as he pleissis, for saiftie of him, his kin, friendis, and servandis, fra heirschip and distruction of the Inglismen in tyme cunning, and for the commoun wele of our realme als aft as he sall think expedient." To deceive the English he might even profess himself an "assured Scot," but "quhen evir he beis requirit be us or oure said Governour, sall incontinent thaireftir renunce and ourgif all bandis, contractis, and wrytingis maid be him to the Inglismen," and appear in defence of his country.¹ Buccleuch and Sir George Douglas are both mentioned by the English wardens in their reports, as pursuing the same dissembling tactics with them. As in actual hostilities the Douglasses always took the side of their own country, and in peace were among the chief councillors of the nation, Arran may also have connived at the communication between the Douglasses and the English. Such an arrangement would not be limited to one Border baron.

Angus became a member of the Privy Council in 1545, and was more or less regularly in attendance at its meetings during the remainder of his life.² When Cardinal Beaton was killed in the castle of St. Andrews on 29th May

¹ The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 110, 111. This permission, which is dated 26th September 1547, is merely a ratification of a similar former permission.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 3-143, passim.

1546 the Earl was at Tantallon, and he shortly afterwards made suit for, and obtained, the abbacy of Arbroath, one of the benefices of the late Cardinal, for his natural son, George Douglas.¹ In a meeting of Council at Stirling, a few days after the Cardinal's death, Angus was appointed one of twenty councillors, who, by relays of four, were to be constantly with the regent to assist in the guidance of affairs. Each relay of four was to serve one month and then to be relieved by the next. At the same time the Earls of Angus and Cassillis, Lord Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas ratified the Act of Parliament dissolving the peace and contract of marriage with England, discharged all bands made between them, or any of them, to the King of England, and promised, if required, to ratify what they had now done at the next meeting of Parliament.² On 22d August of the same year, the Earl of Angus, his brother, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig granted their joint bond of manrent to the Earl of Arran, promising faithful service to him as regent during the queen's minority.³

Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, had now by his third wife, Margaret Maxwell, a son and heir, James, Master of Angus. Other children appear to have been born of the same marriage, but none of them survived beyond the year 1549.⁴ While his son lived, the Earl arranged that he should be

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 57; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 560, 562, 567-569.

² At the same meeting of council Angus became one of four sureties, under twenty thousand pounds penalty, for Robert, Lord Maxwell, his father-in-law, that, as warden of the West Marches, he would keep faithfully for the queen the castle of Lochmaben, which had been taken from Maxwell. Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 23-30.

³ Original Bond in Charter-chest of the

Duke of Hamilton. Some months previously Angus and his brother, Sir George, entered into a bond of mutual defence with Hugh, second Earl of Eglinton, and his uncle, Sir Neil Montgomerie of Langshaw, for themselves and their heirs respectively, against all opponents, the queen, the regent, and her successors only excepted. [Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 139-141.]

⁴ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 172.

put in the fee of the Douglas estates, reserving them to himself in liferent, by charters dated in August 1547.¹

The death of King Henry the Eighth, instead of causing any abatement in the rough attentions of England to Scotland, procured a renewal of the warfare. This, it is said, was the deathbed wish of that sovereign, and the Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, during the minority of King Edward the Sixth, was not unwilling to fulfil that dying behest. The first invasion was made across the Solway, and had so much success that a number of the Scottish border towers were taken and garrisoned by the English. The second terminated in the much more disastrous battle of Pinkie and the occupation of positions in Scotland which had never formerly been in the hands of Englishmen.

In May 1547 the Earl of Angus was directed to place himself at the head of the gentlemen of Tweeddale and of the Upper Ward of Clydesdale, and take charge of the Tweed between Erickstane and Peebles for one month, for the purpose of stopping the thieving and bloodshed which was taking place upon the Borders.² During other portions of the year he probably took part in the proceedings against those besieged in the castle of St. Andrews, and in the regent's march against the English invaders on the west. From this expedition the regent was suddenly recalled by the arrival of a French fleet at St. Andrews, by means of which the castle was taken, and the garrison, as prisoners of war, carried off to France.

This had just been accomplished when Somerset was reported to be advancing by the East March, accompanied by a large fleet, which, as the army moved along the coast, kept abreast of it, and entered the Firth of Forth. On the 8th of September the English army encamped at Prestonpans, about three miles from the Scots, who lay on the west bank of the Esk. A skirmish between the cavalry of the two armies next day proved disastrous

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 239-241, etc.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 71.

to the Scots, but the main battle was reserved till the morrow. Meanwhile Somerset offered Arran terms of peace on the honourable condition that the Scots should keep their young queen free from marriage engagements with France until she reached an age when she might decide for herself whether or not she would abide by the marriage treaty with England. But Arran, and his clerical advisers, interpreting the negotiations to mean weakness on the part of Somerset, refused to entertain them.

Early on the morning of the 10th Somerset attempted to remove his camp to Inveresk Hill, and Arran detecting, but misunderstanding, the movement, resolved to prevent what he thought was his opponent's intention, to communicate with his fleet. Angus, who commanded the vanguard, was ordered by Arran to advance, but seeing nothing to be gained by leaving the strong position they already occupied, he refused to obey. Being charged, on pain of treason, to proceed, the Earl reluctantly went forward, crossed the river, and was followed by Arran and Huntly, the former in charge of the centre, the latter in command of the rear division. Angus drew up his men in a compact phalanx, and received the first charge of the English horse unbroken, emptying at least two hundred saddles, and forcing the rest to retire. This so disconcerted the English that they fell back, and, believing the bristling wall of Scots presented by Angus impenetrable, would have fled, if their commanders had not rallied them. Threatened by a sudden attack in flank, Angus moved his division in an oblique direction to meet it. He was next assailed by archers, and obliged to retire upon the centre, which should by this time have advanced to his support. A panic immediately seized the regent's division, and his soldiers began to break up their ranks and fly. He, instead of rallying them, increased the confusion by shouting "Treason," and joined the rout. Angus's soldiers, which had hitherto borne all the brunt of the battle, were unable of themselves to contest the field, and also gave way. The day was lost. What might have

been an easy victory, had Angus been supported by the regent,¹ for the Scots were vastly more numerous than the English, was, by the weakness and suspicions of Arran, turned into the most disastrous defeat the country had sustained since Flodden. Fourteen thousand dead bodies covered the field, and at nightfall the English were in possession of the Scottish camp.

Happily for Scotland this victory was not immediately followed up by Somerset, but when retiring, on account of grave rumours from London, he left garrisons at several important places. One of these was the castle of Broughty, erected by George, fourth Earl of Angus, on the Crag of Broughty, at the mouth of the Firth of Tay. That castle was not now in the hands of the Douglasses. It had been resigned by Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, probably under the exigencies of his return from England after making the treaty with Henry the Seventh of England, and was given by King James the Fourth to Andrew, Lord Gray.² Patrick, Lord Gray, surrendered it to the English. An attempt was made by Argyll and Arran to retake Broughty, and Angus is said to have been present at the siege; but their efforts failed.³ It was afterwards reduced by the aid of Frenchmen. Angus wrote to the Earl of Dudley, who was in command of the English forces at Broughty and Dundee, to be friendly to his servants and friends in Arbroath.⁴

The principal lords of the English faction put themselves in communication with the English authorities immediately after Pinkie, and succeeded in obtaining provisional assurances for themselves and lands in the subsequent hostilities. But they avoided taking any overt action with

¹ Godscroft says that when Angus was receiving the English charge, Arran and Huntly were a good way in rear, standing in a garden of herbs, and in no way coming to his support. He sent to them for their promised assistance, and seeing no movement, derisively cried aloud to them not to trample down

the poor wife's kail (vegetables). [MS. History, part ii. p. 126.]

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 1959, 3419.

³ Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, etc., vol. i. p. 202.

⁴ 18th December 1547; Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. p. 72.

the English, when refused the right of counselling what action should be taken, and the benefit of the assurances was withheld. Lord Wharton, warden of the West Marches of England, spoiled the lands of Angus, and he and his neighbour of the East Marches, William, Lord Grey, frequently evinced their determination to "scourge" Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas.¹ A joint invasion by Wharton and the Earl of Lennox in February, while Angus was at Drumlanrig, drew from the Earl two letters, one to each of the English commanders, dissuading them from their intended attack on Drumlanrig and the lands of those who were in reality their friends, and also reiterating his continued adherence to the "godly purpose." He had given his hand and seal upon this, and these he "never brak, nor never intendis to breik." To Lennox he wrote as a father to his son.² But his remonstrances were unavailing, and preparations were made for resisting the intended work of destruction. Rarely did Angus place himself at the head of his retainers in battle without putting his opponents to rout, and this occasion proved no exception. The English were defeated, and driven back to Carlisle, and the severity of the valiant conflict is evident from the loss sustained by the Scots, no fewer than six hundred having fallen. This was the first serious check given to the English advance, and so gravely was it viewed by them that Lord Grey, who had pushed forward another army by the east coast to Haddington, deemed it prudent to retire to Berwick.³

The check received by the English was merely of a temporary nature, and after the failure of negotiations consequent upon the determination to remove the young queen from the Priory of Inchmahome to Dumbarton, and thence to France, Lord Grey led another army into Scotland. English spies report Angus and his brother as being at Dalkeith with three or four hundred men

¹ Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. pp. 74-76, 10th to 27th January 1547-8.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 168-170.

³ Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 412-413.

on 22d March, and a week later as having gone to Tantallon.¹ Sir George Douglas at least returned to Dalkeith, and narrowly escaped being taken there by the English on 4th June. The castle was invested for some time by Lord Grey, and only taken and destroyed after a stubborn resistance by the garrison, of whom forty were slain. A number of the Douglases were made prisoners, including James, Master of Morton, the Laird of Glenbervie, and the wife of Sir George Douglas. Grey wrote to Angus apologising for the necessity of this work of demolition, and promised compensation if he stood firm. Angus was probably at this time at Tantallon, for after Grey had burned Musselburgh, and posted himself in Haddington, the Earl received from him, a day or two after Dalkeith was taken, a safe-conduct to proceed to the queen-dowager for a conference.²

Before the expiry of this month of June a large number of foreign troops arrived in the Firth of Forth from France, and efforts to dislodge the English were vigorously renewed. Haddington was invested by the allies, and while the siege was going forward the Scottish Parliament met with the messenger of the French king in the adjacent Abbey, renewed their alliances, and resolved to bestow Queen Mary in marriage upon the Dauphin of France. Angus and his brother were present at this Parliament, and are expressly said to have given their consent in writing to the marriage, and the departure of Queen Mary for France. The Earl also signed the discharge granted on 20th July at Lethington, now Lennox-Love, near Haddington, by the queen-dowager, regent, and Council to John, Lord Erskine, and Alexander, Lord Livingstone, to whose care the young queen had been intrusted during her sojourn in the island of Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith.³

¹ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. p. 83.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 170, 171; Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. p. 86.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482; Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, vol. i. pp. 670-672; The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 431, 432.

Before hostilities were terminated there was much severe fighting between the allied Scots and Frenchmen and the English, but Angus is not mentioned as taking any prominent part in the war. He sent an affecting message to his son-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, wishing an interview, in order to a mutual understanding and agreement. There was some estrangement between the Earl and his daughter at this time, of which they mutually complained, and the former at least was willing that it should be removed. His spirit was broken with the adversities of his life, and he mourned the strangeness of those whose kindness might solace his declining years. He wished to see his daughter, her son, and her husband before he died, and he had a presentiment that his death was not far distant, fearing that the new alliance with the French would produce such changes as might bring him within the power of his enemies. He wished the Earl of Lennox to consider the alliances which had formerly existed between their houses, that now it was one of flesh and blood, and it was wont to be said in old times that an Earl of Lennox and Angus could have ruled something on this side Forth. "Will he do my counsale," said Angus, "I shall ware these ould bones of myne, but I shall mak him a man yet." But, he added, if his way be better than mine, I will use his counsel. The cause of the estrangement between the Earl and his daughter was the succession to her father's lands, which she naturally claimed, but which was provided to her cousins, the sons of her uncle George, and she was especially bitter against her uncle on account of his pretensions.¹

Peace between Scotland, France, and England was secured in April 1550, and the fears of Angus for his own safety were not realised. In the Parliament of 1551, however, he obtained the passing of an Act by which he, his brother, and their cousin of Kilspindie, were secured against any claims which might be made against them for damage done by them to Scotland during the period of their exile. This was a satisfactory, as it was a renewed

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 172-174.

testimony by Parliament to the injustice of their treatment by King James the Fifth, but it was declared that the Act should be no precedent.¹ After the queen-dowager obtained the regency, and the usual general revocation of grants made during the minority of Queen Mary was appointed to be made in June 1555, Angus obtained a declaration under the young queen's hand, at Paris on 28th April, and under the hand of the queen-dowager at Edinburgh on the day of the revocation, 20th June, that it was not intended to affect the charters of regrant made to the Earl in August 1547.²

Among the first proposals of the queen-dowager after obtaining the regency was one for the imposition of a tax upon her subjects in proportion to their wealth and estate, for the purpose of employing foreign mercenaries in the defence of the kingdom, instead of the Scots themselves. She was suspected of aiming at the subjection of Scotland to the domination of France. The measure was obnoxious to the whole country, but as none of the nobles present had the courage to take the initiative, it was chiefly opposed by the minor barons, who sent two of their number, James Sandilands of Calder and John Wemyss, to testify their disapprobation. Godscroft claims for the Earl of Angus the originating of the eloquent and effective speech which they made to the queen-regent, and the Earl, he says, backed up their representations by a small display of force. In face of a proclamation against the appearance of any baron with a greater attendance than his household servants, Angus came to Edinburgh from Douglasdale accompanied by a thousand of his followers. On reaching the gate of the town the wicket only was opened to admit the Earl, when his followers, with apparent rudeness, pushed themselves in before him, and some of them opened up the whole gate. The porter requested the Earl to call his men to order, and to remember the proclamation, when the Earl replied, "Have patience, my

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 484-485.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 22, 23.

honest friend, I pray you. I must myself put up with much more than this of the unrulyness of these Douglas lads, for whether I will or not they will enter thus even my own bed-chamber, when it pleaseth them." "Well then, my lord," said the porter, "let them render their weapons." "With all my heart," replied the Earl; but in passing the nearest of his men, said, "Sharp daggers are good in a throng; sharp whingers are good in a throng."

On reaching the queen-regent's presence Angus was upbraided by her with coming in armour, in contravention of her direction and that of the Council. The Earl replied he did not so come to give any discontent to her or the Council. "My Lord," said she, "you yourself have armour upon you." "Armour!" he replied, "I have no armour, madame." Tapping a coat of mail he wore under his tunic, the regent asked, "What then, is this, my Lord?" "This!" replied the Earl, "This, madame, is no armour. This is but my old dad's coat, a very kindly coat to me, because it was my Lord Drummoud's, and I cannot want it, for he was my grandfather."

The queen, however, caused the Council commit the Earl to prison, and a warrant was made out and placed in his hands ordering him to ward himself in the Castle of Edinburgh. His followers and a number of friends whom he met by the way, accompanied him to the castle gate, and on its being opened by the constable, these repeated the tactics which they had pursued at the gate of the city. "My Lord," said the constable to Angus, "this is an order to which I am not accustomed,—Have you your warrant?" The document was produced by the Earl and handed to the constable, who perused it and said, "I am here enjoined to receive your Lordship only with three or four to wait upon you." "So I told my lads," answered the Earl, "but they replied that they durst not, and would not, go home to my wife Meg without me." The constable said he could not receive the Earl in that manner, whereupon the Earl took instruments that he had presented himself in obedience to the command of the Queen and Council, and had

been refused admittance. He accordingly turned and rode home with his followers to Douglas, remarking on the way to a friend, "I tell you these Douglas lads are wise lads; they think that in this present time it is good to be loose and lievand."¹

In pursuance of the same purpose of diminishing the power of the Scottish nobles in favour of her own countrymen, the queen-regent is said to have attempted to get the castle of Tantallon from the Earl of Angus. She did not at first ask it directly, but plied the Earl with hints, that it might be useful to her for warders, or such like. The Earl made no reply, but continued feeding a gos-hawk which sat on his wrist, to which, as the queen persisted, he addressed the words, "Confound this greedy gled, she can never have enough." Impervious to the Earl's evident meaning, the queen-regent continued her solicitations, promising to give the Earl as good in return, and received the reply: "Yes, madam. Why not? All is yours now. You shall have it. But, madam, I will be captain of it, and shall keep it for you as well as any man you can put in it. And if you will give me as good again, you must even give me Tantallon again."

The same historian relates that the queen-regent, wishing to reward the services of her Chancellor, the Earl of Huntly, by conferring the title of Duke upon him, mentioned the matter to Angus. The Earl replied, "Why not, madam? We are happy in having a princess who can acknowledge and recompense the services of her nobles. But," he added, with an oath, "if he be a duke, I will be a drake. My predecessors have done as good service as he, for which they have the privilege of being first of the nobility after the blood-royal, and I will not lose it in my time under any such pretence." This remonstrance diverted the queen from her purpose.²

¹ Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. pp. 129-133. "Loose and Lievand," adds the historian, became a local proverb. It means that in freedom one could shift for himself.

² *Ibid.* pp. 135, 136.

During the lifetime of this Earl of Angus the Douglas estates, though for a time entirely out of the Earl's possession, underwent little change, either by diminution or increase. Of his feudal transactions with the lands but little record remains. The new entail made after the birth of his son James has already been referred to, and the destination then made carried the estates along with the dignity to the heirs-male, the lawful children of his brother George. A charter of the lands of Ferniehirst, the superiority of which belonged to Angus, had been granted by King James the Fifth to John Ker of Ferniehirst, after the forfeiture in 1528, and this, at the Earl's instance, was reduced in 1553.¹ The Earl gave a charter of the barony of Bothwell in February 1554-5 to his kinsman, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, but under reversion, being merely a family arrangement for a time.²

The Earl of Angus died at the Castle of Tantallon in the latter part of January 1556-7.³ He was prostrated, according to Godscroft, by an attack of St. Anthony's fire or erysipelas, to which he finally succumbed after suffering great pain, and the same historian adds that he was buried among his ancestors at Abernethy.⁴

The character of this Earl has been variously estimated. By some modern popular writers he has certainly been misunderstood and traduced. The age was not one fitted to permit the cultivation and manifestation of the

¹ 16th June. Extract Decree of Reduction in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Original Charter, etc., in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 249; Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat*, vol. i. p. 278. M. d'Oysel, writing from Scotland to a friend in France on 22d January 1556-7, mentions the Earl's death.

⁴ Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. p. 134. This historian adds that the Earl on his death-bed was visited by many of his friends and

servants, one of whom, Hamilton of Aikenhead, said to him: "My Lord, I thought to have seen you die leading the vanguard, and I with many others fighting under your standard." The Earl replied: "You say well; and now see me here willing and ready to die in the vanguard of my Saviour Christ, whose standard I bear here before my eyes." Then lifting a crucifix, he kissed it. "Lo, here is the standard," said he, "under which I shall die." [*Ibid.*]

milder features of humanity, especially in one whose position made him a prominent leader in State affairs. And yet in such a time Angus appears to have been naturally gentle, forbearing, and unassuming. His readiness and desire to extend reconciliation to those at feud with him, and his willingness to make sacrifices for the sake of peace, are frequently exemplified in the foregoing pages. His forbearance and patience towards his unstable wife, Queen Margaret, are very marked. His affability and courtesy won him the hearts of many. As an instance of this, Godscroft relates that on one occasion when Angus was talking with Lord Drummond in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, a friend of the latter called, and took him aside to speak with him privately. When they were done, Angus took Lord Drummond's friend by the hand and spoke with him familiarly and pleasantly for a short space. After the gentleman had gone Lord Drummond inquired of the Earl if he knew his friend. "No," replied the Earl, "I have never seen him before." "How comes it then," asked Drummond, "that you spoke so familiarly to him?" "I saw," said the Earl, "that he was a friend of yours, and your friends are my friends. Besides, this doth gain men's hearts. If I were now in danger, yonder man would assist me and take my part."¹

Of undoubted and acknowledged valour on the field of battle, where his personal bravery was most inspiring to his followers, no act of feudal injustice or cruelty ever tainted his hands. He harboured no resentments, and maintained no feuds, if he could by peaceable means bring his opponents to terms. Cowardice and shrinking from peril were odious to him. It is said that in passing the tomb of James, seventh Earl of Douglas, in the church of St. Bride's of Douglas, the Earl was wont to ejaculate, "Shame fa' thee, we took all our fairness and feebleness from thee;" the fairness being derived, according to Godscroft, from Beatrix Sinclair, Countess of Douglas, whose family are said to have been fair in complexion.²

¹ Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 276.

² Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. p. 134.

Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, was thrice married: first to Lady Margaret Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots, by whom he had a daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, of whom a short memoir is appended. The Earl married, thirdly, Margaret Maxwell, daughter of Robert, Lord Maxwell. She survived the Earl, and married, before September 1560, Sir William Baillie of Lamington, and had issue two daughters, the first of whom, Margaret, became ancestress of the present family of Baillie-Cochrane of Lamington, now Lord Lamington;¹ while the second, Abigail, married Sir Hew Carmichael of that Ilk, and left a son, James, who died without issue.² On 19th July 1557 Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus, obtained decree in the Sheriff Court of Edinburgh adjudging her entitled to the terce of the lands and castle of Tantallon, under a deed of resignation made by her husband, and at a later date she was adjudged her terce out of the earldom of Angus. She was still alive in 1592, but died in 1593.³

Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, by his third wife had a son—

James, Master of Angus, upon whom, soon after his birth, the Angus estates were conferred in fee, and he was infeft in them, but died a few months afterwards, in February 1547-8, while still in infancy.⁴

The Earl appears also to have had other children by his Countess, Margaret Maxwell, but they also died young, and their names are not known.

The Earl had also several illegitimate children, a son and two daughters. One of the daughters was named Elizabeth Douglas, and letters of legitima-

¹ The Book of Carlsruock, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 592. Margaret Baillie survived her husband, and married secondly, Sir William Livingstone of Culter, but was again a widow in 1607. [Inventory of the Maxwell, Herries, and Nithsdale Muniments, pp. 215, 226.]

² Discharge by her and her husband, 1607, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 387; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. v. p. 641.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 249.

tion in her favour were obtained on 2d March 1526.¹ The other is said to have been called Janet. Her mother, according to Godscroft, was a daughter of Stewart of Traquair, and Janet Douglas, he adds, was married to Patrick, Lord Ruthven.² The son was George Douglas, of whom a short memoir follows.

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, ms., Lib. vii. fol. 61, H.M. General Register House.

² Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 238. The name of the wife of Patrick, Master of

Ruthven, in 1546, was Janet Douglas. She is mentioned in a charter of conjoint infeftment, dated 8th August of that year. [Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 3239.]



lis el fcuty B
Manjorabe

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

1515—1578.

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, the only child of the marriage of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, and Margaret, Queen of Scotland, was born at Harbottle Castle, a seat of Thomas Lord Daere, in Northumberland, on 18th October 1515. When the queen obtained a divorce from the Earl and married Henry Stewart, afterwards Lord Methven, the Earl refused to permit his daughter to remain with her mother.¹ He took her to England in 1528, and for some time she resided in Berwick with Thomas Strangeways, comptroller of Cardinal Wolsey's household. The Cardinal was godfather to Lady Margaret, and as the Earl of Angus was driven at this time as an exile into England, Wolsey undertook to defray the expenses of Lady Margaret's maintenance. He enjoined on his comptroller the necessity of taking special precautions to prevent the abduction of his ward into Scotland. Strangeways estimated the cost of Lady Margaret's maintenance while with him at two hundred merks, which he never received, at least from Wolsey, as Henry's famous chancellor fell into disgrace shortly afterwards, and died in November 1530. After that event she was taken by Strangeways to the Court of King Henry, where she became one of the ladies of the Princess Mary. Henry frequently sent her presents, and on one occasion instructed the keeper of his wardrobe to furnish Lady Margaret with wardrobes for herself, her two gentlewomen, and a servant.²

King Henry held his fair niece in high estimation. When the French ambassador, Castillon, made overtures to the English king for the marriage of Alexander, Duke of Florence, to the Princess Mary, Henry refused, as he was displeased with his daughter for dutifully taking the part of her injured mother, and declining to acknowledge Anne Boleyn as her father's lawful queen. But he recommended his niece, and promised to make her marriage worth as much as his daughter Mary's. The ambassador could only

¹ In a letter to Magnus, 25th November 1528, the queen states that the Earl of Angus "wald nocht suffere oure ane dochter to remane wicht ws for our confort, quha wald nocht have bene disherest, scho being wicht wa." [State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. p. 539.]

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv. pp. 518, 567; Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 6586; vol. v. Nos. 365, 498, 686. p. 753; vol. vi. No. 1199.

report the result of his negotiations to King Francis, and he adds, "I assure you the lady is beautiful and highly esteemed here."¹ This offer was not entertained, but soon afterwards Lady Margaret placed her affections upon Lord Thomas Howard, a younger son of the first Duke of Norfolk, and uncle of Anne Boleyn. They plighted their troth to each other without obtaining the consent of King Henry, which so displeased him that he threw Howard into the Tower on a charge of high treason, and placed his niece also in ward. She appears to have been put under the care of the Abbess of Sion, whose convent was situated near Isleworth, on the banks of the Thames.² Lord Thomas Howard died in the Tower during the same year, 1536.

A similar adventure with Charles Howard, brother of Queen Catharine Howard, brought Lady Margaret a second time under the displeasure of her uncle, and she was again consigned to Sion Abbey. But she succeeded in appeasing his wrath, and extracted a promise from him that he would never "caus hir to mary any, but whom she shall fynde in hir own harte to love."³ In 1543, Matthew, twelfth Earl of Lennox, sought her in marriage from her father, the Earl of Angus, who consented, if Henry was also agreeable; and Henry was willing if Lennox succeeded in fulfilling the above promise, and bound himself, irrespective of all patriotic ties, to his service. He did so; and the marriage of Lady Margaret Douglas with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was celebrated in St. James's Palace, London, on 6th July 1544. Henry dowered the bride with lands in England worth seventeen hundred merks yearly, and naturalised her husband.⁴ Of this marriage was born, besides other issue, Henry, Lord Darnley, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, whose son, King James the Sixth, united the crowns of Scotland and England.

The Earl of Lennox was from this time a steadfast supporter of King Henry the Eighth in his war with Scotland, and was accordingly deprived of his estates in Scotland by Act of Forfeiture in 1545. His Countess, too, was excluded from succeeding to her father by the entail made in 1547 by the Earl of Angus, which limited the estates to heirs-male. As the heir of line, the Countess resented this arrangement, and showed much indignation against her uncle George, who was heir-presumptive to her father. He had been reported to her as boasting of his heirship, which he would establish even though the Earl should have more sons. To which Lady Margaret replied, in a letter to her father, "Butt, my lorde, if God sende you no

¹ Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII., vol. vii. Appendix No. 13. 16th March 1534.

³ *Ibid.* p. 365.

² State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 58, 62.

⁴ The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 378, 427; Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 227, 232, 314, 323.

moo sons, and I lyffe after you, he shall have leste parte thereof, or elles many a man shall smarte for it."¹ Sir George Douglas died before the Earl of Angus, and on the Earl's death in 1556-7, Lady Margaret assumed the title of Countess of Lennox and Angus for a time. But as will be seen in the memoir of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, her claim was never established.

During the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary of England, the Countess of Lennox was in high estimation at Court, but the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 brought a reverse. Elizabeth had been harshly dealt with by her sister Mary, and had scant favour for those who had been the late queen's courtiers. Lennox and his Countess were at least regarded with suspicion, and they began to negotiate for their return to Scotland. This procured their imprisonment in 1562, when the Earl was consigned to the Tower, and the Countess to a mansion belonging to the Duchess of Suffolk, called the Shene. Their imprisonment continued for nearly a year, during which the Countess carried on a considerable correspondence with Cecil, partly to get her husband transferred from the Tower, where his health had been seriously impaired, to her own place of confinement, and her efforts were eventually crowned with success.² They were released shortly afterwards.

Lennox was permitted to return to Scotland in 1564, but the Countess remained in England. In the following year, her eldest surviving son, Henry, Lord Darnley, married Mary, Queen of Scots, and on account of this marriage, Queen Elizabeth caused the Countess of Lennox to be arrested and committed to the Tower. She was not liberated until the tragic death of her son, in February 1566-7, obliged Queen Elizabeth to take compassion upon her. Even then she was only removed to a place of less rigid restraint, under the care of Lady Dacre and Lady Sackville.³ Lennox, however, returned to England, after the acquittal of the Earl of Bothwell from the charge of murdering Lord Darnley, and Queen Elizabeth then restored them to their English possessions. They resided in England until the assassination of the Regent Moray in January 1569-70, after which Lennox repaired to Scotland, and was appointed Regent in July 1570. He held the office for little more than a year, when he, too, fell by the hand of an assassin in September 1571.

Margaret, Countess of Lennox, continued to reside in England after her husband's death. In 1572, her second son, Charles Stuart, was made Earl of Lennox. His mother, two years afterwards, obtained his marriage to Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 174.

² Calendar of State Papers, Mary, Domestic Series, vol. i. pp. 197-218.

³ *Ibid.* p. 289.

of the Countess of Shrewsbury, which so displeased Queen Elizabeth, that she committed both the Countesses to the Tower. Their imprisonment lasted for several months. Countess Margaret corresponded about this time with Mary, Queen of Scots, who was now a captive in England, and of whose innocence in regard to her son's death, she professed herself satisfied. A little square of lace which the Countess worked of her own hair and fine flax thread while in the Tower, she sent as a token of affection and with messages of sympathy to Queen Mary.

The death, in 1576, of her second son, Charles, Earl of Lennox, left the Countess childless and desolate. All that remained to her were two grandchildren, the sole issue of her two sons, King James the Sixth of Scotland, and the beautiful but ill-fated Lady Arabella Stewart. The Countess preserved a memento of her husband and her children in the valuable and interesting Lennox jewel which she caused to be made about this time, and which is now in the possession of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and has been frequently described. It is in the form of a heart, jewelled and enamelled, and covered with significant emblematic designs and inscriptions.¹

Margaret, Countess of Lennox, after the death of her son Charles, applied for her dowry out of the Lennox lands in terms of her marriage-contract. She also sought a gift of the ward of the lands as tutor or guardian to her granddaughter. Both petitions were refused by the Scottish Regent and Council. She was equally debarred from any claim upon the estate of her late father, and even her English lands appear to have been retained by the Queen, as when she died her executors found her in debt and destitute of means to defray the cost of her funeral. The Countess died at Hackney, in London, on the evening of 9th March 1577-8, in the sixty-third year of her age, and was buried, on 3d April, in the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh, in Westminster Abbey. The expenses of the funeral were borne by Queen Elizabeth. Her grandson, King James the Sixth, afterwards erected a monument over her grave, on which there is a recumbent statue of the Countess, finely robed, surrounded by the statues of Henry, Lord Darnley, and her seven other children in kneeling postures. All these children, with the exception of Henry, Lord Darnley, and Charles, Earl of Lennox, died in infancy or youth, and their names have not been preserved.

¹ The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 459-463.

Margaret Lennox and Angus

GEORGE DOUGLAS,
POSTULATE OF ARBROATH, AND BISHOP OF MORAY.

HE obtained letters of legitimation on 14th March 1542-3, and was nominated by the Regent Arran and the Privy Council on 13th December 1546, for the abbacy of Arbroath. They promised to fortify, maintain, and defend their gift. He was thereafter known as Postulate of Arbroath. But the opposition was keen. Mr. James Beaton, nephew of the deceased Cardinal, was his rival, and a relative of his, Mr. Archibald Beaton, was on one occasion carried off by George Douglas to the castle of Tantallon, with what object does not appear. Beaton, however, suffered no harm, and goodnaturedly obliged his captor by appearing before the regent, and declaring that neither while there, nor since, had any money been taken from his person by the Postulate or his servants, and that he had not even been asked if he had any. The Pope conferred the abbacy on James Beaton, for whom the regent had formerly made application, but it seems to have been taken possession of by the Earl of Angus on behalf of his son, as his servants were there during the English occupation of Broughty. Beaton was made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1552; but Douglas had to deal with yet another rival in the person of Lord John Hamilton, second son of the Regent Arran, who is said to have received a gift of the abbey so early as 1541. Hamilton was styled Abbot and Commendator of Arbroath, while Douglas was only styled Postulate; but Douglas was in possession about 1570, when Hamilton enlisted the Ogilvies and others to aid in the ejection of Douglas. He was besieged in the Abbey for some time by the Earl of Huntly, but the Regent Lennox sent Morton to raise the siege. Huntly then retired to Brechin, leaving Douglas in possession. In 1572 he sat in the Privy Council as Commendator of Arbroath.¹

During his possession of Arbroath, George Douglas was involved in the murder of Rizzio, and is stated by some to have struck the first blow.² He was denounced rebel and fled, but returned with the barons implicated when the act was condoned. He was also the subject, in 1572, of a curious complaint, which looks like piracy on a small scale. At the mouth of the river Earn he, with a band of hagbutiers and other armed soldiery, seized a boat full of merchandise, which was being conveyed from

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 2878; vol. ii. pp. 560, 561, 575; Thorpe's Calendar Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 55, 57; vol. ii. p. 133; State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 567-570; Registrum Glasguense, vol. ii. p. 51.

² Michael, Les Ecossais en France, etc., vol. ii. p. 51.

Dundee to Perth for sale at the fair, and chased other boats engaged in similar work, shooting at and wounding the men in charge. He also seized several of the inhabitants of Carnomouth, and imprisoned them in Arbroath until they found caution, each of two hundred merks, to enter, when required, upon three days' warning.¹

In 1573, George Douglas was chosen Bishop of Moray, and held the office till his death. As such he frequently sat in the Privy Council and in Parliaments. His own actions were frequently under the revision of the Council. Lord John Hamilton, who was confirmed in the Commendatorship of Arbroath, after the preferment of Douglas, complained that his predecessor had spoiled the Abbey, both in its buildings and revenues. He is also charged with carrying away with him the charters of the town and the Abbey. In 1584 he was arrested by the Earl of Montrose at the command of the Council, and committed to the custody of George Earl of Huntly, and his uncle Mr. Thomas Gordon. His imprisonment lasted for eighteen months, when King James, knowing no just cause for his continued detention, ordered him to be liberated. On one occasion he was ordered by the Council to exercise discipline upon the minister of Elgin for forging a will; and on another occasion he was appointed one of the assessors of the Lord Treasurer, who at the time was William Earl of Gowrie.²

After the Reformation changed the ecclesiastical face of affairs, the holders of bishoprics did not find their offices such sinecures as their predecessors had filled. The sway of the General Assembly had been established, and, however unwillingly, the bishops deemed it expedient to acknowledge its authority. George, Bishop of Moray, was frequently called to its bar. In 1574 he was required to show his fitness for the office he held before the Assembly, and Calderwood says that although he was a whole winter "mummiling upon his papers," he had not his sermon by heart when all was done. The Chapter of Moray were taken to task for granting letters testimonial to the bishop without just trial and due examination of his life and qualification in literature. But years were spent in the trials, and the bishop's failings were not confined to ministerial incapacity. He was dealt with on more than one occasion for scandalous living, and was required like others to make public satisfaction.³ He died, says Godscroft, when King James the Sixth went to Denmark,⁴ that is, in the year 1589 or 1590, and was buried, according to Keith, in Holyrood Abbey.⁵

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.

² Gordon's Monasticon, p. 532; Register of the Privy Council, vols. ii. pp. 380, 440-442; iii. pp. 565, 673; iv. p. 38.

³ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 302, 304, 330-689 *passim*.

⁴ Godscroft's *MS. History*, Part II., p. 128.

⁵ Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 151.

VII.—1. DAVID DOUGLAS, SEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS,
FORMERLY OF COLBRANDSPATH.

MARGARET HAMILTON (OF SAMUELSTON OR CLYDESDALE), HIS COUNTESS.

JANUARY TO JUNE 1557.

DAVID, seventh Earl of Angus, previous to his succession to the estates of his uncle Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, was known as David Douglas of Colbrandspath, now Cockburnspath, a place in Berwickshire acquired by his father, Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, as related in the memoir of Sir George. According to Godscroft, David Douglas was designated of Colbrandspath because he was born there. The date of his birth is nowhere stated, but it probably took place about 1515, as his younger brother, James, afterwards the Regent Morton, must have been born about 1516.¹ The earliest notice of David Douglas is in 1543, when he is named as one of the heirs of entail, to whom the lands of Dalkeith and others were to descend, failing heirs-male of his brother, James, who had married the heiress of the earldom of Morton.² In 1544 David Douglas is referred to as negotiating for the surrender of Tantallon Castle with the Earl of Hertford, then commanding the English army in Scotland, but the proposal was made merely to amuse the Earl.³ In 1553, under the designation of Mr. David Douglas, he was infeft as nearest and lawful

¹ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 107.

² Entail by James, third Earl of Morton, upon his daughter and her husband and other

heirs of entail, 22d April 1543; *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 276-280.

³ Correspondence of Hertford, Hamilton Papers, Maitland Club, p. 98.

heir of his father, Sir George Douglas, in the lands of Cockburnspath and others in Berwickshire.¹

About three months before his father's death, David Douglas married Margaret Hamilton, daughter of John Hamilton of Samuelston, a natural brother of James, Duke of Chatelherault, Governor of Scotland. The marriage contract was entered into at Linlithgow in May 1552, the Governor acting on behalf of his niece, and Sir George Douglas for his son. The parties were to be married as soon as possible, a Papal dispensation being procured if necessary. David and Margaret were to be provided by Sir George in a yearly income of £100 Scots, while the Governor promised to give a dower with his niece of £1000.² Four years later, on the death of his uncle in January 1557, David Douglas succeeded to the estates and honours of Angus, but there is no evidence that his feudal investiture was formally completed. He died at Cockburnspath in the following June, only six months after his accession,³ and was succeeded by his son Archibald, then a young child. It is therefore doubtful whether David Douglas was ever recognised as Earl of Angus, as he is never so designated in any legal document. He appears to have taken little part in public business, a fact which Godscroft attributes to ill-health.

David, seventh Earl of Angus, was survived by his Countess, Margaret Hamilton. He was her second husband, her first being James Johnstone, younger of Johnstone, by whom she had issue one son and one daughter. After the death of Douglas, she is said to have married the Laird of Whitelaw.

By his wife, David Douglas of Cockburnspath had issue—

1. Archibald Douglas, who became eighth Earl of Angus, of whom a memoir follows.

¹ Old Copy Sasine, 7th April 1553, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Contract, dated 8th May 1552; Record

of Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session : H. M. Register House, Edinburgh.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 247-249.

2. Margaret, who married first Sir Walter Scott of Branhholm and Buccleuch, and had issue one son and two daughters. Her first husband died in 1574, and she married, secondly, Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, to whom she had issue three sons and three daughters.¹ She survived until the year 1640. The Earl of Bothwell is well known to have been one of the most reckless and turbulent noblemen of that period, and his wife frequently suffered from the vengeance of the Court against her husband. On one such occasion, it is said, she put herself in the way of King James the Sixth at the castle gate of Edinburgh, "crying, for Christ's sake, that died on the cross, for mercy to her and her spouse, with many tears, piteous to behold. The king putting out his hand to have tane her up, she kissed the back of his hand thrice. Then he passed into the castle, and the lady came down the street." Three days later, however, the king in council issued an order forbidding Lady Bothwell to come near his person, and also forbidding the lieges to support her or her husband in any way.²
3. Elizabeth, who married in 1572, John, eighth Lord Maxwell, who was created Earl of Morton. They had issue three sons and four daughters. She married, secondly, Alexander Stewart of Garlies, father of the first Earl of Galloway, without issue; and thirdly, John Wallace, elder of Craigie. She died in 1637.³

¹ The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 159, 160.

² MS. History, quoted in Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 243;

order dated 20th November 1592, Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 23, 24.

³ The Book of Carloverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 296, 298.

JAMES DOUGLAS, FOURTH EARL OF MORTON, AND REGENT OF SCOTLAND,
YOUNGER BROTHER OF DAVID, SEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS.

ELIZABETH DOUGLAS (OF MORTON), HIS COUNTESS.

Circa 1516—1581.

THIS member of the Douglas family, who seems to have inherited much of the energy and talent of his father, and who for a time ruled Scotland at a most critical period of her history, was born about 1516.¹ Nothing is known of his younger years, except that in 1536 he is named as his mother's heir in a royal charter of the lands of Pittendriech.² On the return of his uncle, the sixth Earl of Angus, and his father, Sir George Douglas, from exile, in the beginning of 1543, an arrangement was made for the marriage of James Douglas to Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of James, third Earl of Morton. This arrangement was followed on the part of the Earl by a charter of entail securing the estates of Morton to his daughter and her husband, and to other heirs of entail, as narrated in the memoir of Sir George Douglas.³ From this date James Douglas was known as Master of Morton, until his accession to the earldom some years later.

The Master of Morton took part with his father and uncle in the public events of the time. When a coalition between the Governor Arran and Cardinal Beaton in 1543 frustrated the plans of the Douglasses and threatened war with England, Morton fortified the castle of Dalkeith against the governor, but for want of victuals and

¹ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 107.

² Godscroft, the family historian, has constructed a romantic tradition of the future regent hiding under an assumed name from the wrath of King James the Fifth, and working as a farm grieve or overseer, which gave him such a practical knowledge of farming that it enabled him to turn that knowledge to great account in the management of the Morton and Angus estates. But that tale is disproved by the charter in question,

although it was afterwards revoked. 2d February 1535-6. Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. iii. No. 1541. Cf. 1768, and p. 165 *antea*.

³ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. pp. 274-280; Contract, dated 18th March 1542-3 and charter of entail, 22d April 1543. The Master of Morton and his father also entered into various agreements with Robert Douglas of Lochleven, to whom the Morton estates had formerly been entailed, and who resigned his rights for a sum of 5000 merks. *Ibid.* pp. 294-298.

ammunition he could not hold out any time, and on 7th November 1543 he capitulated on honourable terms.¹ He also, with his brother David, entertained negotiations with the English in 1544, professing to be willing to surrender the castle of Tantallon, but this proposal was not carried into effect.² The Master of Morton commanded at Dalkeith in June 1548, when the castle was reduced by Lord Grey with an English force, and he was then taken prisoner, with his mother and others of his family.³ Morton was taken to London and remained for some time a captive in the Tower. How long he was in England does not appear, though Godscroft, who was almost a contemporary, states that he stayed there some years, long enough to acquire the English language and accent, an accomplishment, he adds, "which he did ever thereafter much delight to use."⁴

The Master of Morton succeeded, in terms of the entail, to the titles and estates of his father-in-law, in 1552, and his first recorded appearance as Earl of Morton and a member of the Privy Council is on 14th October in that year. There was comparative peace between England and Scotland, but the quiet of the latter country was broken by disputes between the queen-regent, Mary of Guise, and the territorial magnates about taxation. Other matters of discontent arose, which drew to a head in the end of the year 1557. During this year Morton's attention was partly engaged by private matters, as, by the death of his elder brother David, seventh Earl of Angus, he became tutor to David's son, Archibald, who succeeded as eighth Earl to the title and estates of Angus; but in December we find the signature of Morton appended to the document which first gave name to the powerful body known as the Lords of the Congregation.⁵

This fact shows that, like his father, Sir George Douglas, Morton was attached to the Reformed doctrines. The Congregation, as the Protestant party were called, did not at first openly declare themselves, and any collision with the Government was for the time averted by the negotiations with France, and preparations for the marriage of Queen Mary with the French Dauphin. In the beginning of 1559, however, the demands of the Reformers became more imperative, and being met with refusal, they prepared for the worst. Matters were precipitated by an outbreak of the popular zeal at Perth, which the queen-regent resolved to chastise. Perth was fortified by the Reformers, but Morton was not with them, having been despatched to the Borders to adjust the boundaries between England and Scotland, which was done by treaty at

¹ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 5. Calendar of State Papers, p. 86.

² Hamilton Papers, Maitland Club Miscel-
lany, vol. iv. Part i. pp. 94, 98.

³ Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 279.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 171; Thorpe's

⁵ Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of
Scotland*, vol. i. p. 327.

Ladykirk on 31st May. Two days previously the queen-regent and her party entered Perth in consequence of an agreement with the lords of the Congregation. Her violation of the spirit of the agreement, however, compelled them to act more firmly, and they mustered a strong force. Perth and Edinburgh fell into their hands, but in the end they were unable to hold the capital, and a truce was concluded, to endure until January 1560.¹

Whether Morton was concerned in these proceedings is not clear, but at a later date, when the Congregation, wearied with the duplicity of the queen-regent, advanced to Edinburgh in considerable force, he is mentioned as residing at his castle of Dalkeith. This was in October 1559, and it is added that Morton, "of whom the Protestants make a certain account to be theirs," sometimes repaired to Edinburgh.² That he was somewhat vacillating appears from a later letter to the English Council, in which he is described as "simple and fearful, . . . albeit he hath by his handwriting bound himself to take part with the Protestants, yet he lieth aloof; some think he doth it partly fearing which party shall prevail, and partly in respect of the great benefit that he hath heretofore received at the dowager's hands, by whose means he hath obtained the earldom of Angus, though another hath a better title to the same; and yet we think him to favour the Protestants more than the other party."³ In the first week of November the lords of the Congregation withdrew from Edinburgh to Stirling, but Morton remained behind, and was suspected of desiring to deliver up the castle to the regent, but he retired to Dalkeith, without an interview with the queen.⁴ Whatever hesitation Morton may have had at this time, when the policy and prospects of the Protestant party were still doubtful, he, from the date of their alliance with England and the advance of an English army into Scotland, adhered firmly to the Reformed cause.

The English crossed the border on 2d April 1560, and on the 4th the Protestant leaders met at Dalkeith, whence they addressed a petition to the regent to dismiss the French troops. This was refused, and the Reformers with their English allies marched

¹ Truce dated 24th July 1559 to last till 10th January 1560. Keith's History, p. 99.

² Letter, 25th October 1559. Sir Ralph Sadler, etc., to English Council; *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 28.

³ Letter, Sir Ralph Sadler to English Council, 8th November 1559. *Ibid.* p. 33. The allusion to the earldom of Angus relates to the

claim made by Morton on behalf of his nephew, Archibald Douglas, in opposition to Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, the heir of line. The queen-regent, for her own purposes, favoured Morton, but the matter will be more fully referred to elsewhere.

⁴ Letter, Mr. Randolph to Sir Ralph Sadler, 11th November 1559. *Ibid.* p. 34.

towards Edinburgh, and laid siege to Leith. While engaged before that place they bound themselves again by a solemn covenant to "set forward the reformation of religion according to Goddis word," and to procure the expulsion of the French. To this covenant Morton appended his name, as also to the ratification of the treaty made with England, and from this time he was looked upon as one of the foremost of the Reformers.¹

The next prominent event in which Morton is found taking part is the Parliament which met in August 1560 and approved of the Confession of Faith. The queen-regent had died on 10th June, and by a treaty drawn up in July, the French had evacuated the kingdom.² This treaty was concluded between the Scots and French and English Commissioners, and in a separate series of articles it was stipulated that a Parliament should be held, which it was determined by the lords of the Council should sit as if the queen were present. In terms of the treaty this Parliament appointed twenty-four regents, as they were called, twelve of whom were to form a council of State to act during the absence of the queen from Scotland, and of these Morton was one. He was also appointed one of three ambassadors to England, and departed southward about the beginning of October to carry to Queen Elizabeth an account of the proceedings, and also to make overtures on behalf of Scotland for a marriage between the English queen and James, Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault. Morton and his brother envoys were well received by Elizabeth, though the marriage proposal was declined, and they returned to Scotland in January following, in time for a meeting of Parliament, and were among those who affixed their names to the Book of Discipline.³ In the same year, 1560, Morton entered into mutual contracts with the Duke of Chatelherault. The Duke and his wife, Margaret Douglas, renounced all claim they had to the earldom of Morton, while Morton, in return, bound himself to the Duke in manrent service, so far as he could do so with a safe conscience.⁴

A few days after Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, Morton was chosen one of her special councillors, and his name henceforth occurs regularly in the

¹ Calderwood's *Historie*, vol. i. pp. 574-578, 584. The Covenant is dated 27th April 1560, and Morton's signature is appended to the original, preserved at Hamilton Palace; the ratification was signed by him and others at Leith, 10th May 1560.

² Treaty and separate articles both dated

6th July 1560; Keith, pp. 134-143.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 62, 63; Keith's *History*, pp. 154-156, 497.

⁴ Contracts dated 31st May 1560; *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. ii. p. 302; *Hamilton Papers*, *Maitland Miscellany*, vol. iv., Part I. p. 66.

records.¹ Godscroft asserts that Morton was associated with Lord James Stewart in the latter's punishment of the Borderers towards the end of 1561,² but no corroboration of this statement has been found. The two noblemen were, however, conjoined in another matter about this time—the modification of stipends to the ministers of the Reformed Church—a work which they and their colleagues performed in such wise as to call forth the sarcasm of Knox as to the modest sum allowed to each minister.³ In the autumn of 1562 Morton accompanied the Queen on her northern journey directed against the Earl of Huntly, the principal chief of the Catholic party, and he was one of the leaders of the royal force which met and defeated that Earl at Corrichie. According to the confession of Sir John Gordon, son of Huntly, and others, Morton was one of those who, with the newly created Earl of Murray, Secretary Lethington, and others, were to fall victims to Huntly's vengeance.⁴ As they were the chief lay leaders of the Protestant party, the failure of Huntly's plots and his own death were of much greater importance to Scotland than appears from the records of the time.

For the next year or two Morton does not appear prominently in the history of Scotland, although he took part in public affairs. In the end of 1562 he was appointed Chancellor,⁵ and fulfilled the duties of that office for some years. He is also heard of in connection with the Assemblies of the Church. In June 1564 he received a royal confirmation of his title to the earldom and estates of Morton.⁶ He was in regular attendance on the queen, and we hear of her jesting with him on the many rumours afloat as to her movements during the restless period when so many intrigues were afoot for her marriage. These intrigues ended in the queen's determination to marry Darnley, which at first caused Morton great discomposure. When Darnley arrived in Scotland, it is recorded that Morton much disliked him, and wished him away. At another time, as Mary's inclinations became more marked, it caused "no small fear also among the Douglasses." The reason of this appears from a letter, in which Randolph, the English resident, writes to Cecil in May 1565, in reference to certain combinations among the nobility: "My Lord of Morton this time was absent, but so misliked, that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that [the Countess of Lennox] will give over her

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 157, *et seq.*

² Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 281.

³ Keith, p. 508; History of Scotland, by J. Hill Burton, vol. iv. p. 41.

⁴ Letter, Randolph to Cecil; Keith's History, p. 230.

⁵ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 228.

⁶ On 2d June 1564; Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. pp. 302-304.

rights of Angus, and so [he] will become friends to that side."¹ This evidently is intended to mean that Morton was holding aloof from his friends until the question as to the heritage of his nephew and ward, the young Earl of Angus, was decided. A few days later, however, the matter was arranged, and by a formal contract, confirmed by the signatures of Queen Mary, Darnley, and the Earl of Lennox, the earldom and estates of Angus were secured to Morton's ward.²

Two days after this contract the queen formally announced her intended marriage with Darnley, in the presence of Morton and a numerous attendance of nobility. Morton, in terms of the contract referred to, was one of those who favoured the marriage, and thus separated himself from Murray and others who opposed it, and who shortly afterwards deserted the Court.³ Morton was proposed as one of several Commissioners to England to confer as to the marriage, but such conference was declined. When the queen summoned a Convention at Perth in June following, Morton alone attended of those specially named,⁴ and he adhered to the queen, was present at her councils, and at the splendid entertainment which followed the marriage he acted as carver to their majesties. Morton was absent from the Privy Council at intervals during August and September 1565, but this was doubtless because of the needful muster of his vassals to join the king and queen against the forces of Murray and the other insurgent lords. When the royal troops took the field Morton commanded in the centre with the king, while Lennox led the van and Huntly the rear.⁵ They made their final advance from Edinburgh against the rebels on 8th October, and forced the leaders to take refuge in England, where they remained for some time. After this commotion the king and queen seem to have exacted various bonds of surety both from their own adherents and others, especially those who held fortified places, and among others Morton promised to deliver up, when required, the castle of Tantallon, which he held as tutor to his nephew.⁶ This bond was also

¹ Randolph to Cecil, 3d May 1565; see also Letters of 19th February and 20th March same year; Keith, pp. 269, 273; Tytler, vol. v. p. 286.

² Contract, dated 12th and 13th May 1565; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 255-262. The circumstances which led to this contract will be more fully detailed in the memoir of the eighth Earl of Angus.

³ Throckmorton to Cecil, 21st May 1565;

Keith, pp. 276-280.

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, 2d July 1565; *Ibid.* p. 287, cf. also p. 284.

⁵ Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 379. In the order of the day (dated near Dumfries, 10th October 1565), arranging the divisions of the army, there is a special clause reserving the right of the Earl of Angus, then a minor.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 382, 417.

probably required because of doubts as to Morton's allegiance, his sympathy with Murray and the other exiled nobles being strongly suspected.

This suspicion is deepened by a tragic event which soon afterwards followed, accompanied by the recall of the banished lords. This was the death of Rizzio, in which Morton took a prominent part. The story of Rizzio's murder has been so often told, that here it is only necessary to refer briefly to the share which Morton had in the matter. From the minute and independent narratives of the event it is clear that Darnley was the prime instigator of the murder. Those whom he took into confidence at first wished to try Rizzio before the Council, but the king pressed for more speedy measures. The king's motives were jealousy, or alleged jealousy, of Rizzio, who interfered greatly in state affairs, and also a desire that the queen should give him equal right with herself to the crown of Scotland. Ruthven, who was first consulted by the king, drew Morton into the plot, but the end proposed by them and the other lords involved was primarily the recall of the banished lords, who were prominent members of the Protestant party, a recall which was opposed by the influence of Rizzio. Further, there is no doubt that Mary had become an ally of the King of Spain in his plans for crushing the new religion. The secret negotiations for carrying out these plots were conducted through Rizzio, and the mere suspicion that such intrigues were afoot, was sufficient to inspire the Protestant leaders with fear for their religion, and desire for vengeance against the suspected secretary. A fresh accession to such fears was given at this very time by the arrival of an ambassador from France, who, though probably erroneously, was believed to have obtained Mary's formal adhesion to the Catholic plots.

All these circumstances rendered it easier for Darnley to obtain co-operation in his scheme of vengeance, and it is certain that free establishment of the Protestant religion was promised to those who assisted him. Morton has been accused of planning the details of the crime, but if he did so, he was neither the first conspirator nor the most prominent, and he and Ruthven yielded to the king's plan of action. Godscroft says that at first Morton was "as wise as he was wily," in the affair of Rizzio. The political gossip of the time suggests that Morton had also a private motive for wishing Rizzio out of the way, as it was reported that Morton was to lose his office of chancellor in favour of the Italian, who was also to have the title of an Earl to support the dignity of chancellor. This may or may not be true, but neither Morton nor Ruthven contemplated the immediate tragedy which was enacted. They themselves distinctly averred that by removing Rizzio they desired to prevent the subversion of religion, that many were induced to approve the deed, "howbeit, in action and manner of execution, more were followed of the king's advice, kindled by an extreme choler, than we deliberated to have

done."¹ The conspirators took care to obtain a bond from the king, in which he declared the intended crime to be his own device and invention, and bound himself to keep harmless the earls, lords, barons, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen engaged in the plot for executing Rizzio in the queen's presence or otherwise.²

Their plans being all complete, on the evening of Saturday, 9th March 1566, the associates were admitted by the king to the inner apartments of Holyrood Palace. Rizzio was dragged from the actual presence of his mistress, and murdered in the outer ante-chamber. Morton himself did not enter the inner room where the queen was; he remained in the outer chamber where the deed was done, though his share in the actual murder is not recorded. When all was over he passed out, gave orders for guarding the access to the palace, and succeeded in overpowering Bothwell and a number of others who offered resistance. Amid the many minor transactions consequent upon the event, the arrival on the following day of Murray and the other banished lords was the principal. On the Monday they had an interview with the queen, when Morton was their spokesman, and set forth their desires and grievances. The queen, as is well known, made fair promises, but by her womanly wit she escaped from the palace, taking her husband with her, and in a few days Morton and the other conspirators found themselves deserted by the king, and at the mercy of the royal anger.

The queen and Darnley rode to Dunbar, where Mary mustered a considerable force and advanced to Edinburgh. The conspirators fled, and Ruthven and Morton took refuge in England, writing to Cecil from Berwick their account of the murder, and what led to it. They and their associates were declared rebels; Ruthven died not long afterwards, but Morton remained an exile for nearly a year, residing, it would appear, for a short time in Flanders, but chiefly in England. His friends in Scotland strove hard to obtain a remission for him and the other conspirators, but were constantly opposed by the king, and it was not until January 1567 that a formal pardon was granted.³ He returned home only to be tempted into the toils of another plot aimed at a higher personage and embracing more complex results than the murder of Rizzio. On his way from England he halted at Whittingham,⁴ and was there met by Bothwell and Lethington, who communicated the intended murder of Darnley.

¹ Letter to Cecil, 27th March 1566, quoted by Tytler, vol. v. p. 503.

² Ruthven's narrative; Keith, App. p. 122.

³ 24th January 1566-7, according to Regis-

ter of Privy Seal, quoted by Keith, preface, p. xi.

⁴ Letter, Drury to Cecil, 23d January 1567, quoted in History of Scotland, by J. Hill Burton, vol. iv. p. 183 note.

stating it was the queen's own wish, and asked his assistance. Morton, however, declined to engage in the enterprise, and put off the matter by desiring to have the queen's will expressed in writing. When, at a later date, he was a second time pressed to join, he again excused himself on the ground that he had not received such writing. These things were stated by himself shortly before his death, and he strongly asserted when on his trial that though he was thus privy to the plot, he had no share in the actual murder of the king, while he dared not reveal the conspiracy for fear of his life.¹

Darnley was murdered on the 9th of February 1567. There is no evidence that Morton was in Edinburgh at that time, but he is stated to have been with Bothwell at the latter's trial. He was present in the Parliament which met immediately after Bothwell's acquittal, and received a formal ratification of the charter of his earldom granted in 1564.² It has been alleged that this was done to gain him to the party of Bothwell, but the course of future events shows that Morton was wholly and consistently opposed to the queen's favourite. As a matter of policy, however, and in consideration of the overwhelming force with which Bothwell held Edinburgh, Morton and others of his party dissembled, and even went so far as to sign a bond consenting to the queen's marriage with the murderer of her late husband.³ This was on 20th April, and four days later occurred the abduction of the queen by Bothwell, who carried her to Dunbar. A convention of nobles, of whom Morton was one, then took place at Stirling, and a resolution was made to rescue the queen, but soon afterwards she was nominally set at liberty.

The queen's marriage with Bothwell took place on 15th May, and for a short time matters seemed to go smoothly, but this calm was suddenly broken. The powerful confederacy, of which Morton was an important factor, had been silently and secretly maturing, and now made its power felt. A royal proclamation was issued for a raid on the Borderers, and under cover of this the confederates assembled their troops. Some misunderstanding prevented a full meeting at Liberton, their appointed rendezvous, from which probably they hoped to surprise Holyrood, but Morton and Lord Home kept tryst, and with several hundred men laid siege to Borthwick Castle, whither the queen and Bothwell had, under some alarm, fled for refuge. So sudden was their flight that they had no retinue sufficient to garrison the castle,

¹ Morton's Confession, Calderwood's History, vol. iii. pp. 559-570.

1567; Parliament met 14th April; Ratification dated 19th April 1567. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 562.

² Bothwell's trial took place on 12th April

³ Calderwood's History, vol. ii. pp. 352-4.

and the besiegers were daily gathering strength. The queen and her husband managed to escape, and the confederates marched to Edinburgh, where they were welcomed and the castle delivered up to them. Having thus gained the capital, the confederates showed their true feelings against Bothwell by openly denouncing him as the murderer of Darnley.¹ Notwithstanding their bold tone, they were not at first actively assisted, but learning that Bothwell was advancing against them, they resolved to meet him in the open field. The queen's army and that of the confederates met, as is well known, at Carberry Hill, about three miles to the south-east of Musselburgh. The details of this engagement have been often narrated, but one or two incidents may be noted, as personal to Morton himself. He commanded in the van, and while the two armies manœuvred before encountering, the French ambassador rode up to the confederates to mediate between parties, but Morton, speaking out in name of the rest, declared they fought not against the queen but against Bothwell; if she parted from him all might be well, but not otherwise.² Out of this speech, as reported by the ambassador, arose a parley on the part of the queen's forces and a public challenge from Bothwell to single combat. The challenge was accepted, but Bothwell declined the acceptor, and demanded that Morton should be his adversary, who at once consented to fight on foot with broad-swords; but ere the meeting took place, Lord Lindsay of the Byres claimed the honour. This was granted, and to arm him for the combat, Morton clasped round Lindsay's waist a large two-handed sword, which had been borne by the famous Bell the Cat, fifth Earl of Angus. Thus equipped Lindsay offered battle, but at the last moment the queen forbade the duel.³

The confederate army then advanced, with the result that Bothwell fled to Dunbar, while Mary, after a parley, surrendered, and was received with respect by Morton and the others, who conducted her to Edinburgh, Morton refusing to permit her to join the Hamiltons. In the debates which followed this success, and which deeply concerned the fate of the queen, Morton advocated leniency, drawing on himself the anger of the more extreme party, but in the end Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle.⁴ A few days afterwards there came into Morton's hands that famous casket, the contents of which have been a subject of keen discussion even to the present time. It was a

¹ 11th and 12th June 1567, Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 519-521.

² Knox, History, vol. ii. p. 560. The present owner of Carberry Hill, Lord Elphinstone, has erected on the spot a large stone bearing a royal crown and the letters M. R.,

in commemoration of the events which took place there.

³ Calderwood, vol. ii. pp. 363, 364; Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 298.

⁴ Order signed 16th June 1567; Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. pp. 24-26.

silver box overgilt, which Bothwell in his flight left behind him in the castle of Edinburgh, and his servant sent to bring it to Dunbar was arrested. Thus Morton and the other lords of Council became possessed of certain communications between the queen and Bothwell, which in the following December were founded on by Parliament when it formally ratified the detention of the queen and other proceedings against her.¹

Morton was the principal leader in guiding the Privy Council at this time, as is shown by their own recorded acts, which are chiefly directed against Mary and Bothwell. He was also prominent in church matters, and his name is the first appended to a series of resolutions passed by the General Assembly, binding the laymen of the church to do all in their power to aid the suffering clergy, and also to secure that the kirk should be placed in full possession of its patrimony.² This circumstance is remarkable, as Morton was one of the greatest appropriators of church lands; but so far as he was concerned, his signature may have been a matter of policy, as it was important to gain the concurrence of the clergy during the political crisis. The queen had been compelled to sign her own demission of the crown, and an Act of regency in favour of the Earl of Murray, while an interim Council was appointed with Morton at their head, to rule the kingdom and crown the infant prince as king of Scotland. The coronation ceremony duly took place, with all the usual forms, a few days later at Stirling, in the parish church there, and Morton, laying his hand on the Bible, took on behalf of the prince the solemn oath framed for the occasion.³

The Earl of Murray was appointed regent on the 22d August, and a more settled government began to be formed. Morton was an able assistant of the regent, but, except as a member of Council, does not appear prominently on the historical stage. We learn, however, that in the debates as to the queen's fate, his voice was for leniency, or, at least, for imprisonment rather than death.⁴ The Parliament met in December and ratified all the proceedings of Morton and the regent, and the latter, not without opposition, continued his efforts in the cause of order, when, in May 1568, the whole country was disturbed by the escape of Queen Mary from her island prison. Her adherents, who were in readiness, mustered rapidly to her standard, and she soon found herself at the head of a considerable force. Murray, who was at Glasgow when

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 27, 28. The casket was delivered by Morton to Moray and the Privy Council, who granted a formal discharge for it and its contents on 16th September 1568. [Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 641.]

² 25th July 1567. Calderwood, vol. ii. pp. 378-382.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 537-542.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 386.

told of her escape, summoned Morton to his aid, and the two, both men of military capacity, took prompt measures to meet the emergency. The result was the battle of Langside, and the flight of the queen to England. From this point, according to a contemporary writer, Morton was in constant attendance on the regent, and took part in all the affairs of government.¹ They travelled together to the famous conference at York, from which they returned in January 1569, secure that henceforth the English queen would support their party. During the year 1569 also Morton acted in close concert with Murray,² especially in the arrest of Balfour and Secretary Lethington as accessory to Darnley's murder. Morton was Lethington's chief accuser, but the Secretary's friends mustered so strongly on the day of trial that Morton, though lying at Dalkeith with three thousand men, dared not venture to come to Edinburgh, and the trial was postponed. At this time the North of England was in insurrection; but the leaders, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, were forced to seek refuge in Scotland. Northumberland fell into the hands of Murray by the treachery of a Borderer, and was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, but the capture is said to have been brought about by the agency of Morton.³

Shortly afterwards the country was thrown into grief by the assassination of Murray, and the queen's faction, which had been held in check, gained strength by the delay which took place in electing a new regent. Morton was now the recognised head of those attached to the king's party, and he was a strong supporter of the English interest. Had it not been for this fact, and for the aid given by Elizabeth, it is not impossible the queen's party might have triumphed, as it comprised the most prominent nobles in Scotland, to whom Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange were now added. The English aid came at first in the shape of an invading army, which laid waste the Scottish Border, where were many of the queen's party, and then joined by Morton, Lennox, and others, advanced to Hamilton and ravaged the property of the Hamiltons. When this army at first entered Scotland, a convention of the rival factions was proposed, but never met. The king's party also gained greatly by the arrival from England of the Earl of Lennox, a rival and enemy of the Hamiltons. His appointment as regent soon followed, being approved by the English queen.

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 130-139. When Morton was at Kirriemuir, in July 1568, an attempt was made against his life by the Earl of Huntly, the most powerful supporter of the queen's party in the North. It is referred to in a submission by the Earl of Crawford,

and is not otherwise recorded. [Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 662.]

² Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 147.

³ Calderwood's History, vol. ii. pp. 506, 509.

Both factions prepared for hostilities, and the civil war began which was destined to trouble Scotland for a long period, and which caused great hardships in the country. In this Morton was one of the prime movers, and, according to contemporary chroniclers, he was the most active member of the king's party. He was the first to march against the rival faction, and laid siege to Brechin, which in the end surrendered.¹ He was appointed Chancellor, having been already made Admiral of Scotland by Murray, and received other offices of less importance. One of these, however, was the sheriffship of the county of Edinburgh.² A short truce took place in the early part of the year 1571, and Morton entered into negotiations with the other side, but no apparent result followed.

These negotiations, however, may have been preliminary to the important embassy in which Morton was presently engaged in England, whither he went on a summons from Queen Elizabeth. Without entering into the diplomatic questions involved, it may be stated that the courts of France and England had been treating with Mary, Queen of Scots, as to her restoration to her kingdom. Elizabeth had demanded the custody of the young King of Scotland. Morton and the other Scotch Commissioners resisted this, and also opposed the restoration of Queen Mary, on the simple ground that she had resigned her crown, that the Estates of Scotland had accepted the resignation, and that they were supreme, and did not wish her to reign over them, because of her crimes, which had been formerly proved at York.³ The Commissioners were dismissed nominally to consult the Estates, but it was never intended to concede the points demanded, and on returning to Scotland in April Morton's report to the Council was well received, and his action approved.⁴ Shortly before his return a great success had been attained for the king's party by the taking of Dumbarton Castle, which had been long held for the queen, and the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews deprived the Hamiltons and the queen's party of one of their chief advisers. The Archbishop's death had a considerable influence on Morton's affairs, as it led to his possession of the revenues of the See of St. Andrews, out of which ultimately grew a dispute with the church. Some historians have not hesitated to accuse Morton of avarice in appropriating these church revenues, but whatever motives may have prevailed with him to retain the see in his hands, the grant was made at first to reimburse him for his great expenses in the mission to England, which he had made at his own cost.⁵ The dispute with the church will be afterwards referred to.

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 182.

² *Ibid.* p. 190.

³ Buchanan's History, Aikman's Translation, vol. ii. pp. 601, 605, 611.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 63, 67.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 67.

The war now went on with increased activity on both sides, and Edinburgh, of which the castle was held for the queen by Kirkcaldy of Grange, became in a great measure the centre of operations. Mustering of soldiers, frequent skirmishes, with varying success to either party; attempts at Parliaments, convened first by one and then by the other faction; these sum up the state of affairs during 1571, to which may be added, considerable hardships inflicted on the citizens of Edinburgh. In each and all of the events of the time Morton was the leader and real director, though the regent was the nominal head of the State. Morton commanded in most of the skirmishes, and was the chief military leader on the king's side. So matters continued until the 3d of September 1571, when a bold stroke was attempted by the queen's adherents. The regent, Morton, and other king's men had gone to Stirling to hold a Parliament there, and were residing not in the castle but in the town, which seems to have been very slightly guarded. On the morning of the 4th September, a force of about four hundred queen's men, chiefly composed of Borderers, marched into the place, attacked the houses of the regent and Morton, and securing them, with other prisoners, attempted to carry them off. Morton, however, before being taken, defended his house so stoutly as to cause some delay, which enabled a party of men to be sent from the castle, while the hitherto sleeping burghers were roused and also attacked the invaders. These were obliged to flee, but not before the regent, although a captive, was foully shot at and mortally wounded. The same fate was intended for Morton, but Scott of Buccleuch, whose prisoner he was, saved his life, and in return was protected when the king's men became victorious. The regent lingered some hours, and died in the afternoon of the same day. On the morrow the Parliament resumed its sitting, so tragically interrupted, and the Earl of Mar was elected regent in succession to Lennox.¹

Morton had been one of the three lords nominated for election, and he continued to exercise as much influence over the new regent as he had done over Lennox. Previous to the latter's murder, Morton had greatly increased the king's party, by gaining over the Earls of Argyll, Cassillis, and others, and they were present in the Parliament at Stirling. In this Parliament Morton gave special offence to the church by rejecting the petition of the ministers as to benefices, manses, etc., and certain immoralities. The petitioners, it is said, although the regent Lennox was favourable, "received manie injurious words from the lords, specialie from Morton, who ruled all." He also offended by causing his nominee to the See of St. Andrews

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 65, etc.

to vote as Archbishop.¹ From Stirling the new regent returned to Leith, where he appointed Morton chief lieutenant, or military commander of the operations against Edinburgh, and the war recommenced with greater intensity than before. In October the siege of Edinburgh was begun, and not only the neighbourhood of the capital, but other parts of Scotland became the scene of one of the bitterest civil wars on record. Every species of retaliation was practised by both parties, and a contemporary states that the war was called by the people the "Douglas Wars," perhaps with reference to Morton, whose orders against supplying provisions to the besieged were very strict and cruelly carried out.² An attempt was made on Morton's life during this period, and a minister who spoke against him was hanged.³ About this time the Earl of Northumberland, who had been for two years and a half a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, was given up to the English queen. Murray had refused to give him up, but Morton was not so scrupulous. Ten thousand pounds was paid as the price of the captive, who was soon after executed. A few days before the Earl's transference, the Duke of Norfolk had been beheaded for plotting with Queen Mary, and it is probable that this conspiracy determined the fate of Northumberland.⁴

In the end of July 1572, a truce was arranged to last for two months, which was prolonged by new proclamations until the end of the year. During this interval, efforts were made by the English queen to make a general peace, but at first without success. Another important affair, in regard to which the English envoy dealt earnestly with Morton and the regent, had reference to Queen Mary, and is believed to have been a scheme for her death. So far as can be ascertained from the extant papers, Elizabeth and her advisers, alarmed by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, determined to put Mary to death, a result which was to be effected by sending the captive queen to Scotland, where she was to be "dealt with according to justice." The scheme, whether it meant a formal trial, or, as some allege, a speedy assassination, was approved

¹ Calderwood's History, vol. iiii. pp. 135, 137, 138.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 294.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 292, 293.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 298. The Regent Mar seems to have shared with Morton the obloquy of this transaction. The writer of the Diurnal, while stating the sum paid, states that it was delivered to "the Erle of Mar regent and Erle of Mortoun, quha mycht haue haid fra the said

Erle [Northumberland] xviii^m pundis to haue remanit in Lochleven at thair command." He adds, "This falt wes done for sum vther caus nor we know, to the great schame of this realme, to steale sa noble a man, ane presonar, yea, that come in this realme for saiftie of his lyff." A comparison, not to Morton's credit, is then drawn between Northumberland's kind treatment of Morton, when an exile in England, and Morton's treatment of him.

by Morton and the regent, but the actual details are obscure, and the plan was never carried out, partly owing to the death of the regent, and partly to other causes of a political nature.¹

The Regent Mar, after a short illness, died on 29th October 1572, the reason being, according to a contemporary, that "he luift peace, and culd nocht haue the same."² The same authority alleges that the regent would have made peace with the holders of Edinburgh Castle, as well as with the rest of the queen's party, but that Morton would not consent, always insisting that the taking of the castle was absolutely necessary to a firm government. On this account Morton has been chiefly charged with all the horrors of the civil war, yet, as was shown a few months later when he himself was regent, he had every desire for a general peace, but clearly discerned that the holders of the castle would always be a cause of disturbance. The English envoy then in Scotland had much admiration for Morton, and describes him as "a shrewd fellow."³ Morton was elected regent on 24th November, and with his consent the English ambassador entered into negotiations with the queen's party. These were completely successful, and a pacification was entered into at Perth between the Earl of Argyll, chancellor, and others, on the king's side, and Huntly and the Hamiltons on the other part, when, among other conditions, the latter bound themselves to submit to the king and regent. From that time the queen's faction ceased to exist, and the country was restored to peace.⁴ Kirkcaldy of Grange and Secretary Lethington, however, who had proved traitors to their former party, and from such a man as Morton could expect only the doom of traitors, refused to sign the peace, and still held out in the castle of Edinburgh, until, in the following May, the fortress was battered down by an English siege train. The garrison surrendered to the English commander, but Kirkcaldy and the others were delivered to Morton, who ordered their execution. Much influence on behalf of Kirkcaldy was brought to bear on the regent, but he was inexorable, and the execution took place on 3d August, Lethington having already ended his career in prison.⁵

From the time of the taking of Edinburgh Castle, Morton became really supreme, as he had formerly virtually been supreme in the kingdom, and whatever his personal faults, it is admitted that his talents for government were considerable. The first acts

¹ History of Scotland, by John Hill Burton, vol. v. pp. 111-114.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 317.

³ Letter to Lord Burghley, quoted in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 192.

⁴ This pacification, dated 24th February 1572-3, long a desideratum to historians, will be found at length in the Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 193-200.

⁵ Calderwood's History, vol. iii. pp. 281-285.

of his regency were directed to securing order in the country, especially among the broken clans of the borders. Pledges were demanded for the good behaviour of the principal offenders, who also bound themselves to keep good order.¹ The consequence of Morton's firm policy in this direction was comparative peace on the Marches, only one affair, known as the "Raid of the Reedswire," breaking for a short time the harmony between England and Scotland. When Morton had been regent for three years, Killigrew, the English ambassador, wrote favourably of the vigour and success of his government, of the security to property and person, the peace on the borders, and the increase of foreign commerce.²

Morton, however, though he gave peace to the country, raised up enemies to himself, partly by unnecessary harshness in insisting on the rights of the Crown. When Edinburgh Castle was taken, the regalia and other crown jewels which had been stored there were obtained by the regent, but all were not there, many having been pawned or stolen. Morton made inquisition as to the missing valuables, being authorised to do so by Parliament. The widow of Secretary Lethington, Lady Home, the Countess of Argyll, the Earl of Huntly, and others to whom jewels had been given or pledged, were required to render them. To this Lady Home and Huntly responded by delivering the articles in their possession. The Countess of Argyll, however, and her husband, for a time firmly resisted the acts of Privy Council directed against them, and it was only in March 1575 that they delivered up the jewels, which had been in possession of the Countess since she was wife of the Regent Murray.³ The regent, in regard to these and other Crown properties, only acted in obedience to the order of Parliament, but he made enemies who in the end worked his downfall. Some even made attempts to assassinate him while still regent.⁴

Another ground of dissatisfaction with Morton lay in his attitude towards the Church. He has been charged with grasping avarice in his dealings with the clergy, but no evidence of this is recorded by church historians, who otherwise are not slow to comment on other displeasing acts. Their chief grievance of that kind is directed not against the regent, but against his servants or officials. On the contrary, he is much commended for his general good government. His fault, in the eyes of the clergy, was this, that he did not co-operate with them in their views on church polity.

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.

² Quoted in Tytler, vol. vi. p. 231.

³ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 246,

247, 331; Historical Commission MSS., 9th Report, Part II. p. 192; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 84.

⁴ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 70, 72.

He would not take part with them as a subordinate layman in their assemblies, and though frequently summoned and admonished to that effect, refused to yield, threatening indeed some of the most zealous ministers with hanging.¹ He also interfered with church discipline. Thus the clergy were prejudiced against him, but what gave the final blow to his influence among them was his leaning towards the Episcopal order. During the regency of Mar, Morton had presided at an ecclesiastical conference, where it was resolved that for the time being, the names and titles of archbishops, bishops, and other dignified clergy, might stand in the kirk, or remain on certain conditions. Taking advantage of this, Morton was the first to devise the plan of placing in the vacant bishoprics the famous Tulchan Bishops, men who should hold the office, but should yield the greater part of the revenue to the patrons of the benefice. Thus he placed a kinsman of his own in the archbishopric of St. Andrews. This policy was followed by other nobles and barons, and the new church was consequently deprived of a large portion of the revenues which were expected to accrue from the property of the old church. The Reformed Church indeed worked for a time with these nominal bishops in their midst, but during Morton's regency, these men were constantly under examination or censure, or threatened censure, for their inactivity or worthlessness, aggravated by their improper disposal of church property.² A reaction against Episcopacy set in, and this was aided by the appearance in Scotland in 1574 of Andrew Melville, who became the leader of the Presbyterian party. Morton endeavoured to secure Melville's services as chaplain, intending, as Calderwood asserts, to win him over to restrain preaching and General Assemblies, and procure more conformity to English modes of worship. Melville, however, preferred a professorship. The regent tried to gain him in another way, but unsuccessfully, and the Presbyterian party became so strong under his guidance that they were able, in 1578, to pass the "Second Book of Discipline," which distinctly abrogated Episcopacy, and overturned the proceedings of the conference of 1572.³

Previous to this, however, Morton had demitted his office of regent, and resumed power in another form. It is said that he himself proposed to the boy-king that he, being now twelve years old, should take the government in his own hands. If so, the idea was seized upon by the regent's enemies, the Earls of Argyll and Athole, who were then with the king. Aided by their friends they assembled a Council at Stirling, and determined on depriving Morton of his office. From Morton's correspondence it would appear that he had foreseen such a result, and was prepared to

¹ Calderwood's History, vol. iii. pp. 305, 369, 385, 393.

² *Ibid.* pp. 274-393, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 329, 369, 433, etc.

meet it.¹ He at once yielded to the storm which was raised against him, and consented to the public resignation of his regency, an event which it is said gave great satisfaction to the country. He retained the castle of Edinburgh in his own hands for a few days, but with a perfectly honourable intention, that the Crown jewels and other portable property which he had been at so much pains to collect, and incurred so much hatred to secure, might be properly inventoried. He received a formal discharge from his duties as regent,² and then he wrote to his nephew, the Earl of Angus, and to the Laird of Lochleven, urgently requesting that they would urge the king to grant this. He states that it is reported that he is to be charged to deliver the fortress under pain of treason, a course which he greatly deprecates as tending to the king's loss. For if he delivered the castle, the goods not being inventoried, other men, he says, "mycht at their pleasur posses and vse his [Majesty's] jowellis and vther thingis, quhilk I haue with great labouris recoverit, and to this tyme weill kept; I pray yow spair na travell to stop this at your vttermaist power, for nother ressoun, law, nor conscience can aggre with this order."³

Morton's advice was taken, an inventory was made, and he obtained a full discharge.⁴ He then betook himself to Lochleven, where he occupied himself ostensibly in laying out alleys and gardens, but really in matters of more moment. He himself professed his desire to have nothing to do but to live quietly to serve God and the king.⁵ It would appear, however, that he had in view a special way of serving the king, and an opportunity for action soon came, which was promptly seized by the ex-regent. A council or ministry had been formed with Morton's chief rivals, the Earls of Athole and Argyll at the head of it, and a Parliament was proclaimed to meet on 10th June. Ere then, however, a revolution took place with respect to the king's guardians, the Earl of Mar, by a *coup de main*, having seized the custody of Stirling Castle and the king's person. Taking advantage of this, Morton ordered his nephew, the Earl of Angus, to be in readiness with the vassals of the house of Douglas; and a month later, after an apparent reconciliation with Athole and Argyll, he rose early on the following morning and rode to Stirling, where he obtained entrance to the castle, and in a short time gained complete ascendancy over the king and his guardians.⁶

This sudden change of rulers nearly caused a civil war in the country. While the forces of the rival factions were gathering, however, the work of the State went on.

¹ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 88.

² *Ibid.* pp. 92-100.

³ Morton to Angus, 16th March 1577-8;

Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 105,

cf. p. 103. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 113. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 103.

⁶ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 408, 409.

Morton secured to himself the first place in the Privy Council,¹ and a Parliament met at Stirling in July. Morton had thus regained supreme power, no longer as regent, but as chief minister of the king, and he directed all. The Parliament which met was chiefly composed of his friends, and the rival faction did not appear, though they sent certain of their number to protest against the proceedings. Meanwhile preparations for war resounded on every side, each faction assembling their troops, and the Earl of Angus was appointed Lieutenant-general on the king's side. But by the efforts of Mr. Bowes, then the English ambassador, a general reconciliation took place, and peace was after a time restored.²

One of the first points which presented itself to Morton in his new capacity, was the "Policie of the Kirk," which came up for attention in the Parliament of July 1578, but whether by his influence or not, immediate decision was postponed.³ The matter came up more than once again during Morton's life, and generally with the same result, although in the records of the Privy Council, as time went on, there may be detected less opposition to the Presbyterian party. The steady disinclination, however, shown by Morton to accede to their wishes alienated from him the bulk of the clergy. The activity of justice on the Borders also continued to be a feature of Morton's renewed administration, and in 1579 he took an opportunity of paying off old scores in another direction. This was the prosecution of the Hamiltons. The pacification at Perth, already referred to, which dissolved the queen's faction, excepted from its effects the murderers of the regents Murray and Lennox, but proceedings were postponed until the king could take cognisance of the matter himself. Now the blow fell on the two chiefs of the Hamiltons, Lord John Hamilton and Lord Claude Hamilton, and their adherents. The Privy Council issued a commission against them, which Morton in person executed. The two Hamiltons fled the country, but their castles and estates were seized for the crown. Their adherents were rigorously pursued, and their party entirely subdued.⁴

Shortly after these proceedings there came to Scotland a stranger whose influence was destined to prove disastrous for Morton. This was Esme, Lord d'Aubigny, a cousin of the king, who, whether as a kinsman or as a courtier, was warmly received by James. Almost from the first hour of his arrival honours were heaped upon him, and he became a dangerous rival to Morton, exciting also, from various causes,

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 120.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 417-425.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 415-418.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 442; Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 146.

much anxiety in England, where Elizabeth's ministers favoured Morton and distrusted the stranger. The speculations as to the latter's reason for coming to Scotland were various, but Calderwood says that he was brought over by a small but determined party who had resolved on Morton's downfall. Among these were John Maitland, a younger brother of Secretary Maitland, and other former partisans of the Marian faction, who, though pardoned, nursed hatred against the late regent. They worked secretly, it is said, desiring to bring about the association of the captive queen with her son in the government, and as Morton stood in the way of this scheme it was necessary to dispose of him. The Earl of Athole, who had been their supporter, was dead, and they had sent for D'Aubigny to take his place.¹ The scheme of which Calderwood speaks had no practical political result for some years, and the existence of such a plot has been doubted. But his statement is quite clear that, whatever the motive, Morton's overthrow was aimed at.

In March 1580, D'Aubigny was made Earl of Lennox; in June he became a member of the Privy Council, and shortly afterwards he was appointed keeper of Dumbarton Castle.² The English government was now greatly alarmed, and urgently suggested that Lennox should be got rid of by violence, but Morton declined.³ Lennox was next appointed to a new office, that of High Chamberlain,⁴ which placed him with his subordinates in immediate attendance on the king, and nullified the supremacy of Morton. The rapid advancement of Lennox also alarmed the clergy, and they would now have inclined towards Morton. But it was too late; his fate was sealed. On 31st December 1580 Captain James Stewart, who shortly afterwards was made Earl of Arran, accused Morton publicly before the king and council at Holyrood of being accessory to the murder of the king's father, and on this charge he was warded, first in his own chamber at Holyrood, and two days later in Edinburgh Castle.⁵

This event caused great consternation in England, and the most strenuous efforts were made by Queen Elizabeth to procure Morton's release. He had always been a constant adherent of her government and policy, and as already stated, the influence of Lennox, now supreme, was greatly feared by her. Randolph was sent to Scotland as a special ambassador, and presented a strong remonstrance to King James against the practices and guiding of Lennox, made an earnest request for Morton's liberty, and offered both men and money to aid the king in freeing Scotland from Popery. Similar

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 457.

² Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 272, 289, 306.

³ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. i.

pp. 412-415.

⁴ Register of Privy Council, p. 322.

⁵ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 480-482; Register of Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 124, 125.

advice, as regards Popery, came also from the Prince of Orange.¹ It was resolved, however, that Morton should die. He had been transferred to Dumbarton Castle in the custody of Lennox, and towards the end of May was brought to Edinburgh for trial.

On 1st June he was brought before an assize which, it is recorded, was chiefly composed of men who were his enemies. The charges made against him were comparatively frivolous, except one, that of concealing the murder of the late king. Even this charge was only fixed upon him by a quibble, as there was no proof that he had any other part in the murder than a previous knowledge of it, which was admitted by himself. But Montrose and the new-made Earl of Arran carried their point, and Morton was condemned. Previous to his execution on the following day, he had a long conference with various ministers who reported his conversation, which took the form of a confession or denial of various crimes laid to his charge. He was beheaded on the 2d of June, and met his fate with fortitude.² His head was fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, from which it was removed by the king's order eighteen months later.³

Thus perished one of the most powerful members of the house of Douglas, and one whose character has found few apologists, at least among modern historians. In the preceding sketch, only the more prominent incidents of Morton's career have been touched upon, and it remains to give the estimate of his character handed down from contemporary authorities. He was undoubtedly, from a modern point of view, licentious, stern even to cruelty, and avaricious, and he has been represented as if he had no redeeming qualities at all. He himself, in a letter to his kinsman the Laird of Lochleven, refers to the charges of ambition and avarice made against him, defending himself from the first on the ground that he or any one occupying the post of regent, required not simply to respect themselves, but the king's place which they supplied; and as to the second charge, he remarks that it lay not in him so liberally to deal with the king's gear as to satisfy all cravers, nor could any prince or officer escape the blame of those who considered themselves judges of their own reward.⁴

A historian, not exactly contemporary, but who had good opportunities of knowing the facts, while in no way excusing Morton, gives this testimony as to his government: "The time of his regiment was esteemed to be als happie and peaceable as ever Scotland saw. He was wise, stout, and ever upon the best side. The name of a Papist durst not be heard of; no theefe nor oppresser durst have beene seene. But he could

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 488-501.

² *Ibid.* pp. 557-575.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 116, *note*.

⁴ 4th March 1577-8. Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 91.

not suffer Christ to raigne freele, the rebooking of sinne, but made oppositioun to the ministers of Edinburgh in publict. He mislyked the General Assemblies, and would have had the name changed that he might take away the force and priviledge therof; and no questioun [but] he had stayed the work of policie that was presentlie in hands, if God had not stirred up a factioun against him. Becaus he punished the most part of offenders by purse he was compted covetous."¹ The regent's execution calls forth this note of sympathy: "So ended this nobleman, one of the cheefe instruments of the reformatioun of religioun; a defender of the same, and of the king in his minoritie, for the which he is now unthankfullie dealt with."²

Godscroft has given a description of the regent's person. He was comely, of a middle stature, rather square than tall, having the hair of his head and beard of a yellowish flaxen. His face was full and large, his countenance majestic, grave, and princely; affable and courteous to all, he yet held a proper distance from those inclined to encroach. He was slow of speech, not from natural defect or impediment, but from a composed gravity, and his language "sounded somewhat to the English," on account of long residence in England. The historian adds, that the regent was "magnifick in his works and buildings, and not unliberal, neither unkind, nor unmindfull of his kinsfolk at occasions," with other words of eulogy.³ Godscroft also states that Morton set on foot the project of reducing the law of Scotland to method, a work intrusted to Sir James Balfour and Sir John Skene, Clerk Register. The result was, perhaps, the book known as "Balfour's Practicks."⁴

The motives which actuated some at least of the opponents of Morton may be surmised from the fact that three days after the regent's death, his estates were parted

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 395, 396. A similar statement is made by Mr. James Melville in his diary. In another place [vol. viii. p. 210], Calderwood states that it was reported, on the alleged confession of one of his servants, that Morton's hoard, concealed underground in the castleyard of Dalkeith, was 100,000 crowns and 36,000 pounds; at Aberdour, under a broad stone at the gate, four puncheons of silver; two stone of uncoined gold at Leith, and £60,000 besides. This is probably exaggeration, but it gives the popular view of Morton's wealth.

² *Ibid.* p. 575.

³ Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 357, collated with ms. Part II. p. 220. As an offset to Godscroft's statement may be quoted the words of one of Morton's enemies, Sir James Melville of Halhill, who says the regent was proud and disdainfull, ungrateful to his old friends and servants, and that he was slow and greedy. [Memoirs of Sir James Melville, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 260.]

⁴ Godscroft, *ibid.*; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 576; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 30, 31; vol. iii. p. 89.

between his rival Lennox and John, eighth Lord Maxwell, a nephew of the late regent, being a son of Beatrix Douglas, the immediate elder sister of the regent's wife. Even before Morton's death, however, and while he was still in ward, Lennox and Maxwell entered into an agreement as to their respective shares of the earldom of Morton, it being arranged that Lennox should obtain the baronies of Dalkeith and Aberdour, with the lands of Caldercleir, while Maxwell received the remainder. Some months later Maxwell was created Earl of Morton.¹

This arrangement had also reference to certain members of the late regent's family. As already stated, James, fourth Earl of Morton, married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of James, third Earl of Morton. According to Godscroft they had ten children, who all died young, but of these, three at least appear to have survived their father. Elizabeth, Countess of Morton, the regent's wife, about the year 1559, became insane, and seems to have sunk into idiocy. She survived her husband, and in July 1581, a jury pronounced her insane, declaring that she had been so for twenty-two years past, and the king issued a warrant for appointing a tutor to her and her affairs.²

That three daughters of the Earl of Morton's marriage also survived him is proved by the agreement referred to between Lennox and Maxwell. The former undertook to procure the raising of briefs of idiocy against the three daughters of the regent, and if they were proved insane, Maxwell was to be appointed their tutor.³

Besides his children by his wife, the regent had four natural sons :—

1. James, who for a short time held the Priory of Pluscardine in Moray, and had also an interest in the lands of Braidwood, in Lanarkshire. He was forfeited after his father's death, and restored in 1585. Godscroft states that he married Anna Home, only daughter of George Home of Spott.⁴ James Douglas, fiar of Spott, appears in the Privy Council Records. He was forfeited in 1592, and restored in 1603. By his wife Anna he had issue.
2. Archibald, who received the lands of Pittendreich in Moray. In 1569 he and his brother James received a grant of the Kirklands of Douglas. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Sutherland of Duffus, and had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, married to John Innes of Leuchars.

¹ The Book of Carlaverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 252 ; ii. p. 490.

² Verdict of Jury, 12th July 1581 : Original in Charter-chest at Terregles ; King's warrant, —1581 : The Lennox, by William Fraser,

vol. ii. p. 321.

³ The Book of Carlaverock, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 490. The names of the daughters are not given.

⁴ History, ed. 1644, p. 278.

3. Mr. George, who was restored with his brothers in 1585. Godscroft states that he was lame. He enjoyed a pension from the priory of St. Andrews.¹
4. William, who is named along with the other sons of the regent in 1555. He is not referred to by Godscroft, and his history has not been traced.

¹ Privy Council Record, 1603, vol. vi. p. 805.

James Regent



VIII.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, EIGHTH EARL OF ANGUS
AND EARL OF MORTON.

LADY MARY ERSKINE, HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARGARET LESLIE (OF ROTHES), HIS SECOND WIFE.

THE HON. JEAN LYON (OF GLAMIS), HIS THIRD WIFE.

1557—1588.

THIS Earl of Angus, "guid Archbald," as he is affectionately called by one of his contemporaries,¹ was born about the year 1555, and succeeded his father, the seventh Earl, when about two years old. His uncle, James Earl of Morton, as narrated in the preceding memoir, at once took charge of his interests as tutor, and seems to the best of his ability to have promoted the welfare of his ward. The claims of the young Earl to succeed to the title and estates of Angus were opposed at first by a powerful personage, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, only daughter of the sixth Earl of Angus, and his heir of line. On her father's death she assumed the title of Angus in addition to that of Lennox, and made strenuous efforts to obtain legal possession of her father's estates.² The fact, however, of her husband's forfeiture, which was pronounced against him in 1545, and still subsisted, stood in the way of Lady Margaret's immediate success.

Meanwhile Morton, who is said to have enlisted the good offices of Monsieur D'Oysel, the French ambassador in Scotland, acted on behalf of his nephew. D'Oysel had suggested to Mary of Lorraine, the queen-

¹ Diary of Mr. James Melville, Bannatyne Club, p. 178.

² The Lennox, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 430, 431.

dowager, then regent, that she should seize so valuable an earldom as that of Angus for her daughter, the queen. Something of the kind was done, for although, in November 1557, a gift of the non-entry duties from the Douglas estates was bestowed on Morton, a similar grant of the ward, non-entry duties and marriage of the heir was, in the following March, made in favour of the queen-regent herself.¹ Morton, however, whether by the French ambassador's aid or because the queen-dowager hoped to win him to her interest in her political difficulties, so far gained his ends that in 1559 the young heir of Angus, notwithstanding his minority, was retoured heir, and formally infeft in the extensive territories of his granduncle, the sixth Earl.²

The opposition to the young Earl's possession was not wholly withdrawn, but in 1560 Morton secured an alliance with the Duke of Chatelherault and his son on his own behalf, and they also undertook to maintain and defend the Earl of Angus against any action at law, especially against any action by the Countess of Lennox.³ Godscroft relates that in the end of that year when Morton was in England, he had an interview with the Countess, and prevailed on her to renounce her claim, but that as this was done without her husband's consent, the claim was renewed at a later date.⁴ In the following year, soon after Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, the ward of Angus was again granted to Morton, who seems to have held it for a time without interruption.⁵ In 1564, Queen Mary, on her coming of age, confirmed in the Earl's favour the charters granted in 1547 to his granduncle,

¹ Extracts of Letters of gift to Morton, 12th November 1557; to queen-dowager, 29th March 1558; in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Retour, 19th January 1558-9, vol. iii. of this work, p. 247, etc., and similar retours in Douglas Charter-chest; also numerous sasines in the various lands, dated at intervals during April 1559. From these retours and the

writs following thereon it would appear that James, Master of Angus, the son of the sixth Earl of Angus, and who died in 1547, was the last person infeft in the Douglas estates.

³ 31st May 1560. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 250.

⁴ Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 281.

⁵ Letters of gift, 8th December 1561, in Douglas Charter-chest.

the sixth Earl of Angus, and his infant son, James, Master of Angus.¹ According to Randolph, the English resident in Scotland, this was consented to by the Countess of Lennox because Morton and other friends of Angus were labouring to have her claim set aside on the score of illegitimacy.² But if the Countess consented on any such ground, she must have renewed the claim shortly afterwards when her son Lord Darnley gained the favour of Queen Mary, for the same authority, as stated in the memoir of Morton, refers to his dissatisfaction at the influence of Darnley. In the end, however, Morton gained his point, and a contract was entered into between the Countess, her husband the Earl of Lennox, and their son Lord Darnley, on one side, and Morton and his nephew on the other side, to which contract Queen Mary also became a party. This contract ratified the entail of the Douglas estates made by Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, father of the Countess, upon his son James and his own nearest lawful heirs-male, and renouncing all her claims, confirmed the title of the young Earl. The conditions of the compact required that Angus and Morton should favour the marriage of the queen with Darnley, as failing the marriage the contract became void, and as the Countess greatly desired this union she no doubt reconciled herself to the concession made to bring it about. A minor provision was that the young Earl should marry Jane Stewart, a daughter of John, Earl of Athole, but this clause never took effect.³

In the following year, during Morton's absence from Scotland after the murder of Rizzio, John, Earl of Athole, was appointed tutor to Angus. Under Athole's tutelage, Angus entered into an agreement with Margaret Maxwell, widow of his predecessor, the sixth Earl, and her husband William Baillie of Lamington, to pay 240 merks of rental to her for her terce

¹ 11th November 1564; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 565-571.

³ Contract, dated 12th and 13th May 1565, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 255-262.

² Keith's History, p. 268.

lands.¹ Action was also taken against Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, who had called a court of bailiary at Lintalee, near Jedburgh, as bailie of Jedburgh Forest, and he was summoned to produce his authority for such a proceeding.² In 1567, Morton returned and probably resumed his guardianship. In the Acts passed by Parliament in April of that year, Angus was named as one of the heirs in a new entail of the Morton estates, while the previous charter of his own earldom made in 1564, was formally ratified.³

This Earl of Angus, according to Godscroft, studied at St. Andrews under the direction of John Douglas, some time provost of the New College there, afterwards Archbishop. When about seventeen, he resided at Court with his uncle Morton, his education being conducted by a private tutor. It is said he preferred manly and bodily exercises to mental accomplishments.⁴ He was introduced into public life at an early age. When only twelve years old he took part in the pageantry of the first Parliament of King James the Sixth, by bearing the crown in state to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where the meeting took place.⁵ His name is inscribed first on the rolls of that Parliament, which ratified the Confession of Faith.⁶ Three years later, in July 1570, he is named among those who voted for the Earl of Lennox as regent. In August 1571, he again bore the crown, at a meeting of Parliament, from the castle of Stirling to the Tolbooth there, this time before the young king, then five years old, who rode "cled maist magnificentlie with rob royall."⁷ The youthful Angus was thus no doubt present at the

¹ Copy Lease, 20th June 1566, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Letters of Summons, 20th July 1566, *ibid.*

³ 19th April 1567. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 562-571.

⁴ Godscroft's History, ed. 1644, p. 360; ms. at Hamilton Palace, Part II. p. 222.

⁵ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 126.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 1, etc.

⁷ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 180, 242. A warrant by the Regent Lennox, dated 27th January 1571, postponing certain actions against Angus and his curators until the return of Morton from public service on the English Border, refers to the young Earl's

first sitting, which was marked by an incident trifling in itself, but to which later events gave a portentous significance. The restless fingers of the infant king as they wandered over the table before him, discovered a hole in the cloth. Turning to a bystander, he asked what house that was, and was told it was the Parliament house. Then said the king, "This Parliament has a hole in it." Angus probably watched the fingers and smiled at the remark, but the latter was deemed ominous a few days later, when the Regent Lennox was shot down in the streets of Stirling.

The young Earl is not mentioned in connection with this fray, in which Lennox lost his life and Morton was nearly slain, but he continued to attend the Parliament, and probably voted for Mar as regent.¹ He was in Leith with the other nobles while the siege of Edinburgh was prosecuted.² On the death of Mar, Angus became a supporter of his uncle Morton during his regency, and in January 1573 took his seat in the regent's Privy Council. This was during the sitting of the Parliament which ratified Morton's appointment, and in the "riding" of which Angus as usual bore the crown.³ The Earl's attendances on the Privy Council during 1573, were very few, perhaps because he was occupied by preparations for his marriage to the daughter of the late regent, which took place at Stirling on 13th June.⁴ Nor can it be said that his attendance on the Council was otherwise than intermittent for the next year or two. He had been appointed, in October 1573, to the sheriffship of Berwickshire and bailiary of Lauderdale, forfeited by Lord Home, one of the queen's faction. In July of the following year, he was made Lieutenant-general south of the Forth.⁵ The Earl also profited by the

recent attainment of the age of fourteen. [Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 64.]

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 65.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.* p. 324; Register of Privy Council,

vol. ii. p. 176; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 71, cf. p. 77.

⁴ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 334.

⁵ Letters of gift, dated 27th October 1573, and commission, dated 31st July 1574, in Douglas Charter-chest.

forfeitures of the Earl of Bothwell and Ker of Ferniehirst, receiving grants of lands which had belonged to them.¹

In reference to the Earl's appointment as Lieutenant-general, at so early an age as eighteen, Godscroft relates a dispute which occurred between Angus and his uncle about this time. The regent, it is said, when asked to appoint his nephew Lieutenant of the Borders, demurred to do so, as Angus was young, just come from school, and, moreover, he did not wish to risk him, the only heir-male of his family, in so dangerous an office. Some words passed between uncle and nephew upon the subject, but the matter was shelved for a time. Angus, however, considered himself ill-treated by the regent, a view which was fostered by some of his retainers, for reasons of their own, and he sent a deputation to his uncle to remonstrate against being treated like a child, and to make certain demands. These were, first, that the regent should give an account of his tutory of Angus; secondly, that he should answer for his disposal of the lands of Pittendriech to his natural son Archibald, and of a prebend in Abernethy to his son George; and thirdly, that Morton should restore the great brass pot of Tantallon, already referred to in the memoir of the sixth Earl of Angus as having been used as an impromptu charter-chest, and buried during that Earl's banishment in England. This pot, which also contained, it is said, the insignia of the Order of St. Michael, sent by the King of France in 1545, Morton, in the exercise of his office as tutor, had removed from Tantallon.

The regent, we are told, received the messengers graciously, as coming from his nephew, who, he said, had made him more sensible of his natural disposition and ingratitude than he was aware of. His replies to the demands were brief. As to the first, he referred to his care of the estate, and his

¹ Gift of Gerveston and other lands in the barony of Bothwell, dated 14th May 1574; Gift of Oxnam, etc., belonging to Ker, 31st December 1574, in Douglas Charter-chest; the marriage of the young heir of Branxholm was also bestowed upon the Earl, 7th June 1574.

success in opposing the claim of Lady Margaret Douglas, as a sufficient answer. To the second, he said, that the lands of Pittendriech were his own, inherited from his father. And for the brass pot, said the regent, I having had as much broth to put in it as he [Angus] this sixteen or seventeen years ago, fitter I had the use of it, than that it should stand empty in Tantallon. He then added a few words as to his intentions respecting his nephew and the earldom of Morton, and hinted, somewhat bitterly, that he would now please himself as to the destination of that earldom. The friends of Angus, alarmed at the storm they had raised, spoke in such wise as to pacify Morton, and on their return, advised their chief to submit to the regent. The earldom of Morton, they suggested, was "too bonnie a plack" to be tossed from hand to hand, or to be balanced against an Order of St. Michael, or a brass pot. Other advice they gave, which the young Earl took, and his friends again presented themselves before the regent with an ample written submission, of which they entreated his acceptance. He in return invited Angus to dinner at Dalkeith, and showed by his behaviour that his nephew was welcome. On their rising from table, the regent, followed by his guests, passed into an inner room, where, taking the paper, he handed it back to the Earl of Angus, with some kindly words, that he desired not it should be found in his charter-chest. Angus was much affected by his uncle's manner, and warmly expressed his gratitude, with promises of obedience, and the two were reconciled. Angus waited upon the regent, until in due course he received his appointment of lieutenantry. Godscroft's elder brother, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, was one of the deputation, and narrated this story many years later to William, tenth Earl of Angus.¹

In December 1574 the Earl of Angus received, at Dalkeith, a bond of manrent and other assurances of service from various Turnbulls and Ruther-

¹ Godscroft, *ms. History at Hamilton Palace, Part II. pp. 222, etc.* the *ms.* is interpolated, as if an addition, between pp. 222 and 223.

fords of the neighbourhood of Jedburgh,¹ and in the following March he was at Holyrood with the regent, in attendance upon a convention of the Estates. During the sitting of this convention, a somewhat remarkable scene occurred in which the Earl played a principal part. Some years before, probably in one of the constant skirmishes between king's men and queen's men, James Johnstone of Westerraw, a retainer of Angus, had fallen by the hands of the Hamiltons. For this affair, which seems to have occurred in time of truce, an "assythement," or satisfaction, was demanded by Angus on behalf of the relatives. This had been duly arranged, and Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, and Lord Claud Hamilton of Paisley, now the chiefs of their family, appeared to make public satisfaction. They did so in the palace of Holyrood, by presenting themselves there with bared heads and bare feet, and walking thus the whole length of the inner court, they kneeled down and delivered to Angus a drawn sword, holding it by the point, in token of submission. Several of their retainers made a similar submission to the Captain of Edinburgh Castle. This ceremony over, the Hamiltons passed to the regent's chamber where they were well received and entertained to dinner. They received letters of pardon on condition of paying two thousand merks to the family of the deceased, and binding themselves to serve the regent and Angus.²

From this date the Earl continued to attend the Privy Council, most frequently when the state of the Borders, of which he was Lieutenant-general, was under discussion,³ and in December 1576, while the Council was sitting at Jedburgh, he received a special charge against the marauders on the marches.⁴ Meanwhile Angus, who had now attained his majority,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 266, 268.

² Calderwood's History, vol. iii. p. 346; Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 346; Bond for 2000 merks, 7th March 1574-5; letter of pardon, 8th March, and bond of friendship same day:

vol. iii. of this work, p. 269; Douglas Charter-chest; Minutes of Annandale Peerage Case, pp. 136, 141.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 440-605, *passim*.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 572.

was appealed to by some of his own countrymen. Towards the end of November, a number of small Border lairds met at Jedburgh, perhaps during the Council's meeting there, and entered into a bond of manrent to Angus. Their reason for so doing was their want of agreement among themselves, laying them open to attack, while those they depended upon were unable to defend them. Finding in Angus a nobleman of ancient family, of full age, and with a large number of friends, possessing besides special powers as Lieutenant-general, they bound themselves to serve him in return for his maintaining peace and quietness in their midst.¹

The Earl's active connection with the Borders, however, dated from a period prior to the bond narrated, August of the preceding year, after which he is found in constant communication with the English wardens. The correspondence has been preserved, and gives a vivid picture of the chronic state of disorder on the marches, where the advancing civilisation fostered by the Reformation had as yet little effect. It is needless here to detail the story told by the letters, which chiefly narrate reprisals and murders on both sides of the Border. One gleam of light in the picture is the courtesy which the wardens exhibit towards each other, varied by interchanges of presents, such as hawks, hounds, and venison. It is also observable, that when making urgent complaints against marauding Scots, the English wardens do so in full assurance that the Earl of Angus will do all in his power to give redress. One instance among others is a letter in November 1576, by John Selby of Twizel, deputy warden of the Eastern March, for a special redress of some grievance, evidently that which called forth from the Scottish Council the special charge to Angus already referred to.²

¹ "A Band of the clanis of East Tiniotdail" etc., 20th and 21st November 1576, signed by twenty-nine persons, and a similar bond by Ker of Primsidloch, 24th November. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 272-274.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 208. The correspondence between Angus and the English wardens, from 1575 to 1577, with the exception of a few unimportant letters, will be found in vol. iv. of this work, pp. 199-233.

That commission was no doubt duly executed, and it was followed by others. In May 1577, Angus was appointed warden of the West Marches, as successor to John, Lord Maxwell, who delivered up the necessary books and papers.¹ The Earl seems to have continued on the Borders until the end of 1577, when the office of heritable Steward of Fife, and Keeper of the palace of Falkland, was conferred upon him.²

In the beginning of the following year the regent Morton had resigned his office, as the result of a strong coalition of the nobles at Stirling, on 4th March 1578. It would appear that Angus was either present or on his way to Court when the meeting of nobles took place, but he could not interpose on his uncle's behalf.³ Morton, however, relied on the assistance of his nephew at this juncture, and he received it in several ways. Though yielding to the king's will and the general voice against him, Morton insisted on receiving a full discharge and exoneration of his acts while regent. Angus was one of those who signed this discharge, and he also presented in full Council certain propositions made by Morton as to the new order of things, which were accepted. Morton also desired that, ere he delivered up the castle of Edinburgh, an inventory should be taken of all the Crown property therein. To this end he wrote earnestly to Angus, calling him "my lord and son," begged him to remain with the king as long as possible, and press the subject of an inventory, as, if the castle were rendered under a charge of treason, all the public treasures in it might be lost. Angus had meditated a visit to Douglas, but postponed it at his uncle's entreaty until this matter was arranged.⁴

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 275; Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 613, 618.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 276. He also received a gift of the marriage of George, Earl of Huntly, who had lately succeeded to his father, 6th December 1577. [Douglas Charter-chest.]

³ Letters of Morton, 3d and 4th March 1577-8; Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 90-115; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 115-118; vol. iv. of this work, p. 175. Morton to Angus, 19th March 1577-8.

Morton had not yet been formally relieved of his office, ere Angus himself felt the influence of the new counsels, and was required to resign certain of his appointments. Lord Maxwell was reinstated in his office of warden of the West March, and Angus was charged to deliver the castles of Lochmaben and Langholm.¹ Angus absented himself from the Privy Council until after the date when the Earl of Mar had seized Stirling Castle, and obtained the custody of the young king, when he became one of the sureties for Mar's due discharge of his duties,² and apparently aided in keeping the peace between parties, which was disturbed by Mar's action. The Earl then again absented himself until Morton's return to power, and he was present in the Convention which gave the late regent the first place in the Privy Council.³ From this date he supported his uncle's ministry in Council and Parliament, and when Morton's opponents appeared in arms, the Earl was appointed Lieutenant-general on behalf of the king, with full powers.⁴ He summoned the lieges to attend his banner, and marched from Stirling to give battle to the insurgent nobles, who had advanced to Falkirk with a superior force, but he was restrained by the advice of Morton. A duel between two Borderers was fought in presence of the two armies, but no other engagement took place. After keeping the field for one day, Angus retired by desire of his uncle, who probably thought the other party too strong, and on the 14th August hostilities were terminated by a treaty arranged through the English ambassador.⁵

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 678, 679.

² *Ibid.* p. 689. 3d May 1578. It is stated that Angus went to Stirling on this occasion at the special request, by letter, of the young king, but this was no doubt done at Mar's instance. [Moysie's Memoir, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 7.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 121.

⁴ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 1-12.

⁵ The campaign lasted from 10th August 1578, the day of rendezvous, until 14th August, the day of agreement. Angus was appointed on 29th July 1578; *Ibid.* pp. 12-22; Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 418-425.

For some time after this Angus took no specially prominent place in public, only attending the Privy Council at intervals.¹ In the spring of 1579, however, Morton began the prosecution and forfeiture of the family of Hamilton, and Angus appears as a member of the Convention of Estates which was summoned. The opponents of Morton, as well as his friends, combined to further the enterprise, and in the end of April the Privy Council enforced against the Hamiltons certain Acts of Parliament directed against Darnley's murderers, which had been held in abeyance after the Pacification of Perth in 1573, narrated in the memoir of the regent Morton. Under a special commission, Angus and others marched against the castles of Hamilton and Draffan, belonging to the proscribed faction. The campaign was very short; the two chiefs of the Hamiltons fled, and when the Earl of Angus summoned Hamilton Castle to surrender, it was at once yielded, while Draffan was abandoned by its garrison.² The Earl was present at a Convention of Estates in August, and at a Parliament held in October 1579, when much business was transacted, and ratification made of what had been done by the Earl himself and his fellow-commissioners.³

In September the Earl accompanied the king from Stirling to Edinburgh, and took part in the pageants and spectacles which greeted the young monarch on this his first visit to the capital. These continued for nearly a month; then the Parliament was opened, and Angus performed his usual part of carrying the crown. After Parliament was over, the Earl seems again to have absented himself from Court. He is referred to in public record only once or twice, in connection with certain Border culprits and other kindred matters, until September 1580, when he appears in the Privy Council,

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 23-56, *passim*.

² *Ibid.* pp. 108, 115, 146-165; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 442. The campaign lasted only

about three weeks, or from 1st to 22d May 1579.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 129, 160, 157.

which he continued to attend at intervals until the end of December. He was present and refused to vote when his uncle was accused and committed to ward.¹

The first act of Angus, after Morton was warded in the castle of Edinburgh, was to present a petition to the king in council, for the custody of his uncle's houses and property during his imprisonment, or until his trial. This was granted, and Angus made up an inventory of his uncle's effects.² He then devised stronger measures for Morton's relief. The late regent's two natural sons and several other Douglasses were ordered to leave Edinburgh, but Angus and the Laird of Lochleven were excepted, it is said, at the express desire of the king.³ Angus tried to secure that his uncle would not be transferred from Edinburgh, but failing in that, he assembled a force of about two thousand horsemen at Dalkeith, with the view of rescuing Morton on his way from Edinburgh to Dumbarton Castle. He lay in wait at the Braid Craggs to attack Morton's escort, but fearing that if he came to blows his uncle's life would be taken, he ultimately allowed them to pass unharmed, and returned to Dalkeith. A day or two after Morton's departure for Dumbarton, Angus received a visit from his father-in-law, the Earl of Rothes, who advised submission to the king. He refused to yield, unless hostages were granted for his safety, but this was denied.⁴

The Earl made this stipulation because, as he told his father-in-law, the destruction of his family was resolved upon, and events soon justified his words. He did, indeed, soon afterwards go to Edinburgh, and was well received by the king; but on his return to Dalkeith Angus took precaution

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 303-359, *passim*; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 481; Letter of Sir R. Bowes to Burghley, 7th January 1581; Tytler, vol. vi. Appendix, No. xiii.

² Calderwood, pp. 483, 484.

³ 17th January 1580-81. Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 348; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 484.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 484, 485; vol. viii. p. 211.

to transport the most valuable moveables from that place and Aberdour to Tantallon.¹ About two months later, the blow which had fallen on Morton fell on Angus, and he was peremptorily ordered to ward himself north of the Spey, or at Inverness. The reason alleged for this command was that the safety of the king's person might be secured.² A few days later proclamation was made at all the chief burghs in the south country, forbidding the lieges to assist or convene with the Earl, because the king was informed that he had been inciting men to rise and take arms for "purposes suspicious."³ This was followed by a declaration that Angus was guilty of treason for refusing to ward himself, and prohibiting all communication with him; he was also charged to deliver up to the king, within forty-eight hours, his castles of Tantallon, Cockburnspath, and Douglas. A number of Border lairds were also summoned, and compelled, in presence of the king and council, to renounce the bonds of manrent they had given to the Earl.⁴

The cause of this activity against the Earl of Angus was twofold. He was an adherent of Morton and a Douglas, whom it was necessary, if possible, to crush, as the Hamiltons had been crushed, that the party of Lennox and Arran now in power might feel safe. He was also believed to be in league with the English court, who were earnestly pressing the release of Morton. Randolph was sent as special ambassador to James, with instructions to use every effort on the prisoner's behalf. His mission was unsuccessful, not only because Morton's death was determined, but because Elizabeth did not confine her efforts to diplomacy. English troops were massed on the Borders, with provisions for two months, and everything pointed to an immediate invasion of Scotland. James and his advisers ordered a levy of the whole kingdom for service, nominally against the Border thieves, but really

¹ Calderwood, vol. viii. p. 486.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 365, 366. 18th March 1581.

² Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 365.
14th March 1581.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 367, 368. 27th March 1581.

to oppose the threatened attack.¹ Another impediment in the way of the English ambassador was this, that he held with Angus and other friends of Morton correspondence of a most treasonable kind. As it is tersely put in a pasquil or libel addressed to Randolph himself: "Last of all, what seditioun yee move, in moving two young noblemen, the Erles of Angus and Marr, to be howlets and nightingels who converse with you in the night."²

The import of these midnight conferences may be found in the English envoy's own letters and his account of his sojourn in Scotland. They show how active Angus was in behalf of his uncle, and how all his schemes failed through the treachery of his own relatives and friends. These plans were not lacking in boldness, proposing as they did the seizure of the king's person and the slaying of Lennox, Montrose, and Argyll. It is not clear whether this plot was originally intended, for so late as the 24th of February Angus attended a meeting of Estates, convened to give an audience to the English ambassador. To do this the Earl, who had hitherto kept aloof as a precaution against his enemies, received a safe-conduct from the king. His stay in Edinburgh, however, was short, as he was suddenly called away by certain intercepted letters which revealed evil designed against him by his own wife and the Earl of Montrose. Angus left Edinburgh in the night, found his wife at Dalkeith, and sent her home to her father, acquainting the king of the matter by the Earl of Mar, who was still at Court.³ After this, Angus absented himself from Court, and as, owing to the circumstance just

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 355, 393.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 509, 510; vol. viii. p. 211. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 96, 97.

³ Moysie, in his Memoirs [Bannatyne Club edition, p. 30], says they were "luif letters" which passed between Montrose and the Countess, their contents bearing that if

Angus were warded, the lovers might meet at pleasure. It is added, however, that the letters were said to be forged. The Countess of Angus, at this date, was Lady Margaret Leslie, daughter of Andrew, Earl of Rothes. She was afterwards divorced from Angus. The Earl of Mar was the brother of the first Countess of Angus, and a great ally of his brother-in-law.

named, the Earls of Montrose and Rothes became his deadly enemies, Angus seems to have been driven into correspondence with the English envoy.¹

The latter, in his letters to his government, writes as if he were not privy to the plans of Angus, but other State letters of the time show that an attack upon Lennox at least was fully entertained at the English Court.² The scheme was all prepared, and might have been successful, but that Lennox having his suspicions roused, seized Douglas of Whittingham, who, on being threatened with the torture, voluntarily revealed the whole conspiracy. Others, servants or dependants of Morton and Angus, were also apprehended, and by their means both the English ambassador and Angus were implicated, with the Earl of Mar and others.³

The ambassador therefore fell into disesteem, and beside the pasquil already noticed, had two bullets fired into his lodging. He soon afterwards left Scotland, and Angus was charged to ward himself as already narrated. This order, however, he disobeyed, as also that to deliver his castles. Besides the seizing of Lennox, Angus seems to have intended to join with the English army in an invasion of Scotland, and had gathered a force to that end, but the discovery of the other plot, and the departure of the English envoy, with the consequent retirement of the invading force, put an end to the Earl's hopes. His friend also, the Earl of Mar, became reconciled to the Court party, and Angus was left alone.⁴ The castles possessed by Morton had been rendered to the king, and Angus was thus deprived of their use. Aberdour in Fife, which had been committed to him, was transferred to James Stewart of St. Colm's Inch. Other proclamations continued to be issued against him from time to time, and some of his adherents were imprisoned, but the Earl

¹ Report of Randolph's mission in Scotland. Tytler's History, vol. vi. p. 488-491, 496. Notes and Illustrations.

p. 421.

³ Report of Randolph's negotiations. Tytler, vol. vi., Notes and Illustrations, pp. 488-492.

² Calendar of State Papers, Thorpe, vol. i.

⁴ *Ibid.*

himself remained at large, sheltering himself at a distance from Edinburgh, until the final tragedy of his uncle's death.¹

Angus was at Hawick when the news reached him, and he at once fled across the Border to Carlisle, believing that his life also was in danger.² From Carlisle he wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, thanking Queen Elizabeth for her former kindness, and expressing his constant attachment to her service. The Earl sends Mr. Archibald Douglas to explain on his behalf the reasons of his leaving Scotland, the disturbed condition of that country,³ and his hope of a summons to the Queen's presence. This was accorded, and he was well received at the English Court, and honourably entertained there.⁴ Among his companions in exile were the sons of Morton and several others of the Earl's own surname, with Mr. David Hume of Godscroft, and other personal attendants. From this point Godscroft seems to have been more or less in personal contact with the Earl, and in tracing his history we have now the evidence of an eye-witness. From Hume we learn that the Earl's courtesy and worth made him acceptable to all. But the best testimony to his character is the fact that he was the chosen companion and friend of the famous Sir Philip Sidney. The dispositions and inclinations of the two young men were alike, while they were nearly of the same age, and so we learn that as far as was possible, they were constantly together. Sir Philip was then

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 370, 372, 377-380, 387.

³ 30th June 1581. Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 177, 178.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 576. A few days after the death of Morton, the moveable goods of Angus were declared escheat, and he and his adherents were forfeited by Parliament in the following October. [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 96, 97; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 197-204.]

⁴ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 576. This historian elsewhere [vol. viii. App. p. 212] states that between the end of August and beginning of October 1581, Angus, with the Laird of Carmichael and others, made a descent on the borders and burned Langhope [Langholm?] and four miles round, carrying off the Captain a prisoner to England. But this statement lacks corroboration.

engaged upon his *Arcadia*, as yet only in manuscript, but the two friends were so intimate, that he delighted to read it to the Earl, who in turn was well pleased to listen.¹

Besides this special friendship, Angus found other pleasures of a congenial kind during his stay in England. He engaged in the courtly exercises of the day, tilting, riding, and such like. His chief delight, however, we are told, was to observe the fashions and policy of the country, the forms of government and the management of the State. All these he took note of, mentally comparing them with his experience in Scotland, and perhaps forming projects which were not destined to be realised. Godscroft also adds a glimpse of the Earl's inner life at this time, which indicates that he was more deeply and sincerely imbued with religious truth than many of his contemporaries, a state of mind which might well be fostered by the company of the noble Sidney.²

While Angus was thus engaged in England, considerable changes were taking place in Scotland. The administration of Lennox and Arran, who, in the absence of opposition, carried all before them, had gradually become the object of general hatred. For a short time, indeed, they quarrelled, and Arran even entered into communications with Angus.³ But a reconciliation took place, and the abuses in the kingdom increased. The nobility and the burgesses alike felt themselves defrauded of privileges, while the clergy were persecuted and their policy of Presbyterian church-government thwarted. To put an end to this state of affairs, the Earls of Mar and Gowrie determined on a bold stroke, and taking advantage

¹ Sidney was a year older than the Earl of Angus. His *Arcadia* was first published in 1590, when he and his friend were both in their graves.

² Godscroft, ed. 1644, pp. 361-363 ; ms. at Hamilton Palace, Part II. pp. 224, 225. In

the ms. Godscroft plainly states he was himself in attendance upon Angus on this and other occasions, a fact which is omitted in the printed edition of his work.

³ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 594.

of the king's visit to Ruthven Castle, while Lennox and Arran were both elsewhere, they and their friends seized the royal person, and inaugurated a new government. This was in August 1582, and the change of ministry caused much joy in the ecclesiastical world at least.¹ Arran was placed in ward, while Lennox retired to the west and ultimately left Scotland. The leaders of this Raid of Ruthven, as it was popularly termed, were all or most of them friends of Angus, who probably knew of their intentions and was one of the first to benefit by their accession to power. He came to Berwick shortly after the news of the raid reached London, and waited on the border for a formal pardon, which was granted in the end of September, though the Earl was commanded to remain within the bounds of Merse and Teviotdale.² The interest of Queen Elizabeth was used to gain this benefit for the Earl, and it was exercised to obtain for him greater liberty of action, that his influence might be used more effectually in behalf of the English Court. The influence of Arran and Lennox, especially of the latter, upon the King of Scotland, and their leaning to the Marian faction, had always been a great cause of anxiety to Elizabeth and her advisers, who greatly welcomed the change of government effected by the Ruthven Raiders. Communications between the two courts, which had been rare during the Lennox-Arran rule, became more frequent, and every effort, even to an offer of money, was made to strengthen Gowrie and his confederates.³

Among other means to this end, Angus bore a letter from the Earl of Leicester, expressing the English queen's opinion that the reforming lords were dealing too leniently with Lennox and his followers, and advising them to make the most of their opportunity to put the welfare of king and state on a sound basis. Angus was summoned to Edinburgh

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 637-640.

² 28th September 1582. Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. p. 426; Calderwood, vol. iii. p.

674. This permission included a residence at Tantallon. [Moysie's Memoirs, p. 39.]

³ Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. p. 425, *seq.*

in October, during the sitting of a convention of Estates, but as the forfeiture still subsisted against him, he could not take his seat in Council. It was at this time that Arran was committed to ward, and on the other hand Angus became bound not to pursue either Lennox or Arran for the death of his uncle Morton, nor to claim his uncle's estates.¹ A formal reconciliation of the king and the Earl seems to have taken place about the end of November, when the Earl entertained his sovereign and attendant nobles at dinner. A week or two later Angus was able to pay the last token of respect to his uncle, whose head was taken down from the Tolbooth, wrapped in a fine cloth and buried beside his body.²

The Earl of Angus, during the administration of the Ruthven Raiders, does not appear in the records of the Privy Council or Conventions of Estates. This was, no doubt, because he had not been fully restored to his estates, though reconciled to the king. As the Earl did not appear prominently in public affairs, there is less need to detail the history of the period, but the few references to him may be noted. These seem to show that though an outsider, he was consulted, and exercised some influence on events. Godscroft, whose sketch of this period is very meagre, states that Angus would fain have lived privately, but was frequently appealed to for advice and aid, while his relationship to Mar, Gowrie, Glamis, and the other leading nobles, drew him into their councils and company.³ Calderwood records interviews between these nobles, Angus, and the ministers, with whom

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 689; Godscroft [ms. Part II. p. 226] says that Angus "kissed hands" on 26th October. A precept was issued to the Chancellor on 1st November 1582, for letters of rehabilitation in favour of the Earl: vol. iii. of this work, p. 282.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 692. The king's warrant for taking down the head was dated

8th December [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 116 *note*]. The burial took place on 10th December 1582, the Laird of Carmichael carrying the ghastly relic in its covering, and "shedding tears abundantly by the way."

³ Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 368; ms. Part II. p. 227.

Angus was a special favourite. At one of these meetings the custody of Arran was dealt with.¹

The Earl was also present in Holyrood when a deputation from the clergy waited upon the king to remonstrate as to the visit of the French ambassadors. Their presence in Scotland and the Roman Catholic worship which they maintained, as well as the doubtful character of their mission, were matters of much anxiety to the ministers, who urged the dismissal of the envoys.² The king acted diplomatically in the matter, but the long stay of one of the Frenchmen doubtless had its effect on future events. Angus expressed his views on the subject by refusing to attend a banquet given by the town of Edinburgh to one of the ambassadors, M. de la Mothe Fenelon, who was leaving for France. This conduct of the Earl, it is said, offended the king.³

Angus apparently remained in Edinburgh during the early part of 1583. He was more or less in communication with the English Court,⁴ which continued to urge upon James the complete restoration of the Earl. This could only be done by a decree of Parliament rescinding his forfeiture, and at a Convention of Estates in April it was proposed to hold a Parliament. The king strongly objected; he even "burst out in teares," and only when Angus begged for a Parliament for his own full restitution did the king consent, on condition that it should not meet till October. Ere that date he hoped, in the exercise of that "king-craft" on which he prided himself, to bring about

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 693.

² *Ibid.* p. 697; vol. viii. p. 233. 22d January 1582-3.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 699, 700. An incident which occurred a day or two previous [30th January] shows that Angus was considered a chief mover in the events of the day. A pasquil was found in the church of St. Giles, written in the name of Huntly, Argyll, and other nobles, bidding the town of Edinburgh look

to the king, who was imprisoned in the abbey, and likely to be carried to England. Upon the back of this document a gibbet was drawn, for the benefit of Angus, Mar, and Dunfermline. A reward of £500 was offered for discovery of the writer of this pasquil. [Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 549, 550, and note.]

⁴ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, vol. i. pp. 432, 437.

a change of government. It was not without good reason that the party of Gowrie and the clergy dreaded the visit of the French ambassadors. The king had never willingly consented to the rule of the Ruthven Raiders, although he concealed his feelings until he could strike an effective blow. In a letter from the Earl of Argyll, written a few months later to an unknown correspondent, this is distinctly stated as the king's own mind, that he ever had great grief for the offence done him at Ruthven, and for what followed; that although he bore it for the time, rather to procure quietness than the ruin of any of his subjects, yet he never consented to nor was satisfied with his condition.¹

This statement is confirmed by other correspondence of the time, which also shows that at or before the date when James thus consented to hold Parliament, he was in communication with the Duke of Lennox, now in France, elaborating the plot for a counter-revolution. This was altogether apart from a scheme which was then engaging the diplomatic talent of England and France, but which James, though he amused himself with it, never meant to carry out, namely, an association or joint-government by himself and his mother. Queen Mary herself believed, or pretended to believe, in the possibility of such a scheme, and in an interview with an envoy of Elizabeth she stated as much, naming among the barons of Scotland only five who she thought would oppose it. Of these Angus was one, and of him she said that he "had never offended her, and she wished him no evil; but his surname never had been friends to the Stewarts, and she knew the king, her son, loved him not."²

King James was too fond of absolute power ever really to entertain the so-called "association," but the above statement reveals his feelings towards

¹ Contemporary copy of letter from the Earl of Argyll [address wanting], 27th July 1583. Douglas Charter-chest.

² MS. in State Paper Office, 17th April 1583, quoted by Tytler, vol. vi. pp. 351-353.

Angus. Lennox strongly advised the king against the party of Gowrie, including Angus, and to these advices James readily gave ear, as he hoped by the Duke's aid to regain authority of the kind he loved. In attendance also at the Convention of Estates in April were Argyll and Montrose, both attached to the party of Lennox, and with them the king no doubt concerted his plans. These meanwhile were kept secret, as although some counselled the immediate destruction of the Gowrie faction, James did not wish to lose the favour of Elizabeth, to whom he now despatched an ambassador, Colonel William Stewart, captain of his guard.¹ The principal objects of this envoy were to request money, and inquire about the king's right of succession to the English throne, and the progress of events in Scotland depended a good deal on the reply received from Elizabeth.

Hence, on the one hand, the king's objection to call a Parliament which, under the influence of Gowrie and Angus, might proscribe their opponents and frustrate his plans, and, on the other, his consent to its meeting at a date when his own friends might be in power. So secret were the royal purposes kept, however, that no suspicion, or only the vaguest, seems to have been excited, while divisions among the reforming lords weakened their power. In the middle of May the king declared his intention to "tak a progresse" from Edinburgh. To this Gowrie and others objected, but James carried his point, and set out on the 20th of May towards Linlithgow, on his way to Falkland. Angus accompanied the king, with Mar and Bothwell, of the same faction.² Argyll and Montrose, however, were also in the royal train, though no importance seems to have been attached to the fact.

The king was at Falkland when his envoy, Colonel Stewart, arrived from England. Following upon this came a letter from France announcing, to the king's great grief, the death of Lennox. The king's plans were probably somewhat delayed by this, but they must also have been encouraged by the

¹ Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. p. 440.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 713; vol. viii. p. 240.

Duke's last letter bidding James put away the Douglasses, and trust no more in Gowrie, Mar, or others inclined to the English faction.¹ The king's aim now was to reinstate Arran and his party, and he found in Colonel Stewart a willing assistant. Some rumour of impending change seems to have got abroad, but the king's diplomacy was such that he deceived even the English ambassador. So secure also were the reforming lords, that on the king's arrival at Falkland, they seem to have gone about their private business. Angus returned to Edinburgh, and then went to Tantallon.² Bothwell also seems to have left the Court, only Mar remaining near the king. On the 27th June, James went from Falkland to St. Andrews, where he took up his residence in the castle, and the next day was met by the Earls of Argyll, Montrose, Crawford, and Huntly, with their followers. The Earl of Mar hastily summoned Angus, who, in turn, sent for Bothwell, but ere the two Earls and their men reached St. Andrews, they were commanded by a herald to disperse their force, which they did, and the Gowrie administration came to an end.³

The chief actors in the Ruthven Raid had now to look to their own safety, but no special haste was made in taking proceedings against them. Angus and Bothwell, on the dispersal of their troops, had a personal interview with the king, who bade them quietly go to their own houses. Gowrie himself made submission, and actually sat in council for some little time after the fall of his party.⁴ In the end of August, however, Arran again appeared at court, and rapidly regained his former supremacy.⁵ Without touching on the fortunes of the other Ruthven Raiders, many of whom were warded in various parts of the country, it may be stated that Angus, after his

¹ Calderwood, vol. viii. p. 243.

Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. p. 448.]

² The Earl wrote to Douglas of Lochleven on 6th June from Edinburgh, and from Tantallon on 26th June to Walsingham. [Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 136 ;

³ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 715.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Register of the Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 574-590, *passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 592.

interview with the king, retired to Douglas Castle, and remained there some time. When the 24th October came round, the date at which Parliament was to meet as promised, the Earl hoped to be formally restored, but the assembly was prorogued, to his great disappointment.¹ He probably expressed his dissatisfaction in some overt manner, as about the middle of November he received a royal missive directing him to pass north of the Spey, and abide there during the king's pleasure.

The missive, among other reasons for the command, refers to the opinion that the Earl and others were "meddlers" in purposing a change of the court party.² The king professes that he has ever esteemed the Earl to be of a "good and quiet nature," inclined to obedience, and therefore out of goodwill desires to preserve him from inconveniences. The Earl is to remove himself to Morayshire within a month, and is urged to set an example of submission to others.³ Angus immediately proceeded to obey the order, and he was, for personal security, accompanied from Douglas to the Forth, by a few friends beside his personal attendants. This fact being aggravated by public report, the Earl's approach to Edinburgh caused consternation at Court. Drums were beat, and the citizens mustered under arms; the king, who was going out to hunt early in the morning, was warned that Angus, Glamis, and Mar were lying in wait for him. But when scouts were sent out to gain intelligence, the object of all this turmoil was met about two miles from Edin-

¹ Calderwood, vol. viii. p. 254. The English Court still took an interest in the Earl's affairs, and seem to have pressed his restoration, but to no effect. Cf. Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. pp. 460, 461.

² Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 749. This sentence refers probably to a conspiracy which was proposed or suspected to be aimed at those

about the king—but which was prevented by Arran's vigilance.

³ *Ibid.* The letter was dated 14th November, and the Prior of Blantyre, a Stewart, was bearer of the epistle. It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence, that on the previous day the eldest son of the late Duke of Lennox landed at Leith, and was well received by the king.

burgh, riding quietly along, with only his own servants, and they in half armour. Thus, as a historian remarks, "this feare was causeless."¹

After crossing the Forth, Angus and his party went first to Leslie, thence to Dundee, and finally, accompanied northward by the Constable of Dundee, reached Elgin in Moray, about the middle of winter. The Constable, out of affection and kindness, remained with the Earl for a time, until ordered to leave the country.² Previous to the Earl's departure for the north, an attempt was made by the clergy to reconcile the king and the actors in the Ruthven Raid, but nothing came of it. "Sweet speeches" also were made by the king to Rothes in favour of Angus, but they seem to have been mere words, as Rothes was then attending a Convention of Estates which declared the Raid of Ruthven to be lese-majesty, and denounced penalties against those who favoured it, unless they submitted.³ Other and more practical action was taken against recusants, and even the clergy were made to suffer for their adherence to Gowrie's faction.

From this and other causes, the administration of Arran and his adherents became so odious to all classes, that once more an association was formed against them, more powerful even as regards numbers than before. Those then who had been actors in the Ruthven Raid, bound themselves to resist the malpractices of the men in power, and that because of the miserable estate of the Kirk, the danger of the king's person in body and soul, and the confusion of the commonwealth.⁴ To this end it was arranged between Angus, Mar, and

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 759. This took place on 30th November 1583. Godscroft, who was with the Earl, states [ed. 1644, p. 369; ms. Part II. p. 227], that the scouts met him at the Key stone, about two miles from Edinburgh.

² Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 370; ms. Part II., p. 228. He and the two sons of the Regent Mortou, with two sons of George Douglas

of Parkhead, and John Carmichael, younger of that Ilk, were, on 23d January 1583-4, ordered to leave the country [Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 624].

³ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 751, 761; Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 611, 613, 614. Cf. Thorpe's Calendar, vol. i. p. 463.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 26.

Glamis, and their friends, that they should seize Stirling Castle, which was devoted to Mar, and from there make an appeal to the king and the country. Gowrie also was included in the plot, as his influence was very powerful both territorially and through his alliances. He was, however, on account of his ready submission to the king at St. Andrews, suspected by his friends, and Angus despatched Hume of Godscroft to Perth to meet Gowrie and learn his views. Hume found the Earl in much perplexity, but was satisfied of his sincerity, and so reported to Angus, who had now left Morayshire, and was staying at Brechin.¹

The conspirators, however, could not lay their plans so secretly, or bind their friends so closely that their purposes did not come to the knowledge of the Court. Angus himself at an early stage of the proceedings, was treacherously accused by one of his servants. Gowrie was seized at Dundee, not without suspicion of his own collusion, just as the plot was fully ripe. Proclamations had been directed against the chief conspirators, but on 17th April Mar and Glamis succeeded in obtaining possession of Stirling Castle, and Angus at once set out from Brechin to join them, sending to Douglasdale for his vassals. On the way to Stirling the Earl endeavoured to gather some of Gowrie's friends and others to the cause, but found them unwilling or overawed by his capture.²

At Stirling, the confederate lords issued a proclamation, studiously

¹ Godscroft, ed. 1644, p. 377. On 6th April 1584, a royal warrant was issued permitting Angus to leave his ward north of the South Esk and pass to Dundee, and thence out of the kingdom. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 27.]

² Godscroft, ed. 1644, pp. 379-382; Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 20-25. Cf. also p. 46, where a story is told (related by both historians)

how Angus wrote to Robert Douglas of Lochleven, whose mother intercepted the letter, and refused to allow her son to join the enterprise, which she denounced as foolish. Angus replied in a temperate manner, but with words of warning, which it is said were justified by the event, as young Douglas, of whose life his mother was so careful, soon after perished at sea.

respectful to the king, but protesting in strong terms against the misgovernment of Arran, and calling upon every man who feared God, to join with them in removing the evil counsellors of his majesty.¹ But while the document was still in circulation, they were compelled to seek refuge in flight. On 21st April they were summoned to yield the castle, and proclamations were issued for an assembly of the royal forces. These mustered so rapidly that on 25th April the king was able to advance at the head of about twelve thousand men, while the insurgents had none with them but their own friends. It was proposed that a sudden attack should be made on Colonel Stewart, who with five hundred men had marched to Falkirk, but more peaceful counsels prevailed, and it was resolved to retire as quietly as possible.

Thus when the king began his march he was informed that the insurgents were already in flight, and rewards were offered for the capture, dead or alive, of Angus and his confederates. They retreated southwards from Stirling towards Lanark, through Tweeddale to Branhholm, and by East Teviotdale towards the Border. Near Kelso they were joined by Bothwell, with whom they had a secret conference. Then, as though in exercise of his duty as warden, a feigned pursuit on his part, and a feigned flight on theirs, left the banished lords in comparative safety on English soil.²

From this time Arran was virtually the supreme power in Scotland, and he and his Countess manifested their pride and rapacity on all hands. The Council were obsequious to the favourite, and now not only the adherents of the banished lords, but the Kirk also felt his power. Gowrie, the first

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 27-31.

² *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33. The fugitives lost only one of their number in this retreat, Archibald Douglas, sometime Constable of Edinburgh Castle, who fell into the hands of the Laird of Johnstone. Douglas had no suspicion of

treachery, but Johnstone fearing the royal anger, gave him up and he was hanged. Bothwell was friendly to the insurgents, and had come to Edinburgh with 500 men, probably with a view to join them, but was forbidden the Court, and overawed by Arran's authority he went home again.

victim, was executed on 2d May. A few weeks later Parliament met and enacted measures against the Kirk, threatening its very existence by virtually overturning Presbyterianism and establishing Episcopacy. Assemblies and Synods were forbidden, and such penalties were attached to violation of these Acts that the clergy were driven to compromise or exile. In August another Parliament pronounced a series of forfeitures against the banished lords and their adherents, and the spoils went to enrich the partisans of Arran.¹

Meanwhile the banished lords remained in Berwick under the protection of Elizabeth, with whose ministers they communicated. After a short stay there, they went to Newcastle. There they were joined by James Melville, nephew of the celebrated Andrew Melville, and others of the exiled Scottish clergy. Melville, while at Berwick, was requested by Angus and Mar to come and act as their chaplain and at first declined, but when pressed by other ministers to accept the invitation, he consented. Under his charge the banished lords, and those with them, seem to have constituted a regular Presbyterian congregation, with office-bearers, religious services and discipline. This continued during their stay in England, to the great contentment, it is said, of the Earl of Angus. It was, indeed, at the instance of the Earl that Melville wrote the long paper on the abuses and corruptions of the Kirk of Scotland, which is given at length in Calderwood's History.²

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 197; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 332-373.

² Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 149, 150, 157; vol. viii. p. 270. Evidence of the Earl's satisfaction with the services conducted by Melville is found in the latter's own narrative [Diary, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 127], where he writes, "Gud, godlie, wyse, and stout Archbald, Erle of Angus, hes oft tymes said to me, 'Before my God, Mr. James, gif the conscience of the guid cause we haiff in

hand moued me nocht, and gif I haid bot as mikle of my awin leiving as might bot in this maner sustein us I wald be hartlie content to spend all my lyff in this esteat and forme.'" During the Earl's stay at Newcastle also, says Godscroft, he was very kind in supplying the wants of his fellow-exiles, particularly the clergy. Among others who, by their sudden flight, were put to straits, was David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, to whom Angus did a

Meanwhile the affairs of Angus and his friends became the central point of a long course of diplomacy between the English and Scottish Courts. The first Lennox-Arran administration, after Morton's death, had favoured France rather than England, but since the form of church-government in the northern kingdom had been so far assimilated to that in the south, Arran now made overtures for an alliance with England, where the true interest of James now seemed to lie.

The first step in this new line of negotiation was made by Arran himself in person, who met the confidential servant of Elizabeth, Lord Hunsdon, at Foulden, in August 1584. At their interview, and in the papers which passed between them, the association with Queen Mary already referred to was altogether repudiated, as also all Roman Catholic agencies or influences. Besides these necessary preliminaries to any practical alliance with England, there was a demand, somewhat veiled, but perfectly emphatic, that the banished lords should be given up, so strongly did Arran feel that his power was insecure while Angus and the others resided near the Border, and might at any moment return to Scotland backed by English aid. It was probably this which caused his change of policy. He evidently hoped that if he could show Elizabeth the possibility of securing a firm union between the two kingdoms by other agency than that of the banished lords, she might be induced to desert their cause.

Above the other exiles, Angus was specially obnoxious to Arran, who used every argument to prejudice Hunsdon against him, and led the Englishman to report that King James was persuaded that because of Morton's death Angus and the rest of the Douglasses had conceived a mortal hatred against him and Arran, and that if liberated they would conspire the death graceful act of kindness. Knowing that some few years, and insisted on paying the Erskine would not accept a gift of money, amount without discharge or reckoning. the Earl told him that the rent of certain [MS. at Hamilton Palace, Part II. p. 249.] tithes held by him had not been paid for

of both.¹ The banished lords made their defence through Mr. John Colvill, whom they despatched to the English Court.² It is unnecessary to detail the negotiations between the kingdoms, but that the Master of Gray, who at this time entered on his peculiar career, and was Arran's agent in England, directed his efforts against the exiles, is evident from the fact that they were requested to leave Newcastle and proceed to Cambridge.³

Angus and his fellows had no reason to fear for their personal safety in England, as, notwithstanding the activity of their enemies, they were in high favour with Queen Elizabeth, who wrote strongly to James on their behalf. She also wrote to the lords themselves expressing her goodwill, and her hope that, though her mediation had not hitherto been successful, the king might yet be brought to favour them. She recommended them to be reconciled to Lords John and Claude Hamilton, also fugitives from Scotland,⁴ and an agreement was afterwards satisfactorily concluded with Lord John, though his brother, who had made peace with Arran, and re-entered Scotland, held back. Lord John Hamilton joined with Angus, Mar, and Glamis in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, and also in the instructions given to Mr.

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 172, 174; Cf. pp. 171-188, where an account of the negotiations is given. Arran, it would appear, did not confine his hatred of Angus to words. In November 1585 a Borderer confessed to Lord Scrope, English Warden of the West Marches, that in the previous August he had various interviews with the Earls of Montrose and Arran, and afterwards with them and King James, who promised him a reward if he would kill Angus, Mar, and another Erskine. The man replied he had nothing to do with Mar or the other, but he would be willing to slay Angus, on account of a blood feud. He

received a gun with which to do the deed. and was to receive other weapons. He was to take his own time and way to carry out the murder at Newcastle, or any other place most convenient. [Examination of Jock Graham of Peertree before Lord Scrope, given at length in Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 239, 240; Original in Douglas Charter-chest.]

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 181, 182.

³ Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 241, 246.

⁴ Letter to King James, 3d October, and to Angus, etc., 10th October 1584; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 28-31.

John Colvill.¹ The order to proceed to Cambridge was given in December 1584. They wrote urgently requesting delay, that they might communicate with their friends in Scotland. But Walsingham replied that his mistress wished them to come at once, adding a friendly hint that things might have better success than they expected. They also found that their presence so near the Borders was hurtful to their friends in Scotland.²

They left Newcastle about the 10th of February, and proceeded leisurely to Norwich, which they reached about the end of that month, residing there during March. Before they left Newcastle, Arran, finding the efforts made to discredit them at the English Court not wholly successful, endeavoured to produce that result by other means. To Hunsdon, the English ambassador, he had accused Angus of plotting his destruction. This charge, however, though apparently proved by deposition of witnesses, did not obtain credence in England, but it was now repeated, elaborated with circumstances of a plot to seize and carry the king to some remote district, where the banished lords might obtain possession of his person. If need be, it was added, they were determined to kill his majesty.³ No sooner had this fresh charge been formulated, than Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Lord Justice-Clerk, was sent to England to press the matter, and demand the surrender or expulsion of the rebels. Angus and his friends repudiated the accusation, and when summoned to London in the beginning of April, and confronted with their accuser, they triumphantly cleared themselves.⁴ They also, though with what result does not appear, sent a profession of their loyalty and goodwill

¹ Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. pp. 489, 490. Draft instructions, 13th November 1584, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² *Ibid.* p. 492.

³ Deposition of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath, before Arran and others, 8th

February 1584-5. Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 345-347. Upon this evidence, which was false, Douglas of Mains and his father-in-law were hanged.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 352-366. A draft of the defence made by the lords is in the Douglas Charter-chest, dated 22d April 1585.

to the Scottish king. Amid their troubles and before their public trial the exiles were cheered by a most friendly letter from Queen Elizabeth, assuring them of her full belief in their innocence, and expressing the hope that their king would punish their accusers.¹ Besides this, no sooner had Sir Lewis Bellenden departed for Scotland, than the queen sent Sir Philip Sidney to the lords "to desire them to be of good comfort, and to assure them of her good affectioun."²

From this point the tide of fortune, which had hitherto set against Angus and his friends, began to turn. This result was not immediately apparent, but many things were working to that end. Arran's confidential agent, the Master of Gray, though apparently carrying out his employer's views, had proposed to Elizabeth a line of policy which would secure her a firm alliance with Scotland, with the overthrow of Arran and the return of the banished lords. Sir Lewis Bellenden also was drawn into the plot, which was elaborated with the utmost secrecy. Sir Edward Wotton was sent in May to Scotland as English ambassador, and so charmed King James by his personal accomplishments, and by the horses and hounds he brought as presents from Elizabeth, that in the end the terms of a league with England, offensive and defensive, were settled at St. Andrews on the last of July, to be afterwards ratified by Parliament.³ Moreover, by a dexterous use of an unfortunate event, the accidental killing of an English nobleman, Lord Russell, at a meeting of Border wardens, Wotton secured Arran's imprisonment for a time. Foulter means of overthrow had been suggested, but declined.

King James, indeed, stood by his favourite, and after a short ward in the castle of St. Andrews, Arran was allowed to reside at his own house of

¹ Letter, 22d March 1584-5, vol. iv. of this work, pp. 31, 32.

² Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 366.

³ "Band anent the trew religioun," 31st

July 1585; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 423, 424; Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. pp. 759-761; Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 372, 375-377.

Kinneil. During his absence from the council, his opponents, with the Master of Gray at their head, urged that the banished lords should be brought home, as their party alone could secure the final ruin of Arran, and a firm alliance with England.¹ Elizabeth delayed, hoping to induce James to give up his favourite, and conclude an alliance on other terms. A crisis, however, was precipitated by a rebellion organised on the Borders by the Earl of Morton, better known as Lord Maxwell. On learning this, Arran broke his ward and began to gather his forces, nominally against Maxwell, but really to regain his own supremacy. In consequence of this, the banished lords were "let slip," as Wotton styles it, and hurried towards the Borders.²

On their way north they were joined by Lord John Hamilton and others. They reached Berwick about the 17th October, meeting there Wotton the English envoy. They then, having laid their plans, marched to Jedburgh, passing a day or two by the way at Kelso with the Earl of Bothwell. At Kelso they were met by Lord Home and other gentlemen of his clan. From Jedburgh, where they were on 25th October, their progress seems to have been an uninterrupted triumph. Towards Lanark they marched to unite with the forces of Hamilton and Maxwell, and converge on Stirling, where King James and Arran then were. As they advanced through the country, they spread broadcast proclamations declaring their loyalty to the king in person, but denouncing his evil counsellors, particularly Arran.³

Their final proclamation was issued from St. Ninians, near Stirling, which they reached on the 2d November, pitching their tents in imposing array before the eyes of their enemies. Arran had hurried from Kinneil to be with the king, and resume the helm of affairs, and a day or two before the

¹ Calendar of State Papers, vol. i. pp. 506, 507.

² *Ibid.* pp. 510, 511; Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 381, who records that ere their departure,

the exiles held an "exercise of humiliation at Westminster, where manie teares were poured out before the Lord."

³ *Ibid.* pp. 381-389.

appearance of the banished lords and their forces at St. Ninians, a proclamation was issued against them and their adherents.¹ When this failed the king sent to the Earl of Bothwell, requiring him either to submit or to leave his comrades. Some assert that Angus settled the Earl's doubts by commanding him to stay where he was, others that the message only excited Bothwell's wrath.

There was, it would appear, a firm bond of association among the banished lords, binding them to support each other, and they were thus united in their counsels, whereas the party of the king and Arran were not. The result was that when, on the morning of the 2d November, an assault was made upon the town of Stirling, the attacking party encountered scarcely any resistance. Arran, seeing that defence was hopeless, made his own escape as quickly as possible. The town was almost immediately surrendered, the gentlemen there fraternising with the invaders, while Montrose and Crawford, who were Arran's chief supporters, retired into the castle, which was at once invested.

This state of affairs continued during the following day, the castle being in reality defenceless and provisions scarce, as the besiegers allowed no victuals to enter, except as much as served the king. His majesty then sent a flag of truce to Angus and his friends, and being assured of the perfect safety of his person, and of their own loyalty and obedience, the king ordered the castle gates to be thrown open. Another condition of surrender was that the lives of Crawford, Montrose, and others who were at feud with the banished lords, should be spared, which was at once conceded, to show that they sought the good of the State and not private revenge. On the 4th November, Hamilton, Angus, Mar, and others, were admitted to the presence of the king, who, making a virtue of necessity, received them graciously, and reinstated them in their former honours and possessions.²

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. p. 29. croft, edition 1644, pp. 404-407; Register of

² Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 389-392; Gods- Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 30, 31.

This revolution, effected without bloodshed, and signalised by the utmost moderation on the part of the victors, was joyfully welcomed by the Kirk and people of Scotland, and by the English Court. The restored lords at once assumed the reins of government, and for the next year and a half, until the king attained his majority, they were the acting ministry, the Earl of Angus being their acknowledged chief, though he refused to accept the office of Chancellor. It was this supremacy which pleased the clergy and the English faction, and it would appear that, so far as the Earl's power extended, they had reason to be satisfied. Parliament met in the beginning of December, and naturally the chief measures passed were in favour of the banished lords and other actors in the Raid of Ruthven, restoring them or their heirs to their full inheritance. Besides these acts, however, the league with England of the previous July was now fully completed and ratified, and the ministers and masters of schools and colleges, who had been exiled or displaced, were reinstated.¹

But the acts which had been passed in 1584 against the Kirk were not repealed, nor Presbyterian church-government restored, and this evoked murmurs of dissatisfaction from the clergy. The king was the chief opponent of redress, and the banished lords found it necessary to temporise, for as the Master of Glamis advised the clergy, "it was not expedient to thraw out of [extort from] the king, so addicted to the government of bishops, anie reformation of the Kirk for the present, but to procure it by time with his full consent and lyking."² In this state of affairs the Earl of Angus was throughout the steady friend of the Kirk, and the chief supporter of the clergy, but his single influence could effect little. A long conversation between the Earl and Mr. David Hume of Godscroft, reported by Calderwood, gives the Earl's view of the situation, and part of it may be quoted to show his position.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 373-422.

² Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 449.

The circumstances were these. The clergy were divided in opinion among themselves; Mr. Francis Gibson, minister of Pencaitland, preached a sermon strongly animadverting upon the moderate section of the clergy who had complied with the king's views, to which Mr. John Craig, a colleague of Knox, and now an old man, replied by a discourse against the exiled ministers and the stricter Presbyterians. This discourse formed the subject of the conversation in question, which related to the obedience to be rendered by subjects to their princes. Omitting the theological and political points of discussion, the Earl of Angus refers to himself thus: "Men think my place is a principall; and yitt so it is a principall, that there is not another as principall equall, or perhaps beyond it in respect of proximitie of blood even to the kingdome, if it sould fall out so: for no king yee know, can be so neere to me; nather therefore anie whom I sould, or will affect so muche." He then sums up in few words the character of his colleagues. Glamis he could not persuade; Maxwell's religion was doubtful; so was Lord Home's; Bothwell was a fickle personage; the Earl of Mar, though "loving, faithful, and constant," was yet unwilling to hazard too much. As for the king, he was not to be won except by gentle means—the state of the clergy was not what could be wished, but it could not be remedied suddenly, unless the king were forced, to which very few would consent. Hume replied only that some thought that his authority should be of greater weight. The colloquy terminated by Hume's handing to the Earl a paper by James Melville on the abuses of the Church and State, which Angus took, "and reading it withe a deepe sigh 'God knoweth my part,' sayeth he, 'I sall neglect nothing that is possible to me to doe; and would to God the king knew my heart to his weale, and would give eare to it.'"¹ By Melville Angus is spoken of as "the guid Erle of Angus, to whase hart it was a continowall grieff that he could nocht get concurrence," *i.e.* with the Presbyterian form of church-government.²

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 465-483.

² James Melville's Diary, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 151.

The prominent events of the remaining years of the Earl's life are comparatively few. In April 1586 he was made warden of the West Marches in succession to the Laird of Johnstone, and seems to have acted with vigour—the situation being complicated by the Roman Catholic tendencies of Lord Maxwell. In the following September a sum of £15,000 was voted by a Convention of Estates to pay an armed force on the Borders, and in November Angus received a commission as Lieutenant-general of the Marches, with command of the troops raised. He also received very full instructions from the king himself, and carried them out so promptly and energetically that at his courts held at Jedburgh in December, he hanged sixteen persons and took pledges for others, who were afterwards dealt with by the Privy Council.¹

About the end of 1586 the Earl was made the subject of a false charge by Lady Johnstone, to the effect that he resented the king's friendly dealing with the Hamiltons; but nothing came of it, except a warrant for the lady's apprehension.² The attention of the Scottish Court was directed to more important matters, the fate of Queen Mary being then in suspense, she having been tried and found guilty of plotting against Elizabeth. While her execution was still delayed, special embassies were sent from Scotland, and the Privy Council advised a voluntary subsidy to send envoys to Spain, France, and Denmark, to treat for the queen's relief, or for assistance in case of her death.³ This shows that Elizabeth's conduct towards Queen Mary had alienated even the supporters of the English alliance.

The excitement which followed Queen Mary's execution was taken advantage of by the former favourite, James Stewart, Earl of Arran, who suddenly returned to Scotland. Among other attempts to regain his

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 547, 602, 605; Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 101, 111, 124, 146; Instructions, dated 16th November 1586, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 285-290.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 108, 161.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 129, 136; Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 605.

supremacy, he accused Angus, Mar, and other actors at the siege of Stirling, of treasonable purposes against the king, and so far succeeded, that Angus was committed to ward in Linlithgow.¹ How long he remained there is not clear, but it must have been a very short time, as in the beginning of May he was present at one of those peculiar displays in which King James delighted. This was the formal reconciliation of feuds among his leading nobles, whom the king entertained at a banquet on Sunday, 14th May. On the following day, amid eating and drinking at the cross, the blowing of trumpets, and the exhibition of fireworks and other pageantry, the king and his nobles marched from Holyrood Palace to Edinburgh Castle, and back again, walking together in outward amity. The Earl of Angus joined hands with Montrose, and the others also were duly marshalled in the procession, while the guns thundered from the castle.²

The Earl of Angus was present in the Parliament held in the following July, and, probably by the king's desire, bore the sceptre, while the young Duke of Lennox bore the crown. In October he received a large accession of territory by a grant of the earldom of Morton, to which he was heir of entail. In March 1586 Angus had been retoured heir to his uncle, the late regent, but as Dalkeith and other lands were held by the young Duke of Lennox, the king's influence was opposed to Angus. In July 1587, however, Parliament, by a special Act, ratified to the Earl the lands and honours of Morton, and in October his title to the estates was formally completed, although he did not long enjoy possession.³

The Earl's last appearance in public affairs was in connection with the Borders. His services there were so valuable that in March 1587 his commission had been renewed.⁴ In February of the following year he received

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 157, 158.

Scotland, vol. iii. p. 472; Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. pp. 316-318.

² Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 613, 614.

⁴ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv.

³ *Ibid.* p. 640; Acts of the Parliaments of

p. 156.

also a commission of justiciary within his own territories of Douglas and Crawford Douglas.¹ Later he seems to have accompanied King James on a visit to the Middle and East Marches, and he was with the king also in a special enterprise against Lord Maxwell, who had recently attempted a disturbance in the south. The king arrived at Dumfries on 29th May so unexpectedly that Maxwell was almost captured in his house there. He escaped, but after an exciting chase, was captured by Sir William Stewart, brother of James Stewart, Earl of Arran. The king returned to Edinburgh about the end of June, after appointing Angus Lieutenant of the district, with special powers for demolishing certain small fortresses on the West March.²

The Earl's stay on the Borders must, however, have been short, though Godscroft apparently assigns to this date an expedition against the borderers at Tarras-moss, and a court held at Langholm, where pledges were given for good behaviour. The Earl's constitution appears never to have been strong, and a tendency to disease was probably fostered by the hardships he had encountered in exile, in wardings, and in warden-raids. He found his weakness increasing so much that he retired from the Borders first to Branxholm, then for a few days to Dalkeith,³ and lastly for the sake of quietness to Smeaton, a short distance to the north-east of Dalkeith Castle, where his aunt, the wife of James Richardson, resided. Here, on the 4th August 1588, the Earl breathed his last, at the early age of 33. His death was caused by a sickness, which, judging from contemporary accounts, seems

¹ Commission, 28th February 1587-8, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 236, 292; Commission, 20th June 1588, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 290, 291.

³ Godscroft gives an account of an inter-

view which the Earl, in view of his approaching end, had at Dalkeith at this time with the elder Laird of Glenbervie. It was a sequel to one between the Earl and the Laird and his son some months before. Reference to these interviews will be made in later memoirs.

to have been consumption.¹ Godscroft states that the Earl's interest in church and state continued to the last, and he never was tired of referring to what then engaged all men's thoughts, the sailing of the great Spanish Armada, which, at the time of the Earl's death, was actually in the English Channel, though this was not known in Scotland. The Earl's body was buried in Abernethy, his heart being conveyed to Douglas and interred there, by his own direction.² After an interval he was succeeded in the estates of Douglas and Angus by his kinsman, William Douglas of Glenberrie, while the earldom and lands of Morton went, by virtue of an entail, to the Laird of Lochleven.

It was, however, the Earl's hope at his death, that he would be succeeded by a son of his own, as his wife was then *enccinte*, and in his will he made provision accordingly. If the Countess bore a son, James Douglas, fiar of Spott—a son of the Regent Morton—was to act as his tutor for the earldom of Morton, while James Douglas of Torthorwald—a nephew of Morton—was to be tutor for the earldom of Angus. If a daughter was born, the Countess was nominated tutrix, as the estates passed to heirs-male.³

According to Godscroft, the eighth Earl of Angus was tall, and of a spare

¹ Godscroft [MS. Part II. pp. 248, 253] and Calderwood [vol. iv. p. 680] refer to the Earl's sickness as "an infirmitie and flux," a "consuming disease," and speak of his body pining and melting away with sweats. His illness was attributed to witchcraft, and one woman was apprehended on the charge of bewitching him, but she was afterwards liberated, as no one prosecuted. Agnes Sampson, a famous witch, who was afterwards accused and burned, confessed to melting his image in wax before a fire, not knowing that the Earl of Angus was the victim. He himself seems to have been superior to these superstitions, and referred

the event of his death to God. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 216, 230-247.

² Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 432.

³ The Earl's last will and testament, with accompanying inventory, is recorded in the Record of Testaments for the Commissariat of Edinburgh, vol. xx. His will is dated two days before his death. The amount of money and goods in his own possession at his decease are estimated at £3708, 13s. 4d., jewels, body clothes, plate, etc., being valued at £666, 13s. 4d. The debts due to the Earl, including rents, etc., raised the sum to £9533, 8s. 1d., but the debts due by him reduced the amount of his property to £4378, 11s. 5d.

habit of body ; his visage somewhat swarthy, but pleasant to look upon. His face was small, his countenance grave and staid, while his limbs were well proportioned and finely shaped. His constitution was weak, and not able to bear much fatigue, but his courage and resolution were of a high order.¹

All the writers of the period who refer to the history of this Earl describe his personal character in pleasing terms. Godscroft speaks of his liberal and bountiful disposition, of his uprightness and truthfulness, and of his truly pious and godly life, his humanity and sweet courtesy, which made him so popular and well-beloved that there were none who did not lament his untimely death.² Mr. James Melville speaks of the Earl as "fellow well myndit, godlie, devout, wyse and grave," and describes his attention to religious exercises.³ "The king," says Calderwood, "was wount commounlie to call him 'The minister's king ;'" and, according to the same writer, Angus was "more religious nor anie of his predecessors, yea, nor anie of all the erles in the countrie, muche beloved of the godlie."⁴ A recent historian refers to this Earl as "the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scottish nobility, whose modest and unassuming disposition and retired habits prevented him from taking that lead in public affairs to which he was entitled by his rank, and which those who best knew his worth and talents were most anxious that he should not have declined."⁵

The Earl's debts were not in themselves large, being chiefly servants' wages, but he charged himself with upwards of £1000 due by his uncle Morton. Among other items appear £100 due to Mr. John Craig, M.D., for medical attendance immediately before the Earl's death, while the apothecary's bill for drugs "employit on his lordship" for six months previous, amounted to £241, 3s. 4d. The Earl had a considerable number of what are described as "gentlemen servitors" in his

train, young men of good families who waited upon him. These each received a year's salary at the Earl's death, and he left £2000 to be divided among them and his other servants.

¹ Godscroft, collated with ms. Part II. p. 248.

² *Ibid.* p. 249.

³ Diary, Bannatyne Club edition, pp. 127, 128.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 680.

⁵ Dr. M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 113.

Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, was three times married. His first wife was Mary Erskine, a daughter of John, Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland. He married her, as already stated, on 13th June 1573, some months after her father's death, in the High Kirk of Stirling, when he was about eighteen years old. He had no issue by her, and she died within two years after their marriage, on 3d May 1575. According to a contemporary chronicler she was buried in the royal tomb at Holyrood.¹ The earl's second wife, by whom also he had no issue, was Lady Margaret Leslie, daughter of Andrew, Earl of Rothes, whom he married some time between 1575 and 1581. Reference has been made to certain "luif letters" between this lady and the Earl of Montrose. These were afterwards asserted or found to be forgeries,² but the Countess was divorced from Angus, about the beginning of 1587.³ In July of that year the Earl married, thirdly, Jean Lyon, daughter of John, tenth Lord Glamis, and widow of Robert Douglas, younger of Lochleven, who was drowned in 1583.⁴ By his third Countess the Earl of Angus had a daughter, Margaret, born after his death, who probably inherited her father's delicacy of constitution, as she is said to have died unmarried at the age of fifteen.⁵

Jean Lyon, Countess of Angus, survived her husband the Earl for many years, and as there is a spice of romance in her later history, it may be briefly told. After the Earl's death, when the estates and earldom of Angus were in dispute between King James the Sixth and William Douglas of Glenbervie,

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 334, 348. Mary Erskine is described as a "daughter natural" of the Regent's.

² Moysie's Memoirs, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 30.

³ Cf. a letter from her, dated 23d December 1586, referring to the proceedings against her, vol. iv. of this work, p. 238.

⁴ The marriage contract between Archibald, Earl of Angus, and Mrs. Jean Lyon, is

dated at Edinburgh, 29th July 1587. [Extract in Douglas Charter-chest.]

⁵ Godscroft, edition 1644, p. 360. Lady Margaret Douglas was, on 13th July 1590, retoured nearest and lawful heir of line to her father, Archibald, Earl of Angus; her kinsman, William, ninth Earl of Angus, having, in the previous April, been retoured as her nearest agnate and tutor. [Retours in Douglas Charter-chest.]

the Countess was charged with carrying away the charter-chest and papers from Tantallon. She did not deny the fact, and consented to deliver them up to the Laird of Glenbervie, when he was declared heir to the earldom of Angus.¹ It was also at a later date alleged against her that she had dealing with witches on account of some personal ailment.

Three or four years after the death of Angus, Jean Lyon married, as her third husband, Alexander Lindsay, younger brother of David, eleventh Earl of Crawford. Lindsay was a great favourite of King James the Sixth, who took a great interest in the courtship, and as the lady seems to have been coy, the king wrote to her more than one letter pressing Lindsay's suit. One of these epistles was written even in the midst of the king's preparations for his own marriage, and assures the Countess that he will duly advance Lindsay to match with her own rank, and provide him a living.² This was done on the king's return from his visit to Denmark, and the temporalities of the See of Moray were erected into a free barony in favour of Lindsay, who was also created Lord Spynie.³ He afterwards married Jean Lyon and lived with her at her castle of Aberdour till 1607, when he was slain. They had several children.⁴

¹ Extract decrees, 7th March 1588-9, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 34, 35. The king's letters to the future Lord Spynie were even more graphic. In one, written from Denmark, he says: "Sandy; we are going on here in the auld way and very merry. I'll not forget you when I come hame,—you shall be a Lord. But mind Jean Lyon, for her auld tout will make you a new horn," equivalent to "His auld brass will make me a new pan," in Burns's song. In another let-

ter, after promising the erection of the temporalities of Moray into a lordship, the king adds, "Lett this serve for cure to youre present disease. From the castell of Croneburg, quhaire we are drinking and dryving our in the auld maner." [Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 323; Letters to King James VI., Maitland Club, 1835.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 650-656.

⁴ Lives of the Lindsays, p. 324.



Archibald Earl of Angus

JANE countess of Angus

Margaret countess of Angus

VII.—2. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, NINTH EARL OF ANGUS,
FORMERLY SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE.

EGIDIA GRAHAM (OF MORPHIE) HIS WIFE.

1588—1591.

THE death of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, extinguished the male line of George, Master of Angus, the eldest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, commonly called Bell-the-Cat. The succession to the earldom of Angus now devolved on the heir-male of the eighth Earl, Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie. He was the eldest son of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie and Agnes Keith, daughter of William, second Earl Marischal. Sir William was born in or about the year 1532. On 14th February 1551-2 he was contracted in marriage to Egidia or Giles Graham, daughter of Robert Graham of Morphie, in the Mearns, and the marriage was to be completed before the 1st March following.¹ On that occasion he was infeft by his father in the barony of Kemnay, in Aberdeenshire, from which he derived his first territorial designation.²

He rose in arms in defence of Queen Mary in 1562 against Huntly, and

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 245-247.

² The lands of Drumlithie, in the parish of Glenbervie, were the earliest property of William Douglas. He obtained a grant of them in feu-farm from the chaplain of Drumlithie, Mr. James Reid, in 1549, but had a legal contest about them with the Bishop of

Brechin in 1552, from whose action he successfully appealed to John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Drumlithie was erected into a burgh of barony in 1571, and a confirmation under the Great Seal of the original grant by Reid was obtained in 1585. [Original Writs in Charter-chest at Glenbervie.]

acted, it is said, a conspicuous part in the battle of Corrichie, in which that Earl was defeated. Among those who had joined the royal standard were a number friendly to Huntly, and they, on the day of battle, proved traitors. Advancing to the fight they suddenly turned and fled, throwing away their spears, and attempting by the impetuosity of their rush to break the ranks of their own supports. According to Godscroft, the Earls of Murray and Morton, seeing this treasonable conduct, and despairing of victory with such troops, were about to leap on their horses and secure safety by flight, when William Douglas cried out, "No horses, my lords. We are strong enough for Huntly, and these men, though they flee, will not fight against us. Let us level our spears to keep them out of our ranks, and the rest will be easy." By this means Douglas prevented a panic, and his advice being acted upon, victory was secured. The traitors, finding their ruse of no avail, again turned upon Huntly's troops, and by their valour wiped out much of the disgrace of their treason.¹ Several years after this battle, William Douglas joined, with other barons of the Mearns, in a bond to the Master of Marischal, as lieutenant of the district, against George, Earl of Huntly, who was the champion of the Roman Catholic interest in Scotland at this time.²

In 1570, he succeeded his father as third Laird of Glenbervie. A few years later he was served heir of line to his grandfather, Sir William Douglas, first Laird of Glenbervie.³ As a northern baron he maintained a steadfast loyalty to King James, and after the pacification in 1573 between the partisans of that king and those of Queen Mary, he joined in a bond to the

¹ Godscroft's History, edition 1644, p. 284. Knox and Calderwood both ascribe this advice to the Laird of Pitarrow, the Master of Lindsay, and the Tutor of Pitcur, but say nothing of any purpose of flight on the part of either Murray or Morton. [Knox's History, Laing's

edition, vol. ii. p. 356; Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 193.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 265. 16th March 1568.

³ July 30th, 1575. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 270.

king and the Regent Morton for the preservation of the public quiet.¹ There is no evidence, however, of his having taken any active part in the civil warfare of the period, probably on account of bodily weakness. In a licence granted by the king to him and his wife to eat flesh during the Lenten season of 1578, he is mentioned as subject to sickness and disease of body.² In 1584, he was dealt with as one of the friends of the "banished lords," and ordered to render his two houses of Braidwood and Glenbervie into the king's hands.³

Godscroft narrates that when Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, perceived his death approaching, he sent on two occasions for the Laird of Glenbervie to commune with him concerning the succession. On the first occasion Glenbervie was accompanied to Dalkeith by his eldest son, who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and the Earl, for the most part, dealt with the young man on this question. When summoned the second time to Dalkeith, Glenbervie went alone, and though unable to inform the Earl of any change in the religious opinions of his son, pleaded that no obstinacy on his son's part should prejudice his own rights. Angus replied that as the young man's will could not be forced, he had resolved to leave his possessions as he found them, the earldom of Angus to the laird of Glenbervie, and the earldom of Morton to the laird of Lochleven.⁴

Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie wrote to several noblemen and gentlemen to be present in Edinburgh at his service as heir to the Angus estates in January 1588-9,⁵ but his claim to the earldom was opposed by King James the Sixth, who raised an action against him before the lords of Session. The king took so great an interest in the case that, during its progress, he personally attended court, though he was represented by his advocate, Mr. David Macgill of Nisbet. The king demanded the reduction of the three

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. ii. p. 400.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 24.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 663.

⁴ Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. pp. 247, 253, 254.

⁵ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 239, 240.

entails made by Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, in 1547, and of all subsequent relative documents and action taken upon them, so that he, as heir of line of that earl, might enjoy the Douglas estates. Such entails, he alleged, by establishing the right of succession in the persons of heirs-male and of provision, and excluding the heirs-general, lineal and lawful, were expressly against the law of God, the law of man and the law of nature, and the entails in question had been to the great grief and hurt of the king's dearest mother's conscience, and the prejudice of the lineal successors of Earl Archibald, from Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, to King James himself. These entails, he asserted, granted by Queen Mary during her infancy, were annulled by her act of revocation in 1555, and so, being dead by that act, could never have been revived by any subsequent confirmation. He further argued that these entails bore to have proceeded upon a resignation by the sixth Earl of Angus, and the king was in a position to prove that that Earl had never actually denuded himself of the lands, and that consequently the later procedure was informal and null.

The Laird of Glenbervie was represented by Mr. John Sharp and Mr. William Oliphant, well-known counsel of the time, while Mr. John Skene appeared for Dame Jean Lyon, the Countess of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, and her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas. Mr. Sharp's replies to the pleadings for the king were so conclusive that the court heard no more. He adduced instances to show that the entailing of estates to male heirs exclusively, especially in the case of great vassalries, as duchies and earldoms, was neither against the law of God nor the law of nations. He proved that by special consent of Queen Mary, her mother the queen-dowager, and Parliament, the entails in question had been specially exempted from the revocation made by Queen Mary, and twice publicly ratified by her in Parliament after her majority—in 1564 and 1567. He showed that, by virtue of these entails, the late Earl had been in undisputed possession of



the earldom for thirty years, and finally, that the predecessors of the king, from whom he held his standing in the case, had, with one consent, renounced all claim to the earldom, and ratified the entails. On these grounds the lords of Session dismissed the king's claim.¹

Godscroft relates that, for the express purpose of preventing the Laird of Glenbervie obtaining access to the documents required to support his claim, the principal charter-chest of the earldom was retained in the king's interest, by Dame Jean Lyon, widow of the eighth Earl of Angus, and placed by that lady in the hands of Alexander Lindsay,² who gave it to the king's advocate. He also states that Mr. John Maitland of Thirlestane, then Chancellor of Scotland, kept back the registers from the Laird of Glenbervie.³ The retention of the charter-chest by the Countess of Angus is corroborated by other decreets of the Lords of Session, issued on the same day as the question of the earldom was decided. Both the king and the Laird of Glenbervie laid claim to the muniments, and the Countess was ordered to render them to the latter.⁴

Notwithstanding the unanimous decision of the lords against him, the king exacted from the Laird of Glenbervie in return for a formal renunciation of his claim, the sum of thirty-five thousand merks, and the resignation of the lands of Braidwood in Douglasdale. Glenbervie deemed it expedient to consent to these terms rather than incur the royal displeasure, and the terms of the agreement were embodied in a formal contract drawn up on the day

¹ Extract Decreet, dated 7th March 1588-9, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Mr. Alexander Lindsay, afterwards Lord of Spynie, a favourite of King James. Before the close of the year 1589 James endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between Lindsay and the Countess [vol. iv. of this work, pp. 34, 35], which was afterwards celebrated.

³ MS. History, Part II. pp. 254, 255.

⁴ Extract Decreeets, dated 7th March 1588-9, in Douglas Charter-chest. One of them contains an inventory of the contents of the detained Charter-chest. She had evidently rendered it before the 20th of that month, as on that day she granted a receipt for a few documents retained. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 240.]

of the decision of the case.¹ This charge and the expenses incurred in the defence of his right, were a serious burden on the Earl during his short-lived enjoyment of the earldom, and forced him to obtain licence from the king to alienate to his son Robert, the baronies of Douglas and Crawford Douglas, and temporarily to mortgage many of the other lands of the earldom.²

In the month of April 1589, William, Earl of Angus, assembled his followers, and accompanied the king to Aberdeen against Huntly and others who had risen in rebellion. The rising, however, was suppressed without bloodshed, although a large force had been collected and massed at the Bridge of Dee, to bar the king's progress. Angus and Lord Hamilton were the principal in command under the king.³ Godscroft relates an incident which happened during the king's stay in Aberdeen, and which nearly occasioned a serious dissension in the royal camp. Angus was about to enter the king's chamber, for the purpose of seeking an interview, when Lord Hamilton came up for the same object. A dispute arose as to precedence, and as Angus had opened the door, even within the privy chamber itself the disputants passed from words to "grips." Hearing the tumult, King James

¹ This contract is referred to in various discharges in the Douglas Charter-chest for portions of the sum exacted, and was ratified by James in Parliament in 1592. [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 588; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 292-294.] These discharges show the method James took of getting payment from the Earl. For the most part the king borrowed money from his courtiers and sent them to the Earl to get repaid. Godscroft and Calderwood state the sum received by the king as 40,000 merks; but this may include a sum of 5000 merks which the former states the chancellor claimed and received as his fee.

Maitland also got the lands of Braidwood, which the Earl by an additional obligation, dated 22d March 1588-9, pledged himself to make over and warrant to Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, and his spouse, Dame Jean Fleming, to whom the king had granted the lands, in conjunct fee. [Douglas Charter-chest.]

² Original licence under the Privy Seal, dated at Dalkeith, 12th March 1590-91, in Douglas Charter-chest. The Earl was infest in the lands of the Earldom in March, April, and May 1589. [Old Inventories in Douglas and Glenbervie Charter-chest.]

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. p. 374.

came hastily out of his bed-chamber, commanded silence, and having ascertained the cause of the dispute, made both the barons join hands and drink together. Meanwhile news of the quarrel had got abroad, the Earl's sons and retainers ran to his assistance, procured hammers, and in great fury threatened to break open the doors of the house, especially when they saw that the guard had been strengthened. But the tumult was ended by the Earl looking out at a window and assuring them of his safety.¹

The same historian states that when King James was about to return to Edinburgh he found himself short of money. Chancellor Maitland suggested that, from the influence of the Earl of Angus in the district, he was the most likely instrument for procuring a supply, and urged the king to deal personally and familiarly with the Earl for that end. Sending for him and Sir John Carmichael, who was Captain of the King's Guard, James praised the Earl for his good and special service in this crisis, and desired him to crown the same by obtaining for him two thousand pounds to enable him to pursue his journey home. Angus reminded the king of the large sums of money he had just paid into the Treasury and to others by the king's command, and deplored his inability to perform what his mind had such a readiness to do. Sir John Carmichael supported the king by pointing out to the Earl how honoured he was in being selected by his majesty for such a piece of service, and, if he were not personally able, he had many honourable friends about him who would supply the deficiency. At length the Earl consented to obtain the money from the town of Aberdeen, and was profusely thanked by the king, who added many fair promises of good deeds as occasion offered.²

¹ Godscroft, ms. History, Part II. p. 259.

² *Ibid.* p. 260. To recover this money the Town-Council of Aberdeen carried on legal proceedings against William, tenth Earl of Angus, and his son, William, eleventh Earl, from 1592 till 1612, but these were always

arrested by the king, who acknowledged receiving and using the money, but delayed repayment until 1612. [Letter by King James the Sixth to the Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor, vol. iv. of this work; Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. v. pp. 82, 116, 136.]

Francis, Earl of Bothwell, had taken part in Huntly's insurrection, and for so doing was brought to trial and forfeited. The Earl of Angus was chancellor of the assize which convicted him, and, after the trial, he protested in Parliament that the forfeiture should not be to his prejudice in respect of the lordship of Bothwell. Before being brought to trial the forfeited Earl was imprisoned in the castle of Tantallon, lent for the purpose by Angus at the king's request, but he was afterwards incarcerated in Edinburgh Castle.¹

On the departure of King James to bring home his Danish bride, the Earl of Angus was appointed with others to make his residence in Edinburgh for every alternate fifteen days until the king's return. It was thus secured that the government would be carried on by the Privy Council during the king's absence.² About the same time he received a commission of justiciary in Douglasdale for seven years.³ When the king returned, Angus was present at the coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark, and carried the sword of state before her majesty.⁴

About the middle of July 1590, the Earl of Angus was imprisoned by the king for a fortnight. Mr. Alexander Lindsay, the favourite of King James, afterwards Lord Spynie, had attempted the arrest of one of the Earl's servants, which the Earl resisted, as Lindsay could produce no warrant from the king. On account of the tumult which was thus raised at the door of the Tolbooth James ordered the Earl's imprisonment. He was liberated, however, before the 1st of August.⁵ A few days later he attended the meeting of the General

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 537, 538. Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. p. 389 ; 2d June 1589.

² *Ibid.* p. 425.

³ Original Commission, dated 2d October 1589, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 96.

⁵ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 579, 580. In a letter to Thomas, Lord Boyd, dated 2d August 1590, the Earl refers to an action then pending between himself and the king, the nature of which is not disclosed. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 242.]

Assembly, when a sentence of excommunication which Mr. John Leverence, minister of Douglas, had pronounced against him for conniving at the profanation of the Lord's day in that parish, was reduced. The minister was censured for his rashness in pronouncing the sentence, and ordained publicly to admit his fault, while the Earl was admonished to be more careful of his servants and tenants, and required to hold a court in Douglas on the matter.¹

Owing to the continued adherence of his eldest son to the Roman Catholic faith, the Earl proposed to devolve the earldom on his son, George Douglas. But he died before his father, and the Earl was reconciled to his eldest son. The Earl also provided for his other children, and desired the Master of Angus to place his brother, Robert, in possession of the barony and title of Glenbervie. In April 1591, when purposing to leave Glenbervie for more southerly parts, the Earl fell sick of fever, and died on 1st July following, at the ancestral residence. He had been summoned by the king to Edinburgh to assist in the administration of justice, but feeling unable to travel, wrote urgently to William, Earl of Morton, with whom he maintained close friendship, to attend for him.² He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the Douglas aisle in the church of Glenbervie.³ His countess, who survived him, and was still alive in 1606, erected a monument over the grave,⁴ upon which, along with inscriptions which mark the spot as the resting-place of former lairds of Glenbervie, she inscribed the following epitaph to her husband and herself:—

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 99, 105; Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 323.

² Letter, dated 8th April 1591, vol. iv. of this work, p. 187.

³ Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. p. 261.

⁴ This monument consists of a sarcophagus, on the top of which are inscribed the epitaphs of the Earl and Countess, while the front bears

the Douglas and Graham arms, surrounded by Scriptural mottoes. Above the sarcophagus is a mural tablet, on which is inscribed a brief genealogical table, dating back to the year 730, of previous lairds of Glenbervie, and some of their achievements. The tablet, which is surmounted by sculptured figures, also bears shields of arms of the different families named.

as parson of Glenbervie, but died without issue before 1591, when his uncle, Mr. James Douglas, was parson of Glenbervie.

6. Mr. Gavin Douglas, who is mentioned in 1606 as co-partioner with his brother John of the lands of Barras, and was ancestor of the family of Douglas of Bridgeford in the Mearns.
7. Mr. John Douglas, mentioned in 1599 as of Corsbatt, and heir of conquest of his brother Francis in the lands of Wardropertoun and Pitskellie, in the parish of Glenbervie. He is also designed "of Tannachy" in the same year, showing that he was then heir also of his brother Henry.¹ He married and had issue.
8. Francis Douglas, who was alive in 1600, but according to Godscroft, died without issue at Rome, and was honourably interred there in the church of Santa Maria del Po polo.
9. Henry Douglas of Tannachy. He is described as brother to William, tenth Earl of Angus, on 26th January 1591-2, when he witnessed an assignation by his brother Robert.² He died on 5th October 1595, having made his will on the previous day, in which he nominated his mother, Dame Giles Graham, as his executor, and bequeathed 1000 merks to his brother Robert.³

The daughters were—

1. Margaret, who married William Forbes of Monymusk, and had issue.
2. Jean, who married, contract dated 31st May 1576, John Wishart of Balisycht, nephew and heir-apparent of Sir John Wishart of Pittarro.
3. Elizabeth, who married, before 1581, Thomas Gordon, fiar of Cluny.
4. Sarah, who married first, contract dated 4th and 5th April 1586, Robert, eldest son of Alexander Strachan, fiar of Thornton; and secondly, before 1597, George Auchinleck of Balmanno.

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 626.

² Original in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Commissariat Records of Edinburgh.



Thomas of Tonbarro Martin
Sand

Tonbarro
Sand



VIII.—2. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, TENTH EARL OF ANGUS.

ELIZABETH OLIPHANT, HIS COUNTESS.

1591—1611.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, the eldest son of the ninth Earl of Angus, was born about the year 1554. Part of his education was obtained at the university of St. Andrews, on leaving which, in 1575, at the age of twenty-one, he entered the service of his kinsman, the Regent Morton, with whom he continued for two years. He then passed into France, to the court of King Henry the Third, in order to acquire those knightly accomplishments for which the court of France was famous, and remained at Paris until April 1580. But while he returned adorned with many manly virtues, he entered his native land with a mind entirely changed in regard to the religious impressions of his youth. He was frequently present at the sermons and theological discussions of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and by means of them he is said to have been entirely convinced of the falsity of the Protestant religion.¹

At this era in Scottish history the profession of the Roman Catholic religion, especially by a titled or landed gentleman, was fraught with the utmost danger. This change of religious convictions on the part of the young laird of Glenbervie was therefore viewed with much concern by his relatives, most of all by his father, who, in order to win him back to the

¹ Decree of Reduction against Glenbervie, 15th March 1600, in Douglas Charter-chest. Bonillart's *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés*, 1724, p. 215.

reformed faith, arranged for his marriage with a young lady of the Protestant persuasion, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Laurence, Lord Oliphant. The marriage took place between April and June 1585, but instead of the desired result being attained, this Earl is said to have ultimately drawn his wife to the profession of the same religion as himself.¹ They resided at first in the burgh of Aberdeen, and on one occasion were invaded by the students of the university there, whose anger was roused by seeing the young laird engaged in some rites of his religion. The students desired summarily to abolish these "dregs of superstition," and ere the tumult was appeased blood had been shed on both sides.

As already stated in previous memoirs, both the eighth Earl of Angus and this Earl's father, in view of the probable succession of William Douglas to the earldom of Angus, endeavoured to dissuade him from persisting in a faith which, among other things, rendered him obnoxious to the laws of his country. But their efforts were unavailing, and at length the father was provoked to look with displeasure on his eldest son, and to meditate disinheriting him in favour of his next brother then living. This, indeed, seemed to be a necessary step for preserving the estates from forfeiture. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie had succeeded only after enormous expense in securing his recognition as ninth Earl of Angus, and already his eldest son, the Master of Angus, was under the ban of the kirk, and had been ordered by the Privy Council to quit the kingdom on account of his religion. By his mother's influence, however, seconded by the counsels of friends of the family, the Master of Angus was restored to his father's favour, who consented to regard the case of his son as one of conscience, in which he could not command.

¹ The contract of marriage is dated 12th April, and provides that the marriage should take place before 24th June. Elizabeth Oliphant was to be infet in Meikle Barras

and Bridgeford, and brought with her a tocher of eight thousand merks. [Register of Deeds, Lib. xxiv. fol. 447, in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.]

The Master did not at this time leave the country, being unable to find a ship which could convey him to the French or Dutch coasts. He took instruments in the hands of notaries that he had used all possible diligence to obey the royal commands, but without success.¹ A year later he was again dealt with as a Jesuit and an excommunicated person, and ordered to ward under pain of death, while in May 1591 he appeared before the Privy Council and was decerned to have incurred the penalties of forfeiture. Calderwood says he was accused of distributing foreign gold to levy soldiers, but he denied the allegation, although the king, with great protestations, affirmed his belief in its truth. An uncle, Alexander Guthrie, fiar of Kincaidrum, became security on this occasion that the Master would within four days ward himself in Dundee, and go abroad within forty days.²

But just at this juncture the Earl, his father, was seized with his fatal sickness, and the Master remained in the country abiding the issue. The Earl died on 1st July, and on the 10th, the Master, now tenth Earl of Angus, wrote to his kinsman, William, Earl of Morton, to beg for him from the king a few days' leave to go to Glenbervie to bury his father.³ On the 17th, he received licence for this purpose, and to visit his wife and children for twelve days, at the expiry of which he was ordered to ward himself in Stirling Castle. Before returning to ward, the Earl protested against being incarcerated in Stirling, on the grounds that as he had hitherto given dutiful obedience to the king's commands, it was not required, and it would injure him in questions concerning his estates, requiring his attention.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 295, 296.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 521, 548, 619, 624; Calderwood's History, vol. v. p. 129; vol. iv. of this work, pp. 35, 36.

³ *Ibid.* p. 188. Registrum Honoris de

Morton, vol. i. p. 177. The Earl of Morton probably experienced some difficulty in obtaining the favour, as just at this moment the Kirk was petitioning the king for the enforcement of the Acts of Parliament against the Master. [Book of the Universal Kirk. p. 356.]

On obtaining the consent of the ministers of Edinburgh, he was allowed to ward himself in Edinburgh, or Leith, or the Canongate, or within a mile thereabout.¹

The Earl went to Edinburgh, and was there served heir to his father, in the extensive domains of Angus and Glenbervie, on 10th November 1591.² As a considerable portion of the Angus lands had been mortgaged by the late Earl to his younger son Robert, the tenth Earl, in return for the surrender by his brother of all claim to these, obtained a licence from King James the Sixth, and sold Glenbervie and Kemnay to his brother Robert, who henceforth carried on the line of Glenbervie.³

In the famous Parliament of 1592, Angus came forward prominently. The king, wishing to confer new honours on his favourite, Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, promised him the honour of carrying the crown at the opening ceremonies. This of right belonged to Angus, who, according to Godscroft, on hearing of what was intended, summoned his friends and dependants, and desired their counsel and support. They advised that some one should wait upon the king from the Earl, and represent the injury which such a proceeding would inflict upon the house of Angus. Sir John Carmichael, captain of the King's Guard, was deputed to lay the matter before King James. At first the king refused redress, and desired the Earl to leave the town, but being informed that the Earl was resolutely determined to maintain his right, and that a conflict was certain to occur, he came to terms. It was not his intention, he said, to deprive the Earl of his due honours, but he had promised the honour to the Duke, and if the Earl and his friends would yield on this occasion, he pledged himself, on the word of a prince, to procure the ratification of the Earl's rights. With this promise the Earl was satisfied for the time, and

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 298-300.

² Assiguation by Mr. Robert Douglas, dated 19th November 1591. *Ibid.*, and also documents in Glenbervie Charter-chest.

³ Copy Retour in Douglas Charter-chest.

contented himself with bearing the sceptre after the Duke on 29th May, the opening day, but he afterwards protested in open Parliament, that his having done so at the king's desire, should in no wise be prejudicial to him in time to come. The king then redeemed his promise, and an Act of Parliament was passed which ratified the right of the Earl of Angus to the first vote in Parliament and general councils, the leading of the vanguard in battle, and the bearing of the crown at State ceremonies.

At this Parliament Angus was appointed a Privy Councillor, and also one of a select committee to settle the vexed question of ranking at the riding to, sitting, and voting in Parliament. He obtained a confirmation of the contract about the earldom made with the king by his father, and of his own investiture as Earl.¹ He likewise shortly afterwards received a commission of justiciary within the bounds of his own lordships of Douglas and Crawford Douglas.² On the forfeiture of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, which also took place on this occasion, the Earl protested that his rights in Bothwell should not suffer.

His relations with Bothwell at this time were closer than was suspected, and were only brought to light by the arrest of a messenger bearing letters which revealed the existence of a bond between the Earls of Bothwell, Angus, and Errol. In these letters Angus was denoted by the word *Noster*, Bothwell by the letter D, and Errol by the letter S. Bothwell at this time was practically hunting the king about the country, and for interceding with the king in the forfeited Earl's behalf at Dumfries, Angus, in July, was summarily committed to ward in the castle of Drumlanrig, and afterwards in Edinburgh Castle. Errol was imprisoned about the same time, but after

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 160; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 555, 588, 589; vol. iii. of this work, p. 300.

² Original Commission, dated 14th June 1592, in Douglas Charter-chest.

confession, both were released in September following, and Angus rose into higher esteem with the king.¹

Since the murder of the "bonny Earl of Murray" at Donibristle by the Earl of Huntly, the Highlands had been kept in commotion by a retaliatory warfare waged by Murray's friends upon Huntly. To quell this disturbance, William, Earl of Angus, was appointed by King James his lieutenant over the whole of Scotland north of the Tay, and furnished with powers as Justice-general. He was authorised to deal with the Earls of Athole and Huntly, the heads of the contending parties, and offer them peace in the first instance if they would cease hostilities, but he was empowered, if necessary, to unfurl the royal standard and wage war upon either if he should decline his overtures. He was also empowered to deal with the supporters of both Earls, and generally to take all means needful for the restoration of quiet. To meet the expense of the expedition he obtained a gift of the fines and compositions which he should exact within his lieutenandry. So effectually did the Earl labour in this business that in less than a month from the date of his commission he secured the submission of both Huntly and Athole and the pacification of the entire district. On his return he met the king at Tullibardine, who appears to have been much gratified at the ready obedience given by Huntly to the royal commands.²

Any favour with the king which the Earl of Angus gained by this service was immediately nullified by the discovery of the Popish plot, known in history by the name of the "Spanish Blanks." These were blank sheets of paper, eight in number, subscribed by the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, which, with accompanying letters, were being sent to a Scottish priest, William Crichton, then in Spain, to be filled up by him as the exigencies

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 171, 172; Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 608-614.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 301-311;

vol. iv. pp. 36-38; Acts of the Privy Council.

vol. v. pp. 19, 20; Documents in Douglas Charter-chest.

of the case required.¹ The whole were discovered on the person of Mr. George Ker, brother of Mark, commendator of Newbattle, just as he had embarked at the Isle of Cumbrae, in the Firth of Clyde, for Spain. Under torture Ker confessed that he was engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Protestant faith in Scotland, by the bringing in of thirty thousand Spanish troops. Another of the conspirators, Graham of Fintry, who was taken and executed, also confessed the plot before death. The result of the discovery was that Angus, who on 1st January 1592-3 had just returned to Edinburgh,² was ordered by the Council to confine himself to his own lodging, where he was strictly watched by the townspeople. Next day he was convoyed by two hundred citizens to the castle; and the action of the Council in apprehending and imprisoning the Earl was approved by the king, who was sent for in haste. A messenger with letters from Huntly to Angus was seized on the 3d January, and the letters immediately brought before the Council. The king declaimed against Angus as a "traitor of traitors," and declared his determination to prosecute this case.

During his detention in the castle Angus was frequently examined before the Council, and charged as one of the principals in the conspiracy, but he declined to plead, and, pointing out the insufficient nature of the evidence upon which they wished to convict him, and the difficulty of proving that the signatures were really written by him, threw upon his prosecutors the full *onus probandi*. Even though he should admit having written the letter which they alleged was intended for Mr. William Crichton, there was nothing in it, he urged, on which to found charges so grave against a noble of the realm. His complicity, however, was too apparent to give hopes of acquittal. Already

¹ In this conspiracy Angus was also known under the name of William Achesone [Calderwood, vol. v. p. 230.]

² On 10th December 1592 the Earl was appointed tutor to Lady Margaret Douglas,

the daughter of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, to whom he was nearest agnate, and also heir, in the event of her death. [Retour in Douglas Charter-chest.] According to Godscroft she died in the lifetime of this Earl.

the day of his trial was appointed and the courtiers were debating about the division of the spoil, when the Earl suddenly effected his escape, and joined the Earls of Huntly and Errol in the north.¹

This escape, which took place on the night of the 13th February, just two days before the Laird of Fintry was tried and executed, is ascribed to the agency of the Countess of Angus, who, in a large stoup, conveyed to her husband a rope, by means of which he descended the rocks. Warning of her intention, it is said, was given to the king and the captain and constable of the castle of Edinburgh, but it was either unheeded or ignored. Two years later, on 14th February 1594-5, Patrick Miller, one of the keepers of the wards in the castle, on returning from abroad, was captured and hanged for allowing the Earl to escape.²

Immediately after the Earl's escape proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh commanding him to appear before the king and Council at Aberdeen, on the 27th February. For non-compliance he was denounced rebel, and before the king left Aberdeen upwards of one hundred and sixty of the northern barons, with the royal consent, entered into a solemn bond to pursue the popish lords, many of them being required to find security that they would not assist the rebels. The Earl Marischal was also commissioned to arrest Angus and his associates.³ They, on the other hand, kept themselves secure in the mountain fastnesses of the Gordon country, and the three Earls, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, entered into a bond of mutual defence,

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 192-224; Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 281, 317-335; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 35, 38, 42; Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. pp. 266-277. From the castle the Earl wrote on 2d February to the Earl of Morton requesting him to become cautioner for his estates to the king, as they had been

legally arrested. [Vol. iv. of this work, p. 188.]

² Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 278; Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, quoting Birrel's Diary, vol. i. p. 362; Calderwood, vol. v. p. 362.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 231, 233-235, 773-775; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 44, 47, 49.

one condition of which was that by the counsel of the other two, Huntly should make offers of indemnity for the slaughter of the Earl of Murray.¹

Meanwhile the escheat of Angus for non-compearance was granted by the king to Mr. Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden,² and the Earl was once more summoned to appear before Parliament on 2d June. Instead of attending personally, the Earl and his associates sent John Leslie of Balquhain, who, on their behalf, protested their innocence, requested a commission of inquiry, offered security for their allegiance and satisfaction to the kirk for any slander, and further, to leave the country during his majesty's pleasure if they could not, after conference with the kirk, be resolved in their consciences respecting religion. Parliament resolved to delay further procedure in the case, and though the kirk was urgent for forfeiture, the king refused, saying that his advocate, Mr. David Macgill, had assured him that the summonses were informal, and that no forfeiture could be inflicted for lack of proof. He also rescinded the gift of the Earl's escheat, and retained it in his own hands. The kirk, however, was highly provoked by the king's leniency, and the Synod of Fife, at St. Andrews, on 25th September 1593, with the approval of the whole kirk, passed sentence of excommunication on the Earl of Angus and his associates.³

Stimulated by this action, but, perhaps, more so by the successful issue of Bothwell's bold conquest of the king in his bed-chamber at Holyrood, the three Earls came south and waylaid King James at Fala as he was passing from Edinburgh to Lauder. They had already addressed a petition to the king craving a trial, and they now sought to support it by their

¹ Dated 18th April 1593. Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. iv. p. 249.

² Original Letters of Gift, 27th March 1593, in Douglas Charter-chest. The provost of Lincluden was a scion of the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, and a man of considerable

note in his day. He at this time held the office of Collector-General to King James the Sixth.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 4, 14-16; Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 240, 254, 255, 263-268.

personal entreaties. Falling on their knees at his feet, they reminded the king of the services of their ancestors and themselves in times past, and besought a favourable answer to their prayers for a trial. James affected displeasure at the interview, but gave such indications as showed that he was in reality gratified, and he dismissed the suppliant Earls rejoicing with the promise that their trial should shortly take place at Perth, whither they were also commanded to retire and ward themselves until then. Angus had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and influence of Queen Elizabeth on his behalf, perhaps through Bothwell, and about this time he wrote that queen a letter of thanks.¹

The three Earls prepared for the day of trial by summoning large numbers of their friends and supporters to come armed to Perth against that day. The kirk, however, had taken alarm, and the moderators of Presbyteries were directed to see that every minister warned the noblemen, barons, and burgesses in his bounds to attend under arms at Perth, on the expected day of trial, the 24th October. In this condition of affairs the king prudently cancelled the order for the trial, and a commission composed of barons, burgesses, and ministers was appointed to inquire into the case, proclamation being made that during the time of their trial the Earls should not be molested.²

The result of the labours of this commission was the Act known as the Act of Abolition, by which the charges in respect of the "Spanish Blanks" were to be consigned for ever to oblivion, on condition that the Earls would do one of two things—either embrace the reformed religion, or go into exile. If they chose the latter alternative, their lands and livings were still to be enjoyed by them and their heirs. An answer in writing was required before 1st January 1593-4, and another month was allowed for the fulfilment of the

¹ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 633-638; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 101-103; Birrell's Diary, quoted

by Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 360.

² Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 279, 280; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 103-105.

terms. Meanwhile they were to remove Jesuits from their company, entertain a minister of God's word at their tables, and be ready to confer with him for resolution of doubts, finding security also, to the amount of £40,000, that the conditions offered would be observed.¹ To these offers, however, neither Angus nor his associates made any response, and on 18th January it was enacted in Parliament that the Act of Abolition was itself abolished, and that the Earls had forfeited all benefit therein conferred.²

Order was then given that the Earls should enter themselves in ward, Blackness Castle being assigned to the Earl of Angus. Their neglect of this command was followed by a decision to proceed with their trial, which was duly done in their absence in Parliament at Edinburgh, on 8th June 1594, and forfeiture decreed.³ The possessions of the Earl were shortly afterwards bestowed upon Ludovic, Duke of Lennox.⁴

Angus was meanwhile in the Gordon country with Huntly and Errol, nothing daunted by what was transpiring in the metropolis. They had at command large sources for defence against assault, and did not scruple on occasion to show their strength. On 16th July a ship arrived at Aberdeen from Spain, and was immediately seized by the citizens, several gentlemen who came in it being made prisoners. This brought the Earls of Angus and Errol at the head of upwards of a hundred spearmen to the town, with a demand that these prisoners should be at once set at liberty. On the refusal of the magistrates, Huntly also came down in force, and the three Earls penned

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 46-48.

² *Ibid.* pp. 52, 53. The Act of Abolition was in reality the work of the king and Chancellor Maitland, and had excited much discontent in the kirk and country, and also at the English Court. The refusal of the Earls

to entertain it was thus a real relief to the king. [Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 289-291.]

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 55-61; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 130, 134, 145, 209; Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 292, 332.

⁴ Letters of gift, dated 14th September 1594, in Douglas Charter-chest.

a letter to the provost and council of Aberdeen, threatening that if their request was not complied with, they would burn the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword. This letter had the desired effect, the prisoners were rendered, their goods restored, and the three Earls again withdrew.¹

But the affair roused James to action, and a large muster was ordered to accompany him to Aberdeen. The Earl of Argyll was appointed king's lieutenant in the north, and, as Huntly's personal foe, entered eagerly into the arrangements. A battle was fought at Glenlivet in September 1594, in which Argyll, though numerically superior, was defeated by Huntly. Angus was not present at this battle. A short time previously Bothwell, who was now reduced to extremities, had made overtures to the Catholic lords, and in August a meeting had taken place at an inn near the church of Menmuir, in Forfarshire, between the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, Angus, Errol and Caithness, and the laird of Auchindoun, when certain proposals were produced by Angus, written by himself, which it was agreed should form the basis of the new confederation, and, as such, were signed by them. These proposals, as brought to light by the arrest of Sir James Scott of Balwearie, to whom they were intrusted, were simply of the nature of a mutual bond of assurance between barons, and not a plot for committing the king to perpetual prison, crowning the prince, and appointing Angus, Huntly, and Errol regents, as Bothwell chose to set it forth in a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh.² As one result of the confederation, however, it appears to have been arranged, in view of the expedition then preparing against the Catholic Earls, that Bothwell should go south and create a diversion in Huntly's favour. Angus also went south for the same purpose, which accounts for his not being present at the battle of Glenlivet. Godscroft notes the fact that this Earl, though long treated as a rebel, was never found in the field against his sovereign.

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 340, 341.

pp. 175, 205, 206, 210; Calderwood, vol. v.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 359-361; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 265.

The battle of Glenlivet was followed by an invasion of Huntly's country by King James in person, which, though derided by Huntly in a letter to Angus as likely to prove a "gowk's storm," proved disastrous enough to his estates. The castle of Strathbogie was destroyed, and Huntly and Errol forced to take refuge in the wilds of Caithness, where they were joined by Angus and Bothwell after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Edinburgh.¹ A commission was given to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, to pursue and capture the rebels, and by his means it was arranged that Huntly and Errol should go abroad for a time under an easy settlement about their estates, the management of which was intrusted by the Duke of Lennox to their wives.²

In this arrangement Angus was not included. His estates were dealt with directly by Lennox, who appropriated the revenues. The Earl himself was forced into concealment and obscurity, and many of his vassals were prosecuted for giving him entertainment and convoy.³ The king, however, was secretly favourable to the forfeited Earls, and during the year 1595, on application made on behalf of Angus, King James granted licence to the lairds of Pittarro and Monymusk to confer with the Earl touching his obedience to the king and the kirk, and also regarding his estates. Further, to enable the Earl to enter into conference with the kirk, the king gave him licence to sojourn with the Earl of Morton, temporarily suspended the social disabilities under which he laboured by reason of his forfeiture, and also used his influence to obtain a conference between the Earl and the Synod of Lothian, which the Synod declined.⁴ During the following year these negotiations for the Earl's restoration continued, but apparently with no success, and Angus was about to leave the country,⁵ when Huntly and Errol

¹ Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 655-667; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 273.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 363.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 187, 199, 200, 204, 209, 221.

⁴ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 94; Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 383-385;

Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 694-698.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 704-719.

returned in disguise.¹ They were seen in company at the Bog-o'-Gight, now Gordon Castle, and Angus, emboldened by their return, remained at home. He even ventured into Perth, but a peremptory order from the magistrates obliged him to retire.² During this year an arrangement was made by the Earl's brother, Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, by which the Duke of Lennox resigned the earldom of Angus in favour of the Master of Angus.³

On 5th March 1596-7, the Countess of Angus petitioned the General Assembly, then sitting at Perth, to appoint some ministers to confer with her husband on the subject of religion, and the request was on this occasion complied with, the ministers of Angus and Mearns being directed to meet with the Earl.⁴ Godscroft states that Huntly and Errol were being dealt with at this time for reconciliation to the kirk, on the king's own motion, while Angus was ignored; but that on the king communicating his determination to Mr. Robert Bruce, that minister, after ineffectually opposing the king's whole intention, interjected the remark that Angus had done more service to the State than either of the other two. The king thereupon included Angus in his resolution,⁵ and the Perth Assembly, packed with the more obsequious ministers from the North of Scotland, readily complied.

At conference with the ministers, the Earl was desired to attend the parish church of Kinneff, which was in proximity to his own lands of Barras, and at his first appearance there, on the 24th April 1597, he emitted a declaration before a notary and the elders and deacons of the parish, that

¹ In a letter from Robert Abercromby, a Scottish Jesuit, to Claud Aquaviva, the General of the Order, dated 9th June 1596, the strong feeling in Scotland against the Earl of Angus is referred to. "Our enemies are become more violent, for they declare that the victory would be as good as won, if three men were cut off, meaning the Earl of

Angus, the laird of Boniton, and myself."— [Narratives of Scottish Catholics, by William Forbes Leith, S.J., 1885, p. 228.]

² Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 321, 322.

³ Procuratory of Resignation, dated 1596, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Book of the Universal Kirk, pp. 445, 446.

⁵ Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 293.

it had been agreed between him and the Presbytery of Mearns that if he came to the kirk it should be lawful to him to protest openly, as he did, that his attendance at the preachings was not to profess the religion now publicly authorised by Act of Parliament, nor to give obedience to the same at their commands, nor yet to do anything that might slander his own religion, nor prejudge the sentence of the Catholic Apostolic Kirk, of which he professed himself a member, but only to understand and know by their preaching, as formerly by their disputation and conference, what ground and reasons they had for the foresaid established religion, and thereafter to impugn the same in his further disputation and conference with the ministers.¹

In May, at an Assembly held in Dundee, the ministers reported a successful issue of their labours, that the Earl now acknowledged the Kirk of Scotland to be the true kirk, was ready to join himself to it, and participate in the word and sacraments, to swear and subscribe the Confession of Faith, to satisfy for his apostasy in his own parish kirk, acknowledged that he was justly excommunicated, and, having dismissed from his company all Jesuits and excommunicated persons, was willing to entertain a minister of the gospel in his own house, and provide stipends for his kirks. The Assembly accordingly gave directions for his absolution, and a relaxation from civil outlawry took place with much ceremony and rejoicing at Edinburgh in August, after the Earl had come under caution in £20,000 to forego the company of strangers and papists, keep the king's peace, and be amenable to justice, and, in further security, place his eldest son with William, Earl of Morton, "for his better education in the trew religioun, virtew, and maneris."² It only remained to

¹ Notarial Instrument in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Calderwood, v. pp. 636-640, 655; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. p. 745. The ceremonial of absolution of the three earls took place at Aberdeen towards the end of

June. A fast was held on Saturday, 25th June, when the three earls made up all deadly quarrels, giving and receiving forgiveness. Next day, in the Old Kirk, they subscribed the Confession of Faith before sermon, and immediately after the sermon, which

obtain the rescinding of the Act of forfeiture, and the ratification by Parliament of what had been done, and this was secured by the assembling of a Parliament in December of the same year at the suit of Angus and Errol.¹ Their restoration to their livings, honours, and dignities, was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh by Lyon Herald on 13th December, and their names set up on standards.²

The Earl was at once reinstated as privy councillor, and in the following June he received an important commission as lieutenant over the whole Scottish Borders and several of the southern counties. Something of the kind seems to have been anticipated at the date of the restoration, apparently from some promise by the king, for only a day or two after that event the Earl gathered his friends and vassals, and obliged them in a mutual bond of union to stand by him in the service of the king, both at home and abroad.³ The Earl's lieutenancy extended over the East, Middle, and West Marches, the counties of Peebles, Haddington, and Selkirk, Nithsdale, Galloway, Kyle, and the Over Ward of Clydesdale, including all burghs within these bounds, with the exception of Ayr and Irvine. He was armed with full justiciary powers, and had authority to summon the lieges to his banner. All the royal castles and houses were placed at his disposal, while their keepers, and earls, lords, barons, provosts and bailies of burghs were commanded to deal with border pledges as the Earl of Angus should direct.⁴

was preached by Mr. John Gledstones, they confessed their defection and apostasy, professed their belief in the Presbyterian faith, and their determination to remain steadfast therein. Absolution followed, and the three earls partook of the Lord's Supper together, and swore to be "good justiciars" in their districts. On the Monday following, proclamation of their reconciliation was made by Marchmont Herald at the Cross, where the populace evinced their joy by acclama-

tions, and drinking the healths of the earls. [Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 354, 355.]

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 123-130, 149, 150; Thorpe's Calendar of State Papers, vol. ii. p. 740.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 668.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 314, 315.

⁴ Commission, 29th June 1598, Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 170-172; Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. p. 466.

So well did the Earl acquit himself in this commission that, at the close of the first year of office, the barons within the West Marches made suit for his continuance in the lieutenancy. He agreed to undertake the duties until some other officer was appointed, and during this period made a notable raid upon the Johnstones of Wamphray, who had defied his authority and taken possession of the castle of Lochmaben. This district was specially disorderly owing to the long-standing feud between the Johnstones and Maxwells, the chiefs of whom, John, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Johnstone of Dunskeillie, were at this time in ward for disobedience to the lieutenant. Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig and Lord Herries had been similarly dealt with, but the latter was liberated on the interposition of Angus. The castles of the other three barons, Carlaverock, Drumlanrig, Lochwood, and Dumfries, were ordered to be taken and garrisoned by Angus, at the expense of their owners, until peace was obtained. In his raid on the Johnstones the Earl of Angus burned a number of their houses, which gave the expedition the name of the burning of Wamphray.¹ By the terms of his commission Angus was to receive half of the escheats and fines levied in the exercise of his lieutenancy to defray costs. But Godscroft states that the Earl discharged the duties at his own cost, which amounted to sixty thousand merks, of which he never received repayment. George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who became treasurer in 1601, offered to obtain payment for the Earl, if he would give him half the sum for doing so, but the Earl declined.²

On the occasion of the baptism of the eldest daughter of King James in

¹ 31st July 1599; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 315, 316. Details of the Earl's doings in his office of lieutenant are to be found in Register of the Privy Council, vol. v. pp. 466, 503, 511, 512, 537, 541, 544; vi. pp. 6, 12, 17, 23, 27, 32, 44, 63, 68, 76, 80, 124, 138, 247, 248. An account of the Burning of

Wamphray, or Raid of Dumfries, is given by himself. [*Ibid.* pp. 838-848.] Some prosecutions that arose out of the Earl's operations are recorded by Pitcairn. [Criminal Trials, vol. ii. pp. 67, 106.]

² MS. History, Part II. p. 303.

April 1599, the Earl of Huntly and Lord John Hamilton were each raised to the dignity of Marquis, a title now for the first time introduced into Scotland. Angus was absent in the discharge of his lieutenancy on the Borders, and Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, captain of the king's guard, and one of the Earl's vassals, protested in name of Angus that the promotion of Huntly and Hamilton should not be prejudicial to any of the Earl's rights and privileges. The Earl himself afterwards went to the king with the Earl of Morton, and represented these creations as derogatory to the house of Douglas, but the only satisfaction obtained was an assurance that the king intended no wrong to Angus, and a formal instrument securing the rights of the Earl to himself and his successors was drawn up by the Chancellor Montrose and the Secretary, to which the king appended his signature and the following postscript: "For my intention is not, nor never was, to preiuge him of any priuiledges that ever his prædecessouris bruikit, or he be any richt can clame unto." To make some amends, however, says Godscroft, the Earl on coming to Court was received by the king with great honour and respect.¹ But the promises of James, whether oral or written, were alike worthless. In the Parliament of November 1600, the dispute again arose, when Angus rather than give place to Huntly withdrew to Dalkeith. The quarrel between the two nobles was prolonged, and James interposed to effect a reconciliation, but some years later Angus was obliged to renew his protest for precedence in Parliament.²

Some time after the Earl's return from the Borders, he fell sick at

¹ Godscroft's *MS. History*, Part II. pp. 296-301; Declaration by the king, dated 15th December 1599, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 316, 317, where also is given the king's postscript and signature in facsimile. On the very day on which this instrument was made, Sir John Carmichael was appointed successor to the

Earl in the wardenry of the West Marches, in the discharge of the duties of which office he, within a few months, lost his life. [*Register of the Privy Council*, vol. vi. pp. 33, 117.]

² Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 99; Thorpe's *Calendar*, vol. ii. pp. 789, 798, 800; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 276.

Tantallon, whence the post went in haste to Edinburgh for medical aid. The tidings reached the Court in the aggravated form that the Earl was moribund. With unseemly haste one of the royal favourites, Sir George Home, of the family of Renton in the Merse, asked and obtained from the king a gift of the ward and marriage of the young Master of Angus. The Earl, on his recovery, to obviate the inconvenience of this gift, went to the king, and after reproaching him with passing by the house of Douglas in making such a gift, and especially bestowing it on one who had shown himself an enemy to his house, reminded him of his yet unrequited services, and requested that he might be permitted to hold his lands in taxed ward. Robert, Lord Seton, who soon afterwards was created Earl of Winton, aided the Earl in his request, to which the king ultimately acceded.¹ This, and the subsequent marriage of the Master of Angus, were probably the causes why a regrant of the earldom was made by a charter of entail in the beginning of 1602, which was ratified by Parliament in the year 1606.² The Earl was exempted in February 1602 from attending the king in a raid to Dumfries,³ perhaps owing to his not being thoroughly convalescent.

The reconciliation of the Earl to the kirk did not in reality affect his faith in the Roman Catholic religion. Within a year after the restoration, Angus is found protesting in the Church Courts, and engaged in questionable courses. He is also represented as refusing to communicate, demanding liberty of conscience, and wearing a cross, and his errors were publicly proclaimed in the parish churches of Kincardineshire, where the Earl had his residence, under the shadow of threatened excommunication.⁴ The Kirk, acknowledging its

¹ Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. p. 304a. This incident was also the occasion of the Earl at once marrying the Master of Angus, though still in his minority, to Lady Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Claud, Lord Paisley, and niece of Lord Seton.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 311, 312.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 319.

⁴ Thorpe's *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 748, 749, 762, 764; Decree of Reduction against Glenberrie, dated 15th March 1600,

omission in not sooner furnishing resident ministers for each of the reconciled Earls, provided these in 1602, when, under the combined authority of the General Assembly and the Privy Council, Mr. James Law, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, was instructed to sojourn with the Earl of Angus and his family for three months, in order that by reading, interpreting, and conferring upon the Scriptures at their tables and on all other convenient occasions, they might be grounded and confirmed in true religion and godliness. Daily catechising of the family, pressing for the removal of scandalous and suspected Catholics from the Earl's houses, and the planting of pastors with sufficient stipends in his churches, urging generally to the discharge of the obligations undertaken at the time of reconciliation, and informing the king of the Earl's profit by his ministrations, and of the company resorting to the Earl, were the remaining parts of Mr. Law's duty while residing with the Earl.¹

The rest of the public life of the Earl may be summed up in the statement that he took part in the parliamentary proceedings of each year from 1604 to 1608, though nothing of special importance is ascribed to him;² and that in 1605 he obtained a commission of justiciary over his own baronies of Douglasdale and Crawfordmuir.³ In 1608 the Kirk again commenced active

in Douglas Charter-chest. About April 1600, the passage through London of a letter addressed by Robert Parsons, the author of a book or pamphlet on the succession of King James the Sixth to the English crown, to the Earl of Angus, was the subject of a judicial investigation by the English authorities. The letter, which is dated 14th January 1600, was a reply to a letter sent by Angus to Parsons in 1598. Father Christostome, a Scot, had it in his possession when arrested in London and committed a prisoner to the Marshalsea, but he intrusted it to some religious suspects, who

were injudiciously free about its contents, and as these consisted of references to Spanish assistance and the royal succession, the affair was speedily brought to the notice of the authorities. Whether the letter ever reached the Earl is doubtful. [Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Elizabeth, April 1600, pp. 425-428. Appendix, p. 405.]

¹ Book of the Universal Kirk, pp. 494, 507-510; Register of the Privy Council, vol. vi. p. 380.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv: pp. 276, 277, 311, 365, 403.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 319-321.

proceedings against the Catholic Earls, and in May, at its instance, Angus was ordered to ward himself in Glasgow.¹ The Presbytery of that city and the Synod of Clydesdale were ordained to confer with the Earl, and in July they reported to the Assembly that their labours had been in vain, as by all evident tokens the Earl was "more obstinat and obdurat in heresie of Papistrie." The Assembly thereupon appointed the Presbytery of Glasgow to proceed against the Earl with Church censures, even to excommunication, the final sentence not to be delayed beyond the 18th of September.² The Earl, while a prisoner in Glasgow, wrote on 10th August to King James desiring enlargement, and permission to retire to France.³ The reply of the king came in a letter to the Privy Council, dated 21st August, enjoining them to require the three Earls to re-enter their persons in prison, and to give them no further liberty, not even for one day, without his special permission. But in November the king acceded to the Earl's petition that he should go into voluntary exile to France.⁴ In view of this step the Earl put his affairs in order.

According to Godscroft, the recovery of his lands cost the Earl 150,000 merks, besides gifts of lands, with which he had to appease the rapacity of

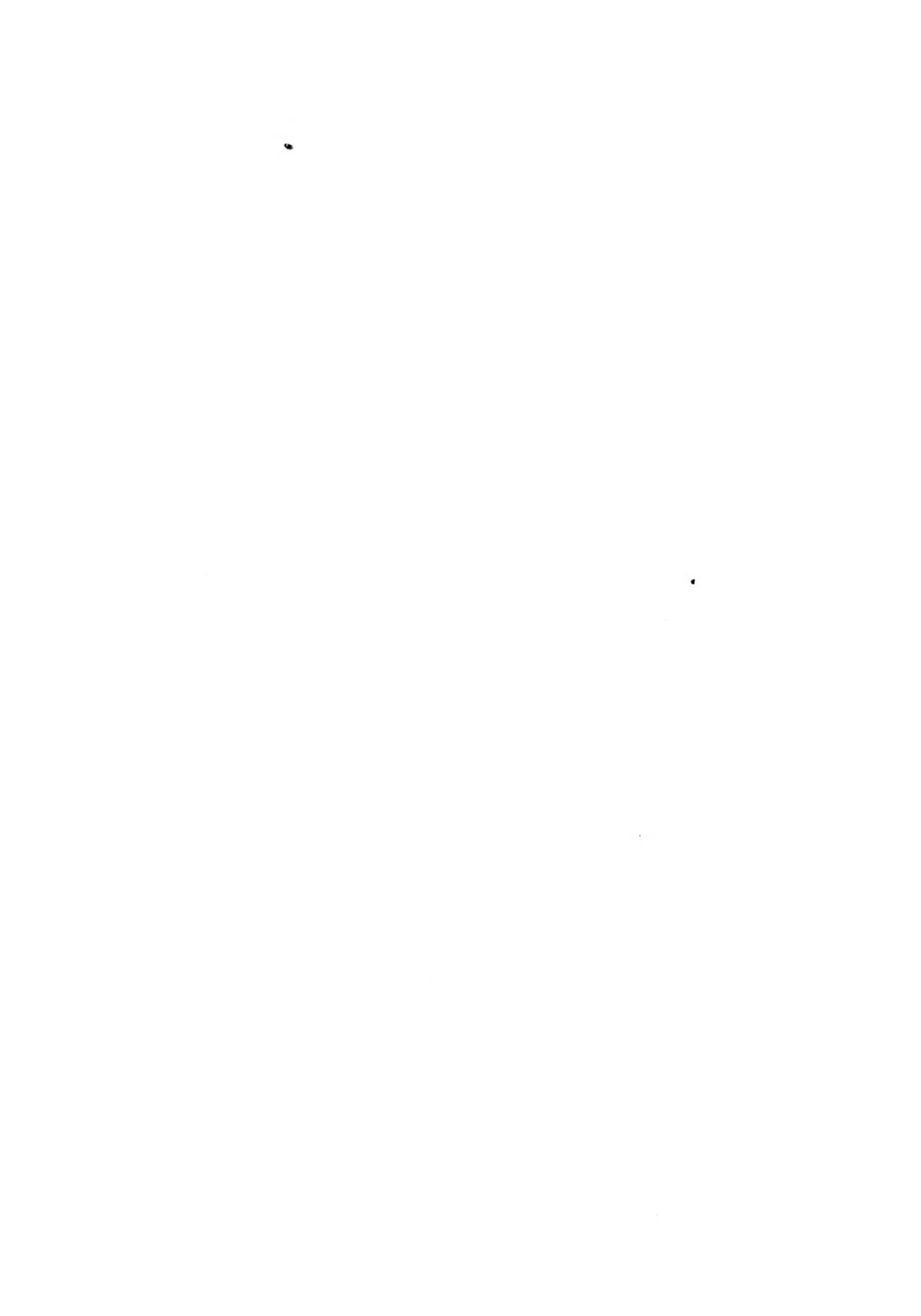
¹ Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. p. 28. The Earl wrote to King James from the Canongate, Edinburgh, on 25th May, complaining of his hard treatment, and asking to be warded in Tantallon, Edinburgh, or Leith, rather than in Glasgow [vol. iv. of this work, pp. 192, 193.]

² Book of the Universal Kirk, p. 577. As the following excerpt from the Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow [vol. ii. Part I. p. 36] shows, this sentence was pronounced: "Vicesimo primo Septembris 1608—Quhilk daye the ministeris of Glasgow gave thair diligence in pronouncing the sentence of excommunica-

tioun aganst William, Erle of Angous, for his obstinacie and contumacie in refusing to confesse, swear, and subscrivye the Confessioun of Fayth sett down be the reformat kirk within this realme, and confirmit be Act of Parliament, being thryse lawchfullie admonishit with three seuerall prayeris, according to the order of the Kirk. The Presbyterie ordanis that the chief partes of this realme be aduertisit of the sad excommunication, that intimation may be mad therof, and speciallie the kirkis within the Synode of Cliddisdail."

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 193, 194.

⁴ Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 26-29.



some courtiers.¹ Yet notwithstanding the severe drain which these transactions must have proved on the resources of the Earl, he purchased the lands of Dolphington,² redeemed the barony of Bothwell from Lady Spynie, and engaged in arrangements regarding other lands with his mother and brothers.³ In this connection also an arrangement with Ker of Ferniehirst is worthy of note as affecting an important claim put forward by that family to be hereditary bailies of the Earls of Angus over the Forest of Jedburgh. For a considerable time back successive Earls of Angus had discouraged the claim of the Kers, for this probably among other reasons, that though vassals of the Earl, they had not always proved loyal to their superiors. In renewing the grant of the lands of Ferniehirst to Sir Andrew Ker, the Earl distinctly excepted the office of bailie of the Forest, and on these conditions the charter was accepted by Ker. But, at the same time the Earl took the unusual precaution of demanding a formal receipt for the charter, and taking instruments in the hands of a notary that the charter with these conditions had been offered and accepted.⁴

In view of his departure abroad, the Earl arranged his affairs, making assignation to his eldest son of several bonds held by him,⁵ and providing for his younger children in his testament.⁶ Of his eldest son and daughter-in-law the Earl took an affectionate farewell, earnestly counselling them to adhere to the Catholic faith, and train up their children, if they had any, in

¹ Godscroft's *ms. History*, Part II. p. 306. The tenantry of Catslack, in Selkirkshire, was about this time resigned by the Earl of Angus, and given by King James to Walter, Lord Scott of Buccleuch, who had formerly been the Earl's tenant in the lands. [The Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 229.]

² From Archibald Douglas of Pittendrie, 5th July, 1598; Contract in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Documents in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Contract with Ferniehirst, 23d March 1603. Discharge and Notarial Instrument, 24th December 1607, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁵ Original Assignation, 17th September 1608, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 321, 322.

the same.¹ The Earl shortly afterwards received commandment to leave the country within twenty days.² Godscroft says he left Scotland in 1609, taking his journey through England, and as he purposed making a final effort for the reduction of his sentence with the king himself, he took with him from the charter-chest the indenture made in 1462 between King Henry the Sixth of England and George, fourth Earl of Angus. He sent this document to the king by the hands of Sir Alexander Hay, the Scotch Secretary, and Sir James Douglas of Spot, one of the gentlemen in attendance on the king,³ with the request that he might be allowed to kiss his majesty's hands before leaving the kingdom. The king sent back the reply that as the Earl was under sentence of excommunication, he could not grant him an interview, and that it was by his favour he had now been permitted to leave the country with the full enjoyment of his estates and revenues. He also returned the indenture, remarking that it was well known how gallant men and true subjects the Earl's predecessors had been to the kings of Scotland. Let this suffice for answer to my lord, said the king, and remember me to him.⁴ The Earl had his son James with him, intending to take him to Lorraine for the benefit of his health, as he was sickly; but the king interposed with a prohibition, which drew from the Earl another letter to King James desiring his favour in this respect.⁵

¹ Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 306b.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 194. Balfour says the Earl departed for France in November 1608. [Annals, vol. ii. p. 29.] The last document granted by him before leaving Scotland appears to have been a precept of *clare constat* in favour of James Douglas of Torthorwald, as one of two co-heirs to his great-grandfather, James Douglas of Parkhead, dated 3d November 1608. [Instrument of Sasine thereon, 10th February 1609, in

Douglas Charter-chest.]

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 247, 248.

⁴ Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. p. 306b. He adds that the indenture was then sent back with Mr. Laurence Oliphant of Condie to the Master of Angus, to be restored to the Douglas Charter-chest.

⁵ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 191. This letter is undated, and has been slightly misplaced. But there can be no doubt it was written while the Earl was on his way to France.

In Paris the Earl resided near the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. He wrote thence at least two letters to King James the Sixth, the former on 16th February 1609, telling the king of an interview he had with the Papal Nuncio at Paris, and the latter in October of the same year, requesting leave to return to Scotland for five or six months to put his family affairs in order, and give his "last gudnight" to his country, family, and friends.¹ This, however, was not granted. But on—the interposition of King Louis the Thirteenth of France, and his mother, the Queen-regent, King James issued a warrant for securing the Earl in his estates and living.² The Earl is said to have passed the greater part of his time in works of devotion. He loved prayer so much, says the historian of the Abbey of St. Germain, that he was present daily in the abbey church at the canonical hours, except at matins, and he was absent then only because the gates were shut. But to compensate for this loss, he rose at night to recite the office, and often spent two hours in meditation on the holy verities and the orison. With such exactitude did he observe the fasts and other ordinances of the church, that, save in the extremest necessity, he would not fail in his duty, preferring almost death first. Such saintly conduct attracted the esteem and veneration of every one.³ He interested himself in the efforts to advance the Roman Catholic faith in Scotland, and when, shortly before his death, it was proposed to send some missionaries from the Continent, the Earl of Angus wrote thus to James Gordon of Huntly who was directing the movement:—"I entreat your reverence to send none but such as both desire, and are able to bear with a courageous heart, the burden and heat of the day. For by our new law it is provided that

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 195. The Earl also wrote on the same subject to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, on 12th October 1609. Angus states that he had been banished for his religion at only twenty days' notice, and begs his good offices with King James.

[Calendar of State Papers, James VI., Domestic Series, 1609, p. 550].

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 195, 196.

³ Bouillart's *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés*, p. 215.

whoever receives a priest of the society, or any other, into his house, or is present at mass, or celebrates, is held guilty of high treason."¹

Godscroft says that the Earl was "ordinarily vexed with diseases of the body." In his letters to the king he describes himself as having become "auld and seakly," and in a later letter to his brother-in-law, William Forbes of Monymusk, the Earl confesses having been sickly, but had again recovered.² He died in the following year at Paris, on 3d March 1611, and was buried in an aisle of the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, called St. Christopher's Aisle, which his eldest son, the eleventh Earl, acquired from the Abbey as a family burying-place, and there raised to the memory of his father a magnificent monument of black marble, with an effigy of the Earl in white marble. The Earl is represented as clad in armour, and reposes on his side on the top of a sarcophagus, with his face towards the altar. The armorial bearings of the Earl occupy the upper part of the monument, which is surmounted by sculptured figures representing angels.³ On the monument are the following inscriptions in Latin:—

¹ Narratives of Scottish Catholics, by William Forbes Leith, S.J., p. 296.

² Letter, dated 15th June 1610, vol. iv. of this work, pp. 246, 247.

³ Bouillart's *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés*, pp. 215, 319, where also an engraving of this splendid monument is given. The Earl and his Countess in 1602 purchased from Alexander Carrick, a burghess of North Berwick, the aisle in the parish church of North Berwick, St. Andrew's, called "Our Lady Petie Iylle," to be used as a burial place in connection with the castle and barony of Tantallon, for such as they or their heirs

might appoint. This aisle, to which an altar-age was attached, was founded on 16th May 1497, by William of Carrick, once tenant in the Mains of Tantallon, as a place of sepulture for himself and successors of his own surname. There was a mortification of two merks in the foundation, to be given to a priest to perform mass at the altar in the aisle, and which at the Reformation had been diverted to the repair of the aisle. This, however, the Earl and Countess of Angus resigned and discharged, declaring their intention to repair the aisle at their own charges as often as required. [Contract, dated 4th March 1602, in Douglas Charter-chest.]

D. O. G.

ADVORTE, mortalis, quam non formidanda mors dux puris in cœlum animis ; quam alioversum terribilis : quam timendum et amandum numen, cujus rata sententia omnes in terram revertuntur et pulverem, gratia reviviscunt, imperio evocabuntur et resurgent, iudicio se sistunt. En pavenda, en pavendorum solatia, quibus ego, qua immortalis fruor, dum qua mortalis rareo in pulverem, vanesco, non sum.

Fui, quom dolci mortalibus luce fruerer, Gulielmus Duglasius, Angusiæ Comes, Douglasiæ, antiquissimæ apud Scotos nobilitatis, princeps : A Gulielmo primo Angusianorum comite XVIII. Vixi cum virtute, et in spatiis me exercui maximarum laudum, ut in sanctissima atavorum religione iu Deum, obsequio in regem, amore in patriam, charitate erga meos, bonitate iu omueis, nemini cederem. Ne, qui primus eram regni Scotorum Comes, et in bellis primæ dux aciei, uspiam forem in secundis. Hinc omnia tam pro voto fauste, ut in sacris et civilibus, morem majorum retinuerim, et jussus, religionis causa, patria excedere, aut in custodiam pergere, vitæ quietiori, turbiniibus averruncandis delegerim Galliam, charam alteram Scotis patriam, mihi vero charissimam, quod in ea, pro ea, meos memineram majores bellica claros gloria, res gessisse maximas ; et pro meritis factisque fortibus, sic iis relatam gratiam ut Ducatu ornarentur Turonensi. Quom vero viam letho patefactam meo cernerem, nullo credidi loco ossa mea posse melius quiescere, quam hisce sacris in aedibus, ubi divinis adesse consueveram. Proin volui, excedente in lucem dolciorem anima, hic condier. Dolce Christum spirans expiravi. Hic recumbens iussa expecto, ut resurgam, Imperantis orbi.

Tu vero Elizabetha chara coniunx, vosque dolces liberi, Gulielme, Jacobe, Francisce, Maria, Elizabetha, ne lugete : praeivi, non abivi. Vos, eo ordine, quo Numen iusserit, natura exegerit, sequemini.

Aeterna spirate, Aeternum havete.

AD VIATOREM.

Adspicis humanæ spectacula tristia pompæ,

Et vanescentis quæ sit imago boni.

Non sum, qui fueram, satus ille Heroibus, ingens

Duglasidum princeps, Angusiaeque Comes.

Nam pars hic extincta jacet : pars salva revolvit

Fata, vices rerum, quæ per opaca fluunt ;

Vertor ut in cineres speculatur, et occulor umbris ;

Utque illibatae discutiuntur opes.

Quas mihi fata dabant, virtus transmisit avorum :
 Quas ego transmisi, fata dedere meis.
 Nil nisi linteolum mihi mansit, et arcula busti :
 Quid querar ? his omnes mors monet esse pares.
 Rex ut inops moritur ; sua clausus deserit antro :
 Prorsus et in tumulo putret uterque suo.
 Vixit annos lvii. obiit v. Non. Mart. an. Chr. M.DC.XI.
 Gulielmus F. Angusiae Comes P. opt. amantissimo M.P.

The following is a translation of these inscriptions:—

Consider, O mortal, how little is death to be feared, the leader of pure souls to heaven ; but otherwise, how terrible ! How much to be feared and loved the Deity, by whose irrevocable decree all return to earth and dust, by whose grace they shall revive, by whose command they shall be called forth and rise again, before whose judgment they shall stand. Behold thy terrors ! Behold the comforts of thy terrors, which I as immortal enjoy, while as a mortal, I dissolve into dust, I vanish, I am not.

I was, whilst I enjoyed the light sweet to mortals, William Douglas, Earl of Angus, chief of the Douglasses, most ancient of the noble families of Scotland, eighteenth in order from William, first Earl of Angus. Honourably I lived, and spent my time in works of highest praise, yielding to none in the most sacred religion of my sires toward God, loyalty to my king, love to my country, kindness to my friends, and courtesy to all. Nor could I, who was foremost among Scottish Earls, and led the van in battles, be in anything inferior to any. Hence were all things prosperous to my wish, while in things civil and ecclesiastical I held fast the custom of my ancestors. And when commanded for my religion's sake either to leave my native land or go into imprisonment, I, for a quieter life, and the averting of strife, sought France, another country dear to Scotland's sons, dearest of all to me, for I remembered that in it, and for its sake, my ancestors, famous in warlike glory, achieved great deeds, and for their merits and brave conduct were ennobled with the Dukedom of Touraine. When I observed my death draw near, methought my bones could not repose more quietly anywhere than in this sacred edifice, within whose walls I have been wont to worship God. Wherefore I wished that when into a sweeter light my spirit did depart, I should be buried here. Sweetly breathing Christ I have expired. Here lying I await the commands of Him who rules the world that I may rise again.

And thou, Elizabeth, my dear spouse, and you, my sweet children, William, James, Francis, Mary, and Elizabeth, mourn not. I have but gone before, I have not gone away. Ye too shall follow in the order which God shall ordain and nature require.

Aspire to eternal things. Welcome eternity.

The following paraphrase of the Address to the Traveller is by Godscroft:—

TO THE TRAVELLER.

Thou, passenger, mayst see in this sad place
The fading image of our human race.
No worldly pomp nor glory doth remain,
'Tis but a dream, or apparition vain.

The case is changed. What brings not times to pass!
I am not now what heretofore I was.
Of the great Douglas sprung, and chiefest child,
By Angus Earldom being only styled.

My earthly part in dust and ashes lies,
My purest part flies up above the skies,
And there in joys, cannot be told, doth flow,
And scorns these changes chanceing here below.

What state or honour my forbears gave
I did the same to my successors leave.
My sheet and coffin only rest with me.
Thus death makes all men equal in degree.
The king, the clown, the rich man, and the slave
Are not discerned when they are laid in grave.¹

He lived fifty-seven years, died on the fifth of the nones of March in the year of Christ 1611. William, Earl of Angus, his son, sorrowfully placed [this monument] to his most loving father.

¹ Godscroft's ms. History, Part II. pp. 330, 331.

On the Earl's death becoming known several distinguished French prelates requested the honour of pronouncing his funeral oration. But, at the instance of the British ambassador, Sir Thomas Edmonds, who represented that the paying of such honours to the deceased Earl would be distasteful to King James, the queen-mother, then regent of France, would not allow them. The Abbot of Bois, however, one of the preachers of the late King Henry the Fourth, disregarded the royal prohibition, and preached a funeral sermon.¹ This, and another funeral discourse by M. Pelletier, were published at Paris.²

This Earl, says Godscroft, was of a tall and goodly personage, straight and well-proportioned, with a sound constitution, grave and manly countenance, of clear discourse, and generous and courteous behaviour to all men, even his enemies. He was well read, especially in history, in which he delighted. His memory was stored with the genealogies of the noble and ancient families of Scotland, especially of his own house of Douglas, "wherein," says Godscroft, "his diligent research did give the only beginning to this preceding history."³ The Earl himself, however, wrote no connected history of the Douglasses. He penned some "notes" respecting his own

¹ Godscroft's *MS. History*, Part II. pp. 309, 311. The historian adds that Edmonds misinterpreted the sentiments of James, and was afterwards made aware of this by special marks of disfavour; while the Abbot of Bois, who sent a copy of his oration to King James, was liberally rewarded. Bouillart, however, records that when the Earl died, at the age of fifty-seven, his obsequies, on account of the high esteem in which he was held, were honoured by the presence of a great many persons of quality, including the archbishops of Embrun and Tours, the bishop of Grasse, the English ambassador,

the Royal Scots Guards, many of the nobility of foreign countries, and a vast concourse of people. [*Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés*, p. 215.]

² The title of the latter discourse is, "Discours funebre sur la mort de feu Monsieur le Conte d'Angus, Seigneur Escossois, decede a Paris, ou il estoit refugie pour y avoir libere exercice de la religion catholique." Paris, 1611. A translation of this pamphlet is given in Godscroft's *MS. History* [Part II. pp. 312-331].

³ *Ibid.* p. 307.

personal fortunes at the time of the discovery of the conspiracy of the Spanish Blanks, and his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, which he dedicated to his son and successors, with instructions that they should remain as a true record of his innocence, if he should happen to die before he was able to establish it.¹ But these notes do not appear to have been preserved. He was, however, the originator of the history written by Godscroft, in so far as "he set down the first grounds thereof from his ancient evidents and other records," having, according to his son, received "express commandment" from King James the Sixth to set such a work on foot.²

Elizabeth Oliphant, Countess of Angus, survived this Earl, her husband, and married James Hamilton before 1619.³ By her this Earl left issue three sons and three daughters:—

1. William, who succeeded his father as eleventh Earl of Angus, and was created Marquis of Douglas. Of him a memoir follows.
2. Sir James Douglas of Mordington, created first LORD MORDINGTON. In 1608 he was provost of Abernethy. He was afterwards designed of Parkhead, but in 1621 he resigned the lands of Parkhead in Douglasdale, and also Pitdriechie and Fawsyde in the Mearns, in favour of his brother, the Earl, and before 1628 had acquired the estate of Mordington in Berwickshire, and the honour of knight-hood.⁴ He married Anne, only child of Laurence, fifth Lord Oliphant, and was in 1641 created Lord Mordington by King Charles the First. He died on 11th February 1656 leaving issue,

¹ Godscroft's *ms. History* [Part II. p. 295.]

² Letter of Dedication by William, first Marquis of Douglas, to King Charles the First, prefixed to Godscroft's *ms. History*. Also Letter of Dedication by Godscroft to William, eleventh Earl of Angus.

³ Two Discharges, dated June and December 1619, for composition for terce, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 321: also Charters and other documents in Douglas and Glenbervie Charter-chests.

a son, William, and a daughter Anne, who married Robert Lord Semple. But the male line of the Lords Mordington failed in the fifth generation, and the title is now dormant.¹

3. Sir Francis Douglas of Sandilands in Douglasdale. He is mentioned in the registers of the Scots College at Douay, as resident at the seminary of Louvain at his own cost, in 1596, and as having gone to Rome in 1598 to complete his studies in philosophy. He is stated to have been converted from a Calvinist to a Catholic.² He married, it is said, a sister of the Earl of Wigton, but died without issue.

The three daughters of the tenth Earl of Angus were—

1. Lady Catherine, who was, on 28th November 1600, contracted in marriage to Sir Andrew Ker, younger of Fernichirst.³ But the marriage does not appear to have taken place, and she apparently died before 1608.
2. Lady Mary, who married, as his second wife, Alexander, second Earl of Linlithgow, and had issue.
3. Lady Elizabeth, who married, contract dated 13th September 1627, John Campbell, fiar of Cawdor, and had issue. She was dead in

¹ William, second Lord Mordington, had, in 1667, three sons at the Scots College at Douay, James, William, and Francis, of the ages respectively of 16, 14, and 12 years. [Historical mss., Commissioners' Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 654.] James afterwards became third Lord Mordington, and by Jean, daughter of Alexander, first Viscount Kingston, left a son, George. He became fourth Lord Mordington, and marrying Catherine Lauder, daughter of the Rector of Shenty in Hert-

fordshire, left issue one son and two daughters. The son, Charles, fifth Lord Mordington, engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and was imprisoned in the castle of Carlisle. He died without issue.

² Historical mss., Commissioners' Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 653. Thaness of Cawdor, pp. 274, 278, 281.

³ Inventory of Charter-chest of Fernie-hirst.

1640. By her father's testament she was provided with a dowry of 6000 merks.¹ A similar provision was made for her sister Mary.²

¹ Contract in Douglas Charter-chest; also Discharge by her to her brother, William, eleventh Earl of Angus, and Charter by King Charles the First confirming to her a charter by her husband, Sir John Campbell. [*Ibid.*] Thanes of Cawdor, p. 282.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 321: also Discharges in 1618 and 1619, in Douglas Charter-chest. She was not then married.

William, tenth Earl of Angus, had also a natural daughter, named Margaret, who was

married by her brother the eleventh Earl to John Douglas in Lintalee, who received with her the sum of seven thousand merks. [Contract, 21st July 1627, in Douglas Charter-chest.] Godscroft says the mother of Margaret Douglas was a sister of Home of the Heugh, beside North Berwick, and mentions three children as born of the marriage of John and Margaret Douglas. [MS. History, Part II. p. 308, paper apart.]



A highly stylized, cursive handwritten signature that reads "Earl of Angus". The letters are large and interconnected, with a prominent flourish at the end.



A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Elizabeth Countess of Angus". The signature is elegant and clearly legible.



IX.—WILLIAM DOUGLAS, ELEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS,
CREATED FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

MARGARET HAMILTON, HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARY GORDON, HIS SECOND WIFE.

1611—1660.

WILLIAM, eleventh Earl of Angus, was about twenty-two years old when, in 1611, he succeeded his father in the earldom. He was born, it would appear, about the year 1589, and, according to Godscroft, he received his name in honour of his grandfather William, Earl of Angus, and of William, Earl of Morton, who were both present at his baptism.¹ The first public document in which the young Master of Angus is mentioned, is a resignation in his favour by Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, of the earldom and estates of Angus. William, tenth Earl of Angus, had been forfeited for his adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and his estates were bestowed on the Duke of Lennox. In pursuance of the terms of an arrangement with Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, brother of the tenth Earl, Lenuox, in 1596, resigned the estates in favour of William, Master of Angus, and, failing him, of James, the second son.² In the following year Angus was restored, but was

¹ In the inscription on his tomb at Douglas, the Marquis is said to have died in 1660 at the age of 71, which gives 1589 as the year of his birth, and this agrees with Godscroft, who, however, does not state the year. Gods-

croft ms., Part II. p. 261.

² Procuratory of Resignation by the Duke of Lennox, dated in 1596, in Douglas Charterchest.

required to give his eldest son as a pledge for his constancy.¹ While thus a hostage, the boy met with an accident, breaking his thigh-bone, and, by order of the king, was released, that he might be nursed by his mother.²

In 1601, when only twelve years old, William, Master of Angus, was married to Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley. His early marriage, according to Godscroft, excited surprise among his friends, and the Earl of Angus gave as reasons for marrying his son so young, that he desired the youth to be brought up with Catholic sympathies, and that by the alliance thus formed he secured certain advantages, one of the bride's relatives being President Seton, afterwards Chancellor.³

By his father's will, made in 1608, William, Master of Douglas, received special instructions on behalf of his mother and sisters, and all the weapons and armour in Tantallon and Douglas castles were specially conveyed to him. His father also left him in a great measure free from former burdens on the estates.⁴ When the tenth Earl left Scotland in 1608, he took an affecting farewell of his son and daughter-in-law, giving them his best counsel for the advantage of the family.⁵ In little more than two years the Master succeeded to his father as eleventh Earl. He had been but a year in possession of his estates, when the Kers of Ferniehirst, taking advantage of the death of the Earl's father, revived their claim to hold courts of bailiary in Jedburgh Forest in name of the Earls of Angus. In May 1612 matters came to a crisis, and the dispute between the Kers and their feudal superior caused such a

¹ Bond by Angus, 1st August 1597; Register of Privy Council, vol. v. p. 745. The Master was to be placed in the charge of the Earl of Morton, "for his better education in the trew religioun, vertew, and maneris."

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 40.

³ Godscroft [ms. Part II. p. 304b] gives the

date of the marriage-contract as 11th July 1601, a date corroborated by a Discharge, dated 1618 [Douglas Charter-chest], which refers to the contract.

⁴ Testament of tenth Earl of Angus, dated 31st October 1608; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 321, 322.

⁵ Godscroft ms., Part II. p. 306b.

disturbance on the Borders that the young Earl of Angus, his brother James Douglas, and the Earl of Morton, with Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst and Andrew, his son and heir, were summoned to answer before the Privy Council for a breach of the peace. The charges against them were, that each party had convoked the lieges in a hostile manner, resolved to hold courts at Lintalee in Jedburgh Forest on 7th May, and while prudent advisers had prevented this, a second diet had been appointed for 21st May. Before this date, however, the Privy Council interfered.

A more special charge against James Douglas was, that he had sent to the younger Ker a challenge to single combat. When asked to plead, Angus and Morton denied the alleged armed convocation, declaring that they and their adherents, in all only thirty-six persons, had gone to Kelso purposing to hold a court at Lintalee, but wore no armour save their swords. This was corroborated by Lord Cranston, who stated that on hearing rumours of commotion in the district he had gone to Kelso, and found the Earls there in peaceful guise. He added that he had done his best to prevent bloodshed and preserve peace between the parties. The elder Ker of Ferniehirst also said that he believed his opponents were unarmed, but admitted that on his side a much larger gathering took place; that on a report that the Earl of Angus was to hold a court in Jedburgh Forest, where he himself and his predecessors "past memorie of man" had been bailies to the Earls of Angus, his friends and others had mustered to the number of three or four hundred, but that he had no other purpose save to wait upon the Earl of Angus, and offer his services as bailie. On being asked if he had any right or title to the bailiary, he replied he had none, except the tolerance and goodwill of Angus. Both parties admitted summoning their vassals for the second diet of court.

The circumstances of the challenge were then inquired into, and James Douglas admitted that he had sent the first cartel. Parties being heard on all these points, the Council pronounced judgment. Sir Andrew Ker and his

son were declared to have convoked the lieges unlawfully in arms, in order to debar the Earl of Angus, their superior, from holding a court on his own lands, unless he would admit them as his bailies, or grant certain conditions asked by them, which were "alwyse impertinent to be craved" by a vassal from his superior. Both parties were adjudged to have acted unlawfully in summoning their vassals, while James Douglas was declared to have "undewtfullie behavit" himself in sending the challenge. Ker and his son were ordered to ward themselves in the castle of Edinburgh, at the same time finding security for their keeping the peace to the amount of ten thousand pounds, and James Douglas was sent to Blackness.¹

The Earls of Angus and Morton were treated in a somewhat different manner. They were both young, and the Council having regard to their rank, and that they had not attained sufficient judgment and experience to foresee the consequences to which their "sudden passions" might lead, and also finding that the calling of a second court was a prudent device of some of their friends to gain time and prevent hasty proceedings and bloodshed, reserved sentence against them for another occasion. They were warned, however, not to repeat the offence of convoking the lieges. The Council also granted permission to Angus to hold his courts in Jedburgh Forest when he pleased, provided it was done peaceably, without armed convention, and with no greater train than sixty persons beside those giving suit at his courts. Sir Andrew Ker and his son were also held bound that they would not in any way impede the Earl in holding his courts, nor repair thither without being sent for, under a penalty of twenty thousand merks.² The long-standing dispute as to the bailiary of Jedburgh Forest seems to have been effectually settled by this decree, as nothing more appears regarding it.

From this date the Earl appears on record only at intervals. He seems to

¹ Proceedings narrated in the decree of the Council, 19th May 1612, an extract of which is in the Douglas Charter-chest.

² *Ibid.*

have taken little part in public affairs, and it would also seem that, from his father's views and his own alleged tendency to Catholicism, he was an object of suspicion to the Presbyterian clergy. He refers to this in a letter to King James, in which he thanks the king for not believing the false reports made against him. After some criticism of the clergy, he begs his majesty to be assured of his willingness to give full satisfaction to "the most worthy fathers of the Church," according as they discharged their own duties properly.¹ It was perhaps on account of clerical surveillance, though ostensibly for the sake of his health, that in 1616 the Earl asked and obtained the king's permission to travel abroad for three years.²

At the end of that time the Earl was again in Scotland.³ In November 1620, he was present at the Convention which met to vote supplies on behalf of the unhappy king and queen of Bohemia. The time of the Convention, however, seems to have been occupied chiefly with disputes for precedence and other contentions among its members. Angus claimed precedence before Huntly, but this was disallowed, as Huntly was a Marquis. Several Earls also impeached the ranking of the recently created Earl of Nithsdale, a controversy which was afterwards settled by a special missive from the king. As to the main object of the Convention, it came up for reconsideration at a later meeting in the following January, when Angus was again present, and was chosen one of a committee to decide on the best way for meeting the king's wishes for supply.⁴ The committee, however, excused themselves, and begged to defer the matter to the consideration of a Parliament, which was therefore summoned, and met in July following. It granted a subsidy of

¹ Letter, 10th October 1615. Vol. iv. of this work, p. 196.

² 8th August 1616. Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 322, 323.

³ He received on 4th October 1619 a grant

of the escheated goods of Oliphant of Gask. Vol. iv. of this work, p. 44.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. vii. pp. 452, 455; the Book of Carlarverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 331-334; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 589, 590.

considerable amount, and passed several other enactments of minor importance. But the chief event of the Parliament, and one which excited much commotion in Scotland, was the ratification of the five articles of Perth, as they were called, which, from the innovations on Presbyterian forms of worship which they involved, were wholly obnoxious to the majority of the ministers. The Earl of Angus was one of those who agreed to the articles, and thus, according to a contemporary historian, shared the "ignominie of the act." A violent storm of thunder and lightning, which broke over the city towards the close of the Parliament, was interpreted as indicative of the Divine displeasure, and the day was long known as the "Black Saturday."¹

In 1623 the Earl again left Scotland with the intention of travelling in France and Italy.² His movements were probably influenced by letters from an Italian nobleman, Count Marc Antonio Scoto d'Agazano, whom the Earl met on a former visit to the Continent, and who claimed kinship, through an alleged descent from the family of Douglas, dating from the days of Charlemagne. Some correspondence took place, and an exchange of pedigrees. The Earl left Dover on 26th May 1623, and was at Paris on the 11th November following, when he granted a commission to William, Earl of Morton, and several other noblemen and gentlemen, including his brother James, to administer his estates in his absence.³ He afterwards travelled to Rome, where he was in the beginning of 1625, with the intention to pursue his researches as to genealogy, but the result is not recorded. During his absence

¹ 4th August 1621. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 595, 597; Calderwood, vol. vii. pp. 490-505. The Five Articles of Perth, so called because first passed in an Assembly at Perth in 1618, enjoined kneeling at the communion, private communion, private baptism, confirmation, and the observance of Christmas-day, Good

Friday, Easter-day, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday as church festivals.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 323, 324.

³ Commission referred to in a resignation by James Douglas, Lord Torthorwald, of the lands of Sandilands, dated July 1624. [Douglas Charter-chest.]

on the Continent the Earl also made acquaintance with others, who, from their names, seem to have claimed descent from ancient Scottish families.¹

The Earl of Angus returned to Scotland about September 1625, and soon afterwards was waited upon by a committee of the Presbytery of Lanark, desiring him to resort to his parish kirk. This was in consequence of a letter from the Bishop ordering them to salute the Earl, "suspect of papistrie having laitlie returnit home." The suspicion referred to may have arisen out of rumours of his doings at Rome, where at least one visit to St. Peter's is recorded, but the Earl appears to have given no good ground for the charge against him, though from this time he was the subject of active supervision on the part of the clergy.² Two years later the Presbytery recorded that they had several times admonished the Earl to attend church, and he had disobeyed, which fact, they asserted, implied a falling away from the truth and the Confession of Faith subscribed by him. He was therefore summoned to appear before them, but the proceedings were stopped by an order from King Charles the First. Measures, however, were taken to remove from the Earl's service two of his domestics accused of "papistrie."

In 1631 a charter passed the great seal, conferring upon the Earl in life-rent, and upon his eldest son Archibald, Lord Douglas, in fee, the whole earldom or *comitatus* of Angus, with the privileges of the first seat and vote in Parliament and Council, of leading the van in battle and bearing the crown at the riding of the Parliament.³ On 14th and 17th June 1633, during King Charles the First's visit to Scotland, the Earl was created Marquis of Douglas, and he then resigned his privilege of the first vote in Parliament,

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 291-310.

² Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 47. On 10th January 1625, a correspondent of the Earl of Nithsdale writes, "Efter your lordship's departour, it plisit my Lord Angus to go to St. Piter, quhair your lordship was

rememberit," etc. [The Book of Carloverock, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 68, 69.]

³ Sasine in Douglas Charter-chest, narrating the charter, which is dated 10th March 1631.

receiving only the precedence of the date of his creation.¹ He, however, bore the crown at the King's coronation, as his ancestors had done. His resignation of the first vote in Parliament was afterwards challenged on the ground that he was only a liferenter, and the whole privileges of the earldom of Angus were afterwards acknowledged and ratified in the last Scottish Parliament.²

Between the year 1633 and 1638, when the rupture between King Charles the First and the Scottish Covenanters took place, little is recorded respecting the Marquis of Douglas. He seems to have resided chiefly at Douglas Castle, and occupied himself with his estates. He was in 1636 challenged by the Presbytery for not causing his daughter to go to church against her will, this being one phase of the struggle between the Marquis and the Presbytery, which continued for many years.³ Apart from his indifference to attendance at church, the Marquis was obnoxious to the Presbytery, because, though not a Papist, he was a Royalist, and had strong leanings towards Episcopacy. In the same year he was appointed one of the special commissioners who were to take measures for suppressing disorders on the Marches between England and Scotland, the depredations having become very serious. How far the Marquis acted on this commission has not been ascertained; he acknowledged the receipt of it, and promised to furnish the Earl of Nithsdale, another commissioner, with information, but he expressed himself much more anxiously about some good hounds than about the work of the Commission.⁴

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. p. 10; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 326-329. Contemporary correspondence in the Pollok-Maxwell Charterchest [Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok, by William Fraser, vol. ii. pp. 227, 232, 234], states that the Earl when made Marquis resigned his other hereditary offices,

but this is not certain.

² 25th March 1707; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 476; cf. vol. ix. p. 99; x. p. 128; and xi. p. 403.

³ Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. i. p. 47.

⁴ The Book of Carlawerock, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 352-353; vol. ii. p. 131.

The opposition made in July 1637 to the introduction of the Service-Book in Scotland brought matters to a crisis between the king and his northern subjects, which was aggravated by the conduct of the bishops, who in opposition to the wiser views of the Privy Council, urged the king to establish the Service-Book by force. Especially did the Bishop of Ross urge such a course in the north of Scotland, where Huntly, Seaforth, Grant, and other Highland chiefs who had not subscribed the Covenant might make a party against the Covenanters. In carrying out this plan the bishop counted on the assistance of the Marquis of Douglas, the Earl of Nithsdale, and other adherents of Episcopacy. It was reported that many royalist noblemen, Douglas among them, were openly arming their vassals and providing ammunition, a statement which caused some anxiety.¹

The covenanting party, however, were too active for their opponents, and their emissaries rapidly procured subscription, not only in the Western Highlands, but in Inverness, Ross, and the northern shires. After the deposition of the bishops by the triumphant Assembly of 1638, the covenanting leaders determined to use in their own cause that force which had been threatened against themselves. The sword was first drawn in Aberdeen, but the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Dalkeith in the south were also attacked, and fell into the hands of the Covenanters. On the 20th March 1639 a detachment of troops under the command of John, Lord Fleming, and several western barons, arrived before Douglas Castle. They had already coerced all the gentlemen of Clydesdale who were suspected of favouring the royal cause into giving security that they would not rise in arms, but nothing but blows or a retreat from a rash enterprise was looked for in face of the stout old castle, as the assailants had no cannon. It was also feared that the Earl of Nithsdale and Lord Herries, with a force from Carlisle, would combine with the vassals of Douglas and Hamilton. These fears, however, were groundless,

¹ Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. p. 263 ; Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 65, 70, 71.

as the Marquis had retired to England, and the castle offered no resistance, the Marchioness, who was then in delicate health, only petitioning that she might be allowed to reside in the place. This was granted, and a strong force was placed in the stronghold by the Covenanters. It is said they expected to find arms and ammunition in the castle, but were disappointed.¹

The departure of the Marquis to England may have been caused by a summons from the king, who was then endeavouring to get a number of the more prominent Scottish nobility to meet him at York. If so, he returned home after the Pacification of Berwick.² He was still, however, in correspondence with the king, who, in the beginning of 1640, wrote to him under condition of secrecy, that a breach with the "Covenanting rebelles" was inevitable.³ As is well known, the breach did take place, and the Scottish army marched into England, but the Marquis of Douglas does not appear to have taken any part in the campaign. Nor does he appear to have waited upon the king when the latter was in Scotland in 1641, and there is no evidence that he was present in the Parliament of that year.⁴

In 1644, however, the Marquis was in attendance on the Parliament which sat in July, when the Scottish army was in England fighting against the royalist troops. In the beginning of the year the Marquis had apparently yielded to the ecclesiastical pressure put upon him, as his parish minister reported that his lordship had been at church himself, and had promised con-

¹ Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. p. 322; Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 194, 196.

² In September 1639 the Marquis presented a minister to Carmichael parish. Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 7.

³ The Book of Carlawerock, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 15.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 302 to end. In 1642 the Marquis was

appealed to by the Presbytery of Lanark to restrain the energies of James Baillie of Todholes, "a braineracked young man" who had threatened the parish minister of Dunsyre with personal violence. The intervention of the Marquis, however, was not very successful, and the affair resulted in the minister leaving his charge. [Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. i. p. 407.]

stant attendance on the part of his family. Later, the Marquis, after due instruction, offered to sign the covenant, which was done in open congregation with much solemnity.¹ He repeated this ceremony during the sitting of Parliament, though, except as a member of the Committee of War for Lanarkshire, he is not named in the proceedings.²

In August 1645, however, the Marquis for a time threw off his allegiance to the covenant, and openly joined the Royalists, whose hopes at this period had been greatly raised by the brilliant successes of the Marquis of Montrose. The battle of Kilsyth, the latest of these victories, had produced such an effect that the king's cause appeared triumphant in Scotland. Glasgow, it is said, paid the conqueror a large sum of money; Edinburgh followed suit, and liberated a number of royalist prisoners, while Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire also submitted.³ Various noblemen in the south began to levy troops in aid of Montrose, and among these was the Marquis of Douglas, who received from Montrose himself a commission of lieutenancy over Clydesdale. He then raised what men he could, and joined a detachment of the Royalists, who marched towards Hawick. Besides this, the Marquis seems to have done his best to gain others to the king's party, though his military career was brief, as Montrose's army was soon afterwards effectually routed at Philiphaugh.⁴

The Marquis was present at this conflict, but, like his leader, effected his escape. In the following April, however, he was summoned before the Committee of Estates, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. The Marchioness

¹ Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 48.

² The name of the Marquis occurs on the records only on the day of opening, 4th June 1644, and in the list of the local war committee; according to Sir James Balfour, he subscribed the covenant on 11th June. [Acts

of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part 1. pp. 95, 201; Balfour's Annals, iii. p. 179.]

³ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 314.

⁴ See indictment against the Marquis, vol. iii. of this work, p. 330, for his movements at this time. The battle of Philiphaugh was fought on 13th September 1645, only a month after that of Kilsyth.

appears at first to have shared her husband's captivity, but in July this solace was denied him, and he was committed to close ward. In the early part of 1647, he was liberated on payment of a heavy fine.¹ Immediately after his release, he was compelled by the local Presbytery to confess his breach of the covenant, and to make a public acknowledgment and reaffirmation.²

From this date until the close of his life, the chief incidents in the history of the Marquis seem to be the continued disputes between him and the Presbytery of Lanark, and their interference with his family affairs, but these need not here be dwelt upon. In more public matters, the Marquis was a member of the Parliament presided over by King Charles the Second in 1651, first at Perth, then at Stirling. In March of that year the Marquis was nominated one of the committee for managing the army, and in June, after signing the Act of Security, he was appointed one of the Committee of Estates, with executive functions.³ In 1654 he was fined £1000 by Cromwell, which afterwards was reduced to one-third of that sum,⁴ perhaps in consequence of the representation of various gentlemen in Lanarkshire. They declared that in 1651 a regiment had been offered to the Marquis, and that he had declined the honour, returning after the Parliament to his own house, where he had peaceably resided ever since.⁵

The first Marquis of Douglas died on the 19th February 1660, and was buried in front of the high altar of the old church of Douglas. He survived his oldest son, Archibald, Earl of Angus, and was succeeded in his title and estates by his grandson, James, who became second Marquis of Douglas.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 331, 332. Dumbarton Castle has been assigned as the place of the Marquis's detention, and March 1646 as the date of his liberation. [Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 50.] This does not agree with the original documents quoted, unless a double confinement is sup-

posed, of which there is no good evidence.

² *Ibid.* p. 53.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part II. pp. 655, 678, 679.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 820, 846.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 336.

The first Marquis of Douglas was twice married. His first wife was Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley, whom, as already stated, he married in 1601. She died on 11th September 1623.¹ The Marquis married, secondly, in 1632,² Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of George, Marquis of Huntly, who survived him, and died in her sixty-fourth year.³

The Marquis of Douglas had by his two wives six sons and ten daughters.

1. Archibald, Master of Angus, of whom a memoir follows.
2. Lord William, who in September 1624 is described as second lawful son of William, Earl of Angus. In 1628 he was infeft by his father and his elder brother, in the lands of Crawford Douglas and Crawford Mill.⁴ He probably died before 1632 unmarried.
3. Lord James, colonel of regiment of Scots Guards in France. Of him a short memoir follows.
4. Lord William, eldest son of the Marquis by Lady Mary Gordon, created EARL OF SELKIRK, afterwards DUKE OF HAMILTON for life. Of him also a short memoir is appended.
5. Lord George, created EARL OF DUMBARTON. Of him likewise a short memoir is appended.
6. Lord James, second of the name, of whom little is known, except that he also entered the French service and became a colonel. His regiment was, it is said, incorporated in 1678 with that of his brother, Lord Dumbarton.⁵ He died without issue.

¹ Inscription on her tombstone. Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 132.

² Marriage contract, dated 12th August 1632. Draft in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ She seems to have died in 1674, as her

jointure was paid up to Whitsunday of that year; account in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Sasines dated 30th April and 9th June 1628, from Inventories of Writs in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁵ Michel, vol. ii. p. 318.

The daughters were—

1. Lady Margaret, who married William, Lord Alexander, eldest son of the first Earl of Stirling. She survived her husband, who died in 1638, leaving issue. In 1655 Lady Alexander was appointed one of the tutors to her nephew James, afterwards second Marquis of Douglas, and held that office for some years,¹ dying in 1660.
2. Lady Jean, who married John Hamilton, first Lord Bargany, and had issue. She died about 1669.
3. Lady Grizel, who married, before 1638, Sir William Carmichael of that Ilk, and had issue.²
4. Lady Anna, who, in 1642, is described as fourth daughter of the Marquis of Douglas. She was apparently unmarried in 1655.³
5. Lady Henrietta, who married, in 1645, James, Lord Johnstone, afterwards first Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, and had issue.⁴
6. Lady Catherine, who married Sir William Ruthven of Dunglas, and had issue.
7. Lady Isabel, who married, in 1657, William Douglas, third Earl of Queensberry, afterwards first Duke of Queensberry.
8. Lady Jane, who married, on 18th January 1670, James, fourth Earl of Perth, afterwards Chancellor of Scotland, and Duke of Perth.
9. Lady Lucy, who married, in 1669, Robert, Lord Maxwell, afterwards fourth Earl of Nithsdale, and had issue. The contract is dated March 1669, and describes Lady Lucy as the youngest daughter.⁵
10. Lady Mary, who died unmarried before March 1669.

¹ Testament of her brother, Archibald, Earl of Angus, 13th January 1655, vol. iii. of this work, p. 337.

³ Old Inventories of Writs in the Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Marriage-contract, dated 29th May 1645, Extract in Annandale Charter-chest.

² Baptismal Register, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

⁵ Original Contract, dated 6th and 25th March 1669, at Terregles.



Signe W. Douglas

Margaret Hamilton

James Gordon

LORD JAMES DOUGLAS, COLONEL OF THE REGIMENT OF ROYAL SCOTS
GUARDS IN FRANCE.

1617—1645.

LORD JAMES DOUGLAS, the third son of William, first Marquis of Douglas, and Margaret Hamilton, his first countess, was born about 1617. In September 1624, his father resigned the lands of Glenbervie and others in favour of James, his third son, whom failing, in favour of William, the second son, whom failing to Archibald, Lord Douglas.¹ After 1633 Lord James is described as the second son of the Marquis. In 1628, and again at a date not recorded, but after 1633, he received charters from his father and eldest brother of lands in the barony of Wandell in Lanarkshire. He went to France, and appears to have been for some time a page to King Louis the Thirteenth. In 1637 he was appointed colonel of the regiment of Scots in the French service which had been commanded by the celebrated Sir John Hepburn. Sir John was killed in July 1636, and Lord James Douglas was spoken of as his successor, but the command was given to Sir James Hepburn, of the family of Waughton, a nephew of Sir John. Sir James was killed in the following year, and Lord James Douglas succeeded to him in the command of the regiment, which he held until his death in 1645.²

Under Sir John Hepburn the Scottish regiment consisted of twelve companies of one hundred men each, who bound themselves to serve the king of France wherever ordered, except against the king of Great Britain. Lord James Douglas accepted the command under the same conditions as his predecessors, and the regiment henceforth bore his name, being called the Scottish regiment of Douglas. In 1644, Louis the Fourteenth entered into a new agreement with the regiment, in which its many and faithful services are referred to, and in terms of which its strength was increased to twenty companies of one hundred men each.³ The regiment of Douglas took part

¹ Original instrument, dated 24th September 1624, in Glenbervie Charter-chest.

² Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 312, 316, 317. It would appear from a letter of Cardinal de Richelieu, quoted by M. Michel, that Lord James Douglas had

become a Roman Catholic, as the Catholic members of the regiment objected to a Huguenot commandant.

³ Papers relating to the regiment, and Letters to Lord James Douglas, in Douglas Charter-chest.

in various campaigns in 1643 and 1644, and was some time under the orders of Turenne. In August 1645 Lord James Douglas was wounded, but not dangerously, though his wound called forth an expression of sympathy from the famous Cardinal Mazarin.¹ A few months later Lord James was killed when commanding a flying column of troops between Douay and Arras.² He was much esteemed for his bravery, and on the very day of his death Louis the Fourteenth had indicated his wish to give him a Field-Marshal's baton. So much, indeed, were his qualities prized in France that his regiment was next offered to his eldest brother, Lord Angus,³ who held the command till 1653, when he resigned it in favour of a younger brother George.

Lord James Douglas was buried beside his grandfather, the tenth Earl of Angus, in St. Christopher's aisle in the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, at Paris. In 1646 an engagement was entered into with a French sculptor named Michael Bourdin for the erection of a monument to his memory. The monument was to be of black marble, with a figure of Lord James in white marble, and was to be finished in a year, at a cost of 2900 livres.⁴ It was erected, Bouillart says, in 1668; but this is probably a mistake for 1648. The monument is still preserved, and bears the following inscriptions:—

D. O. M.

Huc pariter oculos anumque, viator, [adverte] ab avo illustrissimo Domino Gulielmo Douglassio, Comite octavo supra decimum, ad ejus nepotem Dominum Jacobum Douglassium (excellētissimi Domini Gulielmi, Marchionis Douglassii, adhuc superstitis, ex Margareta Hamiltonia, comitis Abercornii sorore, jam fato functa, filium). Quò ille prævit, hic sequutus est, non tam corpore ad tumulum quam mente ad cælum, ac passibus quidem æquis, si non ætatis, certe virtutis. Paternæ Aviteque ut nobilitatis hæres, sic religionis, sic bellicæ fortitudinis, sic exaggeratæ animi magnitudinis. In quæ propagatus per tot ætates illustrissimæ familiæ splendor sese profuderat. Ille subitò proprii fulgoris accensione, sic in immensum exerevit, ut præcipiti cursu ab ortu actus sit in occasum, jam acriter perstringebat oculos intuentium altitudo tanti fulgoris et gloriæ, jam tota latissime Scotia, Gallia, Flandria, Italia, Germania spargebatur, jam militiæ laude, et castrorum metatoris munere clarissimus, pietate tamen clarior, ac

¹ Letter, dated 10th August 1645, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Michel, vol. ii. p. 317: according to the inscription on his monument, Lord James was killed on 21st October 1645, at the age of 28.

³ Agreement with Lord Angus, in Douglas Charter-chest, dated at Paris 15th February 1646, and signed by Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Strachan on behalf of the new Colonel.

⁴ Copy in Douglas Charter-chest, of Original Agreement, dated July 1646.

Christianarum virtutum monumentis, cum æstu nimio abreptus in astra, unde primum emicuerat, evolavit.

Da, Pater, augustam menti conscendere sedem ;
Da, fontem lustrare boni ; Da, luce reperta,
In Te conspicuos animi defigere visus.

Boeth.

Occidit prope Duacum XXI. Octobris

MDCLV. Ætat. 28.

Filio amantissimo

Gulielmus Marchio Douglassius ;

Fratrique optimo, dilectissimoque,

Archibaldus Douglassius Angusiæ Comes vigesimus ;

Moesti P.P.

[On the lower part of the statue.]

Douglasidum nova spes, Patriæ lux, Regibus orte,
Gallo-Scotigenum Dux Jacobe jaces.

Dum longa innumeros languentes pace triumphos,

Majorum recolis, dignaque Marte geris ;

Armaque dum Proavum redivivo a funere tractas,

Heu cadis in media diva propago via.

Scilicet haud poterat Mars exsuperare tuorum,

Scandere nec Te vult inclyta facta Patrum.¹

¹ Bouillart, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint Germain-de-Prés, 1724, pp. 319, 320. An engraving of this beautiful tomb is also there given.

LORD WILLIAM DOUGLAS, EARL OF SELKIRK, DUKE OF HAMILTON, K.G.

1634—1694.

LORD WILLIAM DOUGLAS, the eldest son of William, first Marquis of Douglas, by his second wife, Lady Mary Gordon,¹ was born on 24th December 1634. When in his twelfth year, he was created by King Charles the First, EARL OF SELKIRK, LORD DAER and SHORTCLEUCH, the patent being dated 4th August 1646, with destination to him and his heirs-male whatsoever. When he was in his twenty-second year he married, on 29th April 1656,² Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, and at the Restoration, upon a petition by her, was created by King Charles the Second, DUKE OF HAMILTON for life, by patent dated 20th September 1660. The Duke afterwards resigned his title of Earl of Selkirk, and obtained a regrant of it to his five younger sons and the heirs-male of their bodies, and other heirs, dated 6th October 1688.

At the time of his marriage to the heiress of Hamilton, the Hamilton estates were heavily encumbered with debt, but under this duke they were speedily extricated. In political life he was a strong opponent to Lauderdale, and was in consequence deprived of his office of privy councillor in 1676, but was restored to it on the accession of King James the Seventh. He was president of the meeting of Scottish nobility and gentry which welcomed the Prince of Orange and invited him to the throne. When the first Convention of Estates, after the Revolution, took place in Edinburgh, 14th March 1689, he was chosen president, and on its being converted into a Parliament, he was appointed by William and Mary their Commissioner to it. He held the same high honour in the Parliament of 1693, and also discharged the duties of President of the Council, High Admiral of Scotland, and an extraordinary lord of the Court of Session. On returning in March 1694 from a visit to London, he was seized with indisposition at Holyrood, and he died there on 18th April, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was interred in the family vault in the Collegiate Church of Hamilton, where there is a handsome monument to his memory. Of the marriage of the Duke and Duchess, there were seven sons and three daughters. The present Duke of Hamilton is the lineal male descendant and representative of the Duke and Duchess, and he is thus a Douglas by male descent. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, survived her husband until 1716.

¹ In 1669 he is so described in a lease lands of Crawford-Douglas. Original in granted to him by his mother of her jointure Douglas Charter-chest. ² Nicol's Diary.

LORD GEORGE DOUGLAS, EARL OF DUMBARTON.

Circa 1636—1692.

LORD GEORGE DOUGLAS, the second son of William, first Marquis of Douglas, and Lady Mary Gordon, is first named in 1647 in a royal letter giving him permission to go to France, and be abroad for five years.¹ He entered the service of King Louis the Fourteenth of France, and in 1653, he obtained the colonelcy of the Scottish regiment in France, which had been commanded in succession by his two elder brothers, Lord James and Lord Angus. The latter resigned it in favour of his brother George, and at the same time also resigned the emoluments and pensions attached to the office.²

Lord George fully maintained the honour of his family by his bravery and military talents. In 1669, his regiment was under orders for foreign service, which was so distasteful to officers and men that their colonel begged the intercession of King Charles the Second with Louis the Fourteenth to prevent it.³ It was, perhaps, in consequence of this that at a later date Lord George Douglas and his regiment were summoned from France, and entered the British service. On 9th March 1675 King Charles the Second conferred upon him the title of EARL OF DUMBARTON, to him and his heirs-male; but this was a merely titular dignity, with no territorial connection in Scotland.⁴ The Earl of Dumbarton had no estates in Scotland until he obtained the gift of the escheat of Andrew Fletcher of Salton, from King James the Seventh, in January 1686.⁵ He wrote to his brother, the Duke of Hamilton, jubilantly, that he had now become a Scots laird, and would make him his chief chamberlain.⁶

On the accession of the Duke of York the Earl of Dumbarton was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, and conducted the campaign against the Earl of Argyll with success. In 1688 the Earl, with many other officers, followed King James the Seventh into exile, and while in attendance upon him, died at St.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 333.

² Resignation and Bond of Reversion, by William, Marquis of Douglas, on behalf of Lord George, in favour of the Earl of Angus, narrating the resignation, 7th March 1653, Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Letter to Earl of Lauderdale, 13th Feb-

ruary 1669. Ninth Report of Commission on Historical Mss., Part II. p. 447.

⁴ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 281.

⁵ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 622.

⁶ Original letter, dated 16th January 1686, in Charter-chest of the Duke of Hamilton.

Germain-en-Laye, on 20th March 1692. He was interred in St. Christopher's aisle, in the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris, where his Countess, a sister, it is said, of the Duchess of Northumberland, who had predeceased him at St. Germain-en-Laye on 25th April 1691, was also buried.¹ They had issue, a son, George, second Earl of Dumbarton, born in April 1687. Referring to the birth of this son James, second Marquis of Douglas, remarks in a letter that his title would be "Lord Ettrick." He adds, "I doe believe he [Lord Dumbarton] has nothing more in Ettrick than he hes in Dumbarton, but only the title."²

GEORGE, SECOND EARL OF DUMBARTON, also rose to military distinction in the British service, and was appointed ambassador to Russia in 1716. He died without issue, and the title became extinct.

¹ Bouillart, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint Germain-des-Prés*, 1724, p. 320.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 281.



SEAL OF GEORGE, FIRST EARL OF DUMBARTON, 1686.



X.—ARCHIBALD, EARL OF ANGUS.

ELDEST SON OF THE FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY ANNA STEWART, HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY JEAN WEMYSS, HIS SECOND WIFE.

Circa 1609—1655 D. V. P.

ARCHIBALD, Earl of Angus, the eldest son of William, eleventh Earl of Douglas, and his first Countess, Margaret Hamilton, was born about the year 1609. Previous to his father's creation as Marquis he was styled Master of Angus and Lord Douglas. The first notice of him in any public document occurs in a crown charter of the lands of Wandell to his father and himself in the year 1617.¹ In 1628, while still under age, he married Lady Anna Stewart, daughter of Esme, third Duke, and sister of James, fourth Duke of Lennox, King Charles the First being a party to the marriage contract. By it, in return for a dowry of forty-eight thousand pounds Scots, William, Earl of Angus, undertook to infest his son and his wife in the whole earldom of Angus under certain reservations.² In 1631, in terms of the contract, a charter was granted to the Earl of Angus in life-rent, and to his son Archibald in fee, of the whole earldom, with the

¹ Old Inventory of Titles in Douglas Charter-chest.

November 1629 and 15th May 1630, the original minute being dated 27th June 1628, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Contemporary extracts of contract, which was extended and finally completed on 9th

special privileges of the first seat and vote in Parliament, the leadership of the van in battle, and the bearing of the crown on State occasions.¹

Two years later, Lord Douglas received permission to leave Scotland for three years, and he seems to have been abroad when his father, on being created Marquis of Douglas, resigned his right to the first place and vote in Parliament.² Under the title of Lord Angus, he was in May 1636 appointed a member of the Privy Council, and was present when it sanctioned the publication of the obnoxious Service-book in December 1636.³ This was done in obedience to a special order from the king, and it does not appear whether Angus was a consenting party. He seems to have taken the opposite side of politics from that held by his father, and ranked himself with the Covenanters, though he was not prominent amongst them.

The reading of the Service-book in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, in July 1637, caused such a ferment throughout the country that the Privy Council suspended the order as to the purchase of liturgies. They also wrote to the king representing the state of affairs. His majesty replied by sending the Duke of Lennox to Scotland, with strict injunctions to enforce the Service-book. This policy increased the popular excitement, and petitions against the innovations poured in upon the Privy Council, while it was also proposed to make Lennox a mediator with the king. Angus was one selected to deal with Lennox, and he was earnestly requested to speak "plaine Scottish" to the Duke, that he might avert what caused risk to life and lands.⁴ At a later date also Angus, Lord Lorne, afterwards Marquis of Argyll, and Lord Southesk, endeavoured to act as mediators between the supplicants, as they were called, and the Council, but without success.⁵

¹ Sasine dated 29th April and 9th May 1631, narrating charter dated 10th March 1631, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 45.

³ Letter of appointment, dated 4th May

1636, Old Inventory of Writs in Douglas Charter-chest; Baillie's Letters, etc., vol. i. p. 440, Appendix xv., 20th December 1636.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 14.

⁵ Life of Alex. Henderson, by Aiton, p. 218.

The king's only reply to the supplicants was a proclamation which commanded compliance with the Service-book, and threatened all opponents with the highest penalties. This proclamation was approved by the Privy Council, including Angus. Much surprise was expressed at his concurrence, and it is said that he showed repentance for his rashness. Another account states that he only expressed his opinion that the Council had been rash, because they made treason the penalty of disobedience.¹ Angus joined in the earnest representation made by the Privy Council to the king, after the famous signing of the Covenant in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. They urged upon the king that the service-book was the cause of the excitement in Scotland, and begged his majesty to consider the grievances of his subjects, asserting that they themselves could do no more. A few weeks later this remonstrance was repeated in stronger terms.²

These and other negotiations between parties resulted, as is well known, in a triumph for the Covenanters. Angus was one of a very full Council who expressed their thanks to the king for suppressing the service-book, and acceding to the meeting of a General Assembly and Parliament. They also made a special profession of attachment to his majesty. This called forth the sarcasm that court cream and smooth flourishes had pleased the Council, who thus imagined that this "Courte holy watter" would extinguish all former flames.³ Angus was present in state as a Privy Councillor at the opening of the Assembly. Whatever his sympathies with the Covenanters, he still adhered to the Court party, and when the Marquis of Hamilton, commissioner, left

¹ Life of Alexander Henderson, by Aiton, p. 238; Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 50.

² *Ibid.* pp. 458-462; Historical mss. Commission, ninth Report, Part II. p. 254. The signing of the Covenant was the signal for the flight of the Bishops, regarding whom no high opinion was entertained by the Council,

as evidenced by letters of the time, and at least one correspondent writes to Angus of the pride and perversity of the prelates, and comparing their course to that of a serpent. [Letter quoted in Life of Henderson, p. 261.]

³ 22d September 1638. Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 288-292.

the Assembly, Angus signed the proclamation which discharged it from sitting. He also joined in a letter renewing professions of loyalty to the king, a letter which the Earl of Argyll, who then abjured the Court, refused to sign.¹

In February 1639, Angus was appointed one of the extraordinary lords of Session.² By this time matters had advanced so far between King Charles and his Scottish subjects that he had resolved on war, and had summoned the English barons to meet him with their followers at York, on 1st April. On learning this the Scottish Privy Council sent a letter to the king, earnestly begging that he would favourably consider the petition sent to him, and deprecating a resort to arms.³ In this letter Angus joined, but he seems to have about this time signed the Covenant, and given in his adhesion to the popular party. This is shown by his joining with Argyll, Rothes, and a number of other prominent Covenanters, in a strong remonstrance against a proclamation by the king. They declared that they could not obey the proclamation without renouncing their Covenant, which they utterly refused to do, and while professing the utmost loyalty towards the king in person, they maintained the integrity of their cause.⁴ This remonstrance was addressed to the Marquis of Hamilton, who was then at Leith as commander of the king's fleet, while the king himself was advancing through England with the army. Backed up as it was by a strong display of armed force, this document produced a considerable effect upon Hamilton, who did nothing, until some weeks later he was recalled to Berwick.

Soon after the date of the remonstrance the Covenanters took the field in earnest, but Angus seems to have left the kingdom in terms of a permission

¹ Baillie's Letters, etc., vol. i. p. 124; Records of the Kirk of Scotland, edition 1838, pp. 118, 119; Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 316-318.

9th February 1639; Old Inventory of Writs in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Records of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 211.

⁴ 9th May 1639. Records of the Kirk of

² Appointment as lord of Session, dated

Scotland, ed. 1838, p. 217.

to do so.¹ His absence from Scotland may have extended to nearly two years, as his next recorded appearance in public life is in the Parliament of 1641. Shortly after the meeting of the House, Angus and some others of his own rank, eldest sons of Earls, who took the courtesy titles of lords, were declared not to be members. This they resented as they saw in it an attempt to question their new dignity, the eldest sons of noblemen being formerly styled Masters. But the barons were strict, and as they refused to vote unless Lords Angus, Montgomerie, and Maitland were removed, the young lords were obliged to give way. Baillie, who records the incident, states that it tended to increase their divisions. To obviate this Angus and the others bore their grievance in silence, and resolved to submit the matter to the king, who arrived in Scotland a few days later.²

The share taken by Angus in the events which followed the outbreak of civil war in England, especially the preparation and ratification of the Solemn League and Covenant, cannot be clearly indicated, as he is only referred to at intervals. There is enough to show that he adhered to the clerical party as opposed to the king's party in Scotland. In or about May 1643, he appears

¹ Permission, dated 23d April 1639; Old Inventory in Douglas Charter-chest. This step may have been taken from unwillingness to appear in opposition to his father, who was a staunch Royalist and a favourer of Episcopacy.

² Baillie's Letters, etc., vol. i. pp. 379, 389. According to Balfour [Annals, vol. iii. p. 27] this incident took place on 3d August 1641. The sequel of this affair is not recorded, but Angus does not appear to have sat as a member of the Parliament, as, when he was appointed in September as one of a committee to audit certain military accounts, it

is stated he was not a member of the House. He was placed on other committees also, and was one of those nominated by the king to be Privy Councillors, and accepted by Parliament. He was made an extraordinary lord of Session, and his name occurs also in a commission granting special powers to the Privy Council. [Balfour's Annals, vol. iii. p. 63; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 388, 389, 405, 662, 666, 674.] The only other reference to Angus in the Parliament of 1641 is his protest that the charter ratified to Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie, in 1635, should not prejudice his own rights of superiority.

to have been at York, but on what errand is not stated. He was present as an elder at the General Assembly in August of that year, and was appointed one of their Commission, the chief object of which was to further the Covenant in England. He was also placed with Principal Baillie and others on a special committee to meet with the commissioners deputed to the Assembly by the English Parliament.¹

Angus continued to sit as an elder yearly in the General Assembly, and was regularly nominated one of their Commission until 1649, when he was absent. In January 1645, with other commissioners, he appeared before the Parliament to represent that the Assembly had resolved to pronounce ecclesiastical censure against the "unnaturall cuntriemen" who had troubled the peace of the kingdom, and begging that civil punishment might be used against such.² The persons referred to in this statement are not precisely indicated, but it was probably directed against Montrose, whose victories on behalf of the king were alarming the country. Besides the Commissions of Assembly, Angus was also a member of the Committees of War, which were appointed yearly at this period.³

As already stated in the previous memoir, Lord Angus was, in 1646, appointed colonel of the Douglas regiment in France, which had been commanded by his brother James. It does not appear that he ever acted personally as colonel, but in 1647 the Committee of Estates gave him permission to recruit his French regiment from the soldiers who had been raised by the late Lord Gordon.⁴ These had been levied in the service of the king, but

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 67, 85, 89. Records of the Kirk of Scotland, edition 1838, p. 359.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part I. p. 287.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 200, 560, 562, 813, 814; Part II.

pp. 31, 69, 187, 188, 190, 598.

⁴ *Ibid.* Part I. p. 689. In September of the same year he granted a bond of pension to Mr. William Douglas, advocate, for 500 merks yearly, during the standing of the regiment in France. [Old Inventory of Writs in Douglas Charter-chest.]

their leader had been killed at Alford in 1645. The Parliament, perhaps, found it convenient thus to get rid of them. Three years later a similar course was taken with the prisoners who were captured in Montrose's last attempt. They were confined in the Canongate tolbooth, and while some were set at liberty, the greater number were handed over to Lord Angus and others to be sent to France, and forbidden to return to Scotland.¹

In 1648 Lord Angus was one of those who opposed the "engagement," as it was called, on behalf of King Charles the First. He, however, welcomed the arrival of King Charles the Second to Scotland. He was a member of the Committee of Estates during that king's residence in the country, and was one of those appointed to arrange for the coronation.² To do honour to the ceremony he made a special appeal to his friends and vassals to attend at Perth.³ In April 1651 the king, as a special mark of favour, granted him the title of Earl of Angus and Ormond, and also conferred upon the heirs-male of the Earl by his second wife, Lady Jean Wemyss, the title of Earls of Ormond, Lords Bothwell, and Hartsyde. A further destination was made in favour of other heirs-male of the Earl.⁴

In February 1651 the castle of Tantallon, belonging to Angus, was, after a twelve days' siege with heavy cannon, rendered to Cromwell.⁵ Angus himself, however, continued at Court, and took his share in the work of the Committee of Estates and the General Assembly. He was present in the

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part II. p. 566; Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 18.

² *Ibid.* pp. 56, 116, 117, 123, 167.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 256, 257.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 333-335.

⁵ Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 249. In June of the previous year Angus was consulted by the Estates as to securing Tantallon, and

keeping it as safe as possible. [Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part II. p. 583.] Jean, Lady Angus, in an account-book of hers [1650-1654] preserved at Dunrobin Castle, records that, on 30th June 1652, she bought from a woman in North Berwick for £7, 4s. Scots, one of her own tablecloths, which was plundered with all the rest of her things in Tantallon, and was sold to the woman from whom she purchased it.

Assembly which met in St. Andrews, and afterwards in Dundee, during July 1651, and there prominently opposed what were known as the Protestation and Western Remonstrance, documents which had already been rejected by the Committee of Estates and referred to the Assembly.¹

Besides these ecclesiastical matters the Earl of Angus is found engaged in military affairs. He was appointed one of the committee to inquire into the grievances of the soldiers or officers of the army. In this capacity he was deputed to go to Rossie Church, and there examine into the grounds of a petition made by some English officers who had been attacked and wounded by the people of Balgarno, in the carse of Gowrie. Angus and his fellow-commissioners were empowered to secure the persons of the culprits, and to report to Parliament as to what punishment should be inflicted on the rioters, but the sequel has not been ascertained.²

After the year 1651 little is known of the Earl of Angus. He resided in the Canongate of Edinburgh, or in apartments at Holyrood House, until his death. This is proved partly by a certificate from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and partly from an account-book kept by his wife from 1650 to 1654.³ The Presbytery stated that he was a Protestant, but this did not exempt him from a fine of £1000 imposed by Cromwell's government in April 1654.⁴

The Earl died about the 15th of January 1655, at Holyrood House, thus predeceasing his father about five years. Among his last acts he made his will, in which he appointed his cousin William, Master of Mordington, and Lady Margaret Douglas, Lady Alexander, eldest sister of the Earl, tutors to

¹ Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. pp. 171, 232, 234; Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. p. 136; cf. vol. iv. of this work, p. 263.

² Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 270; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. Part II. p. 650.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 336. The original account-book of Lady Angus is preserved at Dunrobin.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, *ut supra*, p. 820.

his oldest son James, afterwards second Marquis of Douglas, and also provided for his other children.¹

This Earl of Angus was twice married, his first wife, as already stated, being Lady Anna Stewart, daughter of Esme, third Duke of Lennox. She died on 16th August 1646, leaving issue one son, and two daughters. In 1649 the Earl married, secondly, Lady Jean Wemyss, daughter of David, second Earl of Wemyss. She survived the Earl of Angus, and married secondly, on 11th August 1659, George, Lord Strathnaver, afterwards fourteenth Earl of Sutherland, by whom she had issue. She died in January 1715.

By his two wives this Earl of Angus had three sons and three daughters.

1. James, who succeeded, first, to his father as Earl of Angus, and after 1660, to his grandfather as second Marquis of Douglas. Of him a memoir follows.
2. Archibald, who in 1661 was created Earl of Forfar. Of him a short memoir follows.
3. William, who was born after his father's death. He is named with his brother Archibald and his sister Margaret in letters of inhibition raised at their instance on 22d December 1655, against their eldest brother James. He died in infancy, as in 1659 his brother Archibald is mentioned as the only surviving son of Lady Jean Wemyss.²

The daughters were—

Two daughters who died on their way to France, probably before 1653. Their names have not been ascertained.

Margaret, born in September 1651.³ In 1653 her father granted in her favour a bond of provision, securing to her the sum of £10,000 Scots,

¹ Testament, dated 13th January 1655, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 337-340.

1655 and 1659 with Lady Jean Wemyss, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Inventory of Douglas writs in Holyrood House, taken in 1713. Also Contracts in

³ Account-book, 1650-1654, of Jean, Countess of Angus, at Dunrobin Castle.

to be paid at the age of sixteen or on her marriage.¹ She married, as his fourth wife, Alexander, first Viscount Kingston, but had no issue by him.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 335.

Your affectionate friend

ANGUS

Geane Wemyss

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, EARL OF FORFAR, SECOND SON OF ARCHIBALD, EARL OF
ANGUS, AND GRANDSON OF WILLIAM, FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

ROBINA LOCKHART (OF LEE), HIS COUNTESS.

1653—1712.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, Earl of Forfar, was the eldest son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, by his second wife, Lady Jean Wemyss, and was born on 3d May 1653. According to the patent of 1651, narrated in the previous memoir, he should have succeeded on his father's death in 1655 to the title of Earl of Ormond. But that patent never passed the Great Seal, owing to the victories of Cromwell in Scotland. After the restoration of King Charles the Second a new patent was granted to Archibald Douglas, creating him Earl of Forfar, Lord Wandell and Hartsyde, with precedence from the original grant of the title of Earl of Ormond in 1651.¹ In 1669, he received from his elder brother James, second Marquis of Douglas, a disposition of the lands of Bothwell and Wandell.²

The Earl of Forfar appears on the rolls of Parliament so early as 1670, when he was still under age, and also in 1672 and 1673, but there is little record of his public life until the Parliament of 1689. He adhered to the party of the Prince of Orange, and joined in the letter of the Estates which thanked that Prince for accepting the administration of affairs. In the later Parliaments of King William the Third, the Earl was a regular attender, and his name appears on most of the principal committees. In the debates upon the Treaty of Union the Earl steadily voted for the Government.³

The first Earl of Forfar died on 23d December 1712, in his 59th year, and was interred in an aisle of the church of Bothwell, where a tomb was erected to his memory by "his constant, loving, and afflicted wife," who survived him, and died in 1741.

¹ Patent, dated 2d October 1661, in Register of Great Seal, Lib. 60, No. 353, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

² Inventory of writs in Douglas Charter-chest. This matter and the provisions in the marriage contracts of the deceased Earl after-

wards became a cause of lawsuit between the Marquis and the Earl. Papers in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 20 and *passim*; also, vols. x. and xi. *passim*.

The Countess of Forfar was Robina, daughter of Sir William Lockhart of Lee. According to a recent writer, this lady was an attached friend and attendant of Queen Mary, the wife of King William the Third, and possessed two interesting relics of that queen and her husband. One of these relics was an octangular porcelain bowl, in which it is said the nightly posset of the king was served. The other article was a small table clock of peculiar construction.¹



ARCHIBALD, SECOND EARL OF FORFAR. 1712—1715.

By his Countess, Archibald, first Earl of Forfar, had issue one son, also named Archibald, who was born on 25th May 1693, and was known as Lord Wandell till he succeeded his father as second Earl of Forfar. In 1713 he was appointed colonel of the tenth regiment of foot, and in the following year was despatched to Prussia as an envoy extraordinary. When the Highlanders in 1715 rose in insurrection under the Earl of Mar, Lord Forfar held the rank of brigadier in the royal forces under the Duke of Argyll. He was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir on 13th November in that year, and fought with the hereditary courage of his race. His regiment was on the right wing of the royal army, which was victorious, but he himself was mortally wounded. The joint of one knee was shot away, and he sustained several other wounds. He lingered some days after the battle, but no hopes were entertained of his recovery, and he died at Stirling on 3d December 1715, in his twenty-second year.² His remains were interred near the grave of his father in the church of Bothwell, where a tomb was erected to his memory by "his constant, loving, and afflicted mother." Dying unmarried, his estates reverted to his cousin, the Duke of Douglas. His dignities of Earl of Forfar, etc., became extinct.

¹ G. V. Irving, in *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, vol. i. p. 217. This clock was in possession of the late Professor James Clerk Maxwell of Middlebie.

19th November 1715, from Stirling Castle, 5th Report of Commissioners on Historical MSS., pp. 618, 619; *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, vol. i. p. 218.

² Letter from Colonel Middleton, dated

XI.—JAMES DOUGLAS, SECOND MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY BARBARA ERSKINE (MAR), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY MARY KER (LOTHIAN), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1660—1700.

JAMES, second Marquis of Douglas, was the son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, and his first wife, Lady Anna Stewart. By the death of his father during the lifetime of William, first Marquis of Douglas, the subject of this memoir became heir to the family titles and estates, and succeeded to them on the death of his grandfather in the year 1660. Previous to that date, and subsequent to the death of his father, he bore the courtesy title of Earl of Angus.

Born in or about the year 1646, James, second Marquis of Douglas, was but a boy at his father's death, and still much under age when he succeeded to his grandfather. When his son died, the first Marquis made a new disposition of the earldom in favour of his grandson James, Earl of Angus.¹ This step, which was taken by advice of the Duke of Hamilton and the celebrated lawyers, Sir John Gilmour and Sir John Nisbet, was necessary on account of the embarrassments which, by injudicious cautionries and the large provisions of his marriage-contract with Lady Jean Wemyss, without his father's consent, Archibald, Earl of Angus, had brought upon the family. In the charter power was taken to pursue a judicial reduction of the marriage-contract of the Countess of Angus. The Countess, however, con-

¹ Dated 8th August 1655. Infertment of on 4th October following. Documents in the young Earl of Angus was taken thereupon Douglas Charter-chest.

curred, and matters were amicably arranged on the footing that the baronies of Boncle and Preston should be secured in liferent to her, and an aliment provided for her children by the heir-apparent to the Marquisate.

James, Earl of Angus, was not placed under the charge of his step-mother, but under that of his paternal aunt, Margaret, Lady Alexander, tutrix appointed by his father. Her management was under the oversight of other influential friends, among whom were William, Marquis of Douglas, John, Earl of Lauderdale, David, Earl of Wemyss, William, Earl of Selkirk, the Earls of Queensberry and Hartfell, Walter, Lord Torphichen, Robert, Lord Burley, Thomas, Lord Ruthven, and William, Lord Mordington. To them, in June 1658, Lady Alexander stated the case of her pupil as one of impending ruin. He lay under the burden of his own debts, and as cautioner for the Earl of Abercorn to the extent of over £84,000 Scots. At the death of his grandfather other £30,000 would be added to that sum. To his step-mother, Jean, Countess of Angus, must be paid annually the sum of twenty thousand merks, and a further amount of £10,000 was due to his half-sister, Lady Margaret Douglas. All the free rent to which her pupil would succeed on the death of his grandfather was £12,000, out of which sum his half-brother was to be provided for, and the Marchioness of Douglas, Lady Marie Gordon, was also to receive her liferent of five thousand merks. Altogether it was computed that he would not have £1000 yearly to maintain himself and household, and meet the expenses of necessary law pleas.¹

¹ After her marriage to George, Lord Strathnaver, and her consequent resignation of the tutory of her son, Lord Archibald Douglas, afterwards Earl of Forfar, Lady Jean Wemyss made a written request to her son not to press his brother the Earl of Angus in his difficulties for what he was legally entitled to under her marriage-contract. These diffi-

culties she imputed to two facts, the burdening of the estates by the first Marquis when he resigned them in favour of his son, to the extent of one hundred thousand merks, and the unhappy cautioneries which Earl Archibald had incurred on behalf of Lord Abercorn; dated 14th November 1659. Original in Douglas Charter-chest.

Amid such embarrassments James, Earl of Angus, succeeded to the Marquisate of Douglas upon the death of his grandfather on 19th February 1660. About the same time occurred the death of his tutrix, Lady Alexander, and in January 1661 the young Marquis repaired to Edinburgh to make choice of those he wished to become his curators. This he did in presence of the provost and two bailies, choosing sixteen of the barons most nearly related to the family of Douglas, who took oath and mutually became securities for the faithful discharge of their trust.¹

James, Marquis of Douglas, did not attend the meeting of Parliament held at Edinburgh on 1st January 1661,—the first Scottish Parliament after the restoration of King Charles the Second,—but it was deemed advisable on this occasion to preserve the ancient honours and privileges of the family by protesting that the absence of the Marquis through minority should not prejudice his right to these honours. This protest was written,² and duly made in his behalf by Lord Mordington, at the first session of Parliament,³ and it was repeated a few days later by the Earl of Hartfell, when opposition to these claims was raised both by the Duke of Hamilton and the Duke of Lennox.⁴ The right of the Marquis, however, was admitted and confirmed by an order of the Privy Council in 1669, intended to settle disputes as to precedency at the riding of Parliaments. It ordained that the Marquis should carry the crown on these occasions.⁵ But although the Marquis did

¹ The curators appointed were William, Duke of Hamilton, John, Earl of Lauderdale, John, Earl of Wemyss, William, Earl of Hartfell, William, Lord Drumlanrig, William, Lord Mordington, Walter, Lord Torphichen, Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, Sir Daniel Carmichael, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Ludovick,

Lord Aubigny, James, Earl of Galloway, Sir James Stewart of Kirkhill, and John Stewart of Kettlestoun. [Original instrument in Douglas Charter-chest.]

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 341.

³ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 342.

not appear in Parliament, he attended, as one of the principal mourners, the State funeral accorded to Montrose at Edinburgh on 11th May 1661. He is described as being attired in a hood and a long robe borne up by pages.¹

During his minority also the question was raised as to the ownership of the Dean's house at Holyrood. The restoration of episcopacy in Scotland was accomplished by King Charles the Second soon after his return to his dominions, and the Act restored to the Dean of Edinburgh this house, which had been purchased and rebuilt by Archibald, Earl of Angus, as a town residence. The property was composed of the abbot's dwelling, and the precinct of Holyrood House, formerly part of the temporal lordship of the last Lord Holyroodhouse. He disposed it to Mr. James Aikinhead, who sold it to King Charles the First, and his Majesty conferred it on the then Dean of Edinburgh. The Dean, however, held it for only four years, when it reverted to the king, who, in 1641, disposed it in payment of a debt to James Livingstone, gentleman of the bedchamber, and from him Archibald, Earl of Angus, bought the property in 1648. Fully 20,000 merks had been expended in its purchase and repair, and the curators of the Marquis requested that it might either continue in his possession, or that the money might be repaid.² King Charles the Second replied to the request by ordering £1000 sterling to be paid to the Marquis, but directed that the annual rent of this sum should be paid to Lady Strathnaver as liferentrix of the property under her late husband's testament.³ The keys were delivered up in November 1662, but the house is afterwards mentioned as having been demolished. The place where it stood was called "St. Ann's Yards" in 1706.⁴ The right to the money formed matter of litigation between the Marquis

¹ The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 274.

² Letter by Duke of Hamilton and other curators to [the Secretary of State?] June 1662. Original in British Museum.

³ Warrant, dated 26th August 1662, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁴ Letters in Douglas Charter-chest; also vol. iv. of this work, pp. 50, 51.

and his step-mother, on more than one occasion, with the result that payment was made to neither for a considerable time.

On arriving at full age, James, Marquis of Douglas, was, on 8th September 1668, served heir to his father in the earldom of Angus,¹ and was formally infeft in the lands a month later.² Shortly afterwards he executed an act of revocation, annulling all contracts and charters granted during his minority.³ This necessarily involved a re-arrangement of relations with his step-mother, brother and sister, and others who had claims upon the estates, but this was amicably done.

The next event of importance in the life of the Marquis was his marriage, in the end of the year 1670, to Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest daughter of John, Earl of Mar, and his Countess, Lady Jean Mackenzie.⁴ In view of the marriage, the Castle of Douglas, which had been untenanted since the death of the first Marquis and had fallen into disrepair, was put into a habitable condition, and added to; the church of Douglas was also restored, and a new loft or gallery erected; all which, with some alterations necessary for securing a supply of coal for the castle from the "coall heughes of Douglas," involved an outlay of 14,000 merks.⁵ This marriage, however, was not a happy one. Before 1677, the Marchioness invoked the interposition of the Privy Council in their domestic quarrel, and in February of that year the complaint was renewed, and application made for the judicial allocation of an aliment on which she might live apart from her husband.⁶ In the end of the previous year, the

¹ Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio, vol. i. Lanark, No. 309.

² Extract sasine, dated 8th October 1668, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Act, dated 23d April 1669, *Ibid.*

⁴ Extract contract of marriage, dated 7th September 1670, *Ibid.*

⁵ Old estate account for 1670, etc., *Ibid.*

⁶ In the complaint several things are laid to the charge of the Marquis, the chief being that he shunned her company, and treated her with contempt. The Marquis in his reply complained that his wife did not treat him with due respect. [Papers in Douglas Charter-chest.]

Marchioness had written a submissive letter desiring reconciliation,¹ to which, she said, the Marquis made no reply, while, from his statement to the Privy Council, he seems to have been averse to separation. Eventually, however, this was the course agreed upon; and in February 1681 a formal contract of separation was made between James, Marquis of Douglas, and Charles, Earl of Mar, on behalf of his sister, whereby she was to receive an aliment of three thousand merks yearly, and live apart. Being a mutual document, the contract imputes blame to neither party, but expresses, with regret, that there had been "great animosities, mistakes, and differences betwixt the said Marquis and his lady, which have arisen to a great height, so as neither of them are satisfied longer to continue together."² The Marchioness appears to have resided sometimes at Douglas, and sometimes at the house of her mother, where she died about August 1690, without being reconciled to the Marquis.³

Popular tradition imputes the blame of the estrangement between the Marquis and his wife to William Lawrie, tutor of Blackwood, principal chamberlain to the Marquis.⁴ A ballad, called in some collections of Scottish

¹ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 276-278.

² Contract in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 278, 279, 285.

⁴ William Lawrie was appointed to this position on 14th March 1670. [Factory by the Marquis in Douglas Charter-chest.] Originally of Auchinheath, in the parish of Lesmahagow, he married Marion Weir of the family of Blackwood, widow of Lieut.-Col. James Ballantyne, brother of John Ballantyne of Corehouse, and through this marriage his son, George Lawrie, became laird of Blackwood, as George Weir of Blackwood. Lawrie was tutor or guardian successively to his son, who died in March 1680, and to his grandson, Sir George Weir of Blackwood.

Though only tutor Lawrie is often styled Laird of Blackwood. He twice fell under the suspicion of the Government of King Charles the Second for harbouring, and intercommuning and convening with the Covenanters, especially about the time of the battles of Pentland and Bothwell Bridge. On the former occasion he fled to London, and returned when his friends had secured his safety. On the latter occasion he was imprisoned, tried and condemned to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh on the last day of February 1683. Lawrie, however, had no desire for martyrdom, and he petitioned for life as one of the most submissive of subjects. The Marquis of Douglas also begged a respite

minstrelsy "Lord James Douglas," and in others "The Marchioness of Douglas," deals with this episode in the life of the Marquis. It takes the form of a complaint by the forsaken wife and mother, but as to facts, like other ballads, it indulges somewhat in poetic licence.¹ The belief that Blackwood was the chief cause of this unhappy quarrel was current at the time among the Douglas tenantry, with whom he was very unpopular, and it is corroborated by letters and other documents in the Douglas charter-chest. The Marchioness, indeed, evinces temper, but the Marquis appears to have been morose and peevish, and incapable of managing his own affairs. In this matter he consulted and was advised by Blackwood at every step, sending him copies of the letters he wrote to his wife, and subscribing whatever document Blackwood thought fit to prepare. Members of the family and dependants alike characterised Lawrie as hypocritical and double-dealing,² but on the other hand it is only fair to mention that on two occasions Charles, Earl of Mar, wrote to Blackwood thanking him for his kindness to his sister, and assuring him of his esteem.³

About the middle of the year 1675 some money and jewels were stolen from the Marchioness, but the thief was intercepted by Lord Maxwell and the property recovered. Among the articles stolen were a jewel, two seal-

for his chamberlain, as he was the only person who had sufficient knowledge of his affairs to direct them. Lawrie was accordingly respited from time to time, and finally got off at the Revolution. "He seems," says Lord Fountainhall, "to have been a man of but an indifferent character." His transactions with the Covenanters were dictated by worldly policy, not by sympathy with their principles and aims. [Original letters and papers in Douglas Charter-chest; Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. pp. 196, 213-215; Kirkton's

History of the Kirk of Scotland, pp. 238, 239; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 166, etc.

¹ Mackay's Ballads of Scotland, pp. 189-94.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 273-276. Lawrie is mentioned by Lord Fountainhall as "late Chamberlain to the Marquis of Douglas, and repute a bad instrument between him and his lady in their differences." Decisions, vol. i. p. 196.

³ Letters, dated 11th October 1679 and 28th March 1681, in Douglas Charter-chest.

rings, three small rings, five Jacobus, three whole Carolus, and two half-Carolus, a double rose-noble, two Spanish pieces, one double and two single ducats, three five-merk pieces, two five-shilling sterling pieces, a two-merk and a half piece, six guineas, and fifteen merk pieces.¹

During the reigns of King Charles the Second and his brother, the Duke of York, James, Marquis of Douglas, was frequently present in Parliament, and occasionally served on committees for various purposes, but he never came prominently forward, nor took part in administrative work.² In 1674 he was appointed to the command of a troop of horse, which, it is probable, was raised from his own tenantry and others in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, but it is not recorded that he ever led them into action. This troop of horse was afterwards ordered to assemble under the leadership of the Marquis at Lanark in April 1689, to aid in overthrowing the Government by which it had been embodied.³ The Marquis appears, however, to have lent some of his ordnance to the Government of King Charles, ostensibly for the defence of Edinburgh, as they were stationed at the "court of guard" there. They consisted of two brass guns capable of firing ball of three pounds weight. In May 1682, the Marquis was authorised by the Privy Council to remove them. They appear then to have been taken to Leith, where Major-general Mackay found them in 1689, and by authority of the Estates borrowed them for a time.⁴ They afterwards found their way back to Leith and lay for some time in a cellar there.⁵ In 1729 the Duke of Douglas had one cannon taken out of a cellar in the Lawnmarket, and cleaned, painted and mounted for use.⁶

¹ Original receipt by William, Duke of Hamilton to Robert, Lord Maxwell, 29th July 1675. The Book of Carlsruock, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 399, 400.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vols. vii. viii. *passim*.

³ Original Commission, dated 25th August

1674, in Douglas Charter-chest: Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 25.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 344.

⁵ Letter, dated 13th January 1711, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁶ Account, the Duke of Douglas to Robert Mounbray, Edinburgh, 12th August 1729. *Ibid.*

The apathy of the Marquis in public affairs may have arisen either from incompetence or from an aversion to take part in the extreme and oppressive measures of the times. Probably the latter had much to do with it, for the Marquis took a more active part in the political measures which brought about the Revolution. He was present at the meeting of Estates at Edinburgh in March and April 1689, subscribed the declaration by the Convention against King James the Seventh and the letter of invitation to William, Prince of Orange, and he was appointed a member of the Executive Committee for management of national affairs until a final settlement of the Government had been arranged.¹

From this date until his death in 1700 the Marquis of Douglas was present at nearly all the meetings of Parliament, and, either personally or by friends, protested frequently for the ancient precedence due to his rank and title. On one important occasion he was absent. This was in 1696 when, in consequence of the discovery of a plot to assassinate King William, a bond of association in defence of the king was appointed to be subscribed by all persons of consequence. But he signed the bond in the following session of Parliament in 1698. He is frequently mentioned during these years as a commissioner of supply for the counties of Lanark, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Haddington.²

From King William the Third the Marquis received, about the year 1690, a gift of the forfeited estates of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, of a portion of which the Earls of Angus held the superiority.³ The Marquis was also at the same time appointed to the heritable office of Constable of the castle and town of Dundee, which had been last held by Claverhouse. This conferred upon the holder the position of chief magistrate of that town,

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. pp. 1, 9, 20, 79, etc.

² *Ibid.* vol. ix. *passim*; x. pp. 113, 123, 134, etc.

³ Documents in Douglas Charter-chest.

with power to hold courts, civil and criminal, uplift certain customs and dues, and govern the citizens with immediate responsibility to the Crown.¹

In the year 1692 the Marquis had the misfortune to lose his only son and heir, James, Lord Angus, who was killed at Steinkirk and whose life will be afterwards noticed. This event was followed by the second marriage of the Marquis to Lady Mary Ker, eldest surviving daughter of Robert, Earl, afterwards first Marquis of Lothian.² This marriage, which took place at Newbattle Abbey, appears to have been much more felicitous than the former union. A letter by the Countess of Lothian, written shortly after the birth of her daughter's first son, expresses the mutual satisfaction of both parties,³ and during the eight years of their married life affairs seem to have gone harmoniously. This union Blackwood, who was still at the head of the affairs of the Marquis, did not succeed in marring, although about three years after the marriage he wrote to the Marquis that the household expenses would require to be retrenched. His letter was seen by the Marchioness, who replied, indicating her willingness to comply if Blackwood would point out any needless expenditure on her part, and show reason from the state of the Marquis's affairs that his counsel was necessary. She more than hinted, however, that there must be gross mismanagement of her lord's affairs on his part, as she, though unlearned in accounts, could not understand why, notwithstanding the sale of lands and casualties, accounts and interests should continue to swell to principal sums, and the state of matters be increasingly worse now than it was twenty-five years before.⁴ From this time the Marchioness seems to have exerted herself to save the Douglas estates from utter ruin.

¹ Blank Commission of Bailiary by James Marquis of Douglas, referring to charter under the great seal by King William and Queen Mary, dated 29th March 1694.

² Original contract of marriage, dated 13th

December 1692, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Letter by Jean, Countess of Lothian, to the Marquis of Douglas, dated 5th December 1693. *Ibid.*

⁴ Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 285, 286.

To the noble friends of the Douglas family, and even to its more sagacious dependants, the ruinously burdened condition of its fortunes had long been matter of serious anxiety. Since Blackwood's appointment in 1670 things had only gone from bad to worse. He at that time superseded a chamberlain, William Somerville, who had held the office for two years, and had elaborated a plan by which he proposed in seven years to clear off all the debt then lying upon the estates, amounting to 200,000 merks. Blackwood's promises were more flattering, and he so insinuated himself with the Marquis that he obtained his unbounded confidence, and retained it firmly till nearly the very close of the Marquis's life, in spite of all that relatives and friends could do to shake it.

So pressing had matters become in 1681 that Blackwood proposed the sale of the Abernethy and Angus lands, and the raising of several loans from friends of the family of twenty thousand pounds each on security of the rest of the estates.¹ Even the sympathies of King Charles the Second were aroused, and he about this time directed the Chancellor and Treasurer of Scotland to inquire into the condition of affairs, and consult with the friends of the family how the Marquis might be extricated from his difficulties. The king's concern continued for several years, but though he repeatedly asked an account of the affairs of the Marquis to be sent him, it was not obtained.² The blame of this was laid afterwards upon Blackwood, who "managed both the Marquess estate and persone, indulging him to ane unacquaintedness and estrangement to his own affaires, and did soe far ingratiat himself with the Marquess that none of his noble freinds, who frequently desired to concerne themselves to be informed as to the Marquess conditione, and to give

¹ It is related of Blackwood that rather than pay a petty sum due by the Marquis to an Edinburgh tradesman, he allowed the Marquis's coach horses to be pointed and

publicly sold at the Cross of Edinburgh. [Memorial in Douglas Charter-chest.]

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 45-48.

there best advyce, could be admitted any access, and soe Blackwood was sole manadger without controll for the space of 28 years. . . .”¹

After the Marchioness became aware of the perilous condition of the estates, she communicated her fears to her father, the Earl of Lothian, and by his efforts means were devised for attempting the preservation of the estates. Blackwood, now advanced in years, and alarmed at the claims which were being made, reluctantly allowed the noble relatives of the Marquis to share his knowledge of the condition of affairs. The utter confusion in which they found everything amazed and appalled them. The writs of the estates, to which Blackwood alone had access, were so scattered, some of them lost, that scarcely one “valid progress” could be made up. Blackwood’s defence was that the writs and law affairs of the Marquis were not his trust. With difficulty the Marquis was induced to grant a commission for the management of his affairs to James, Duke of Queensberry, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, James, Earl of Morton, Robert, Earl of Lothian, William, Earl of Annandale, Archibald, Earl of Forfar, Lord Basil Hamilton, William, Lord Jedburgh, John, Lord Carmichael, Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh, Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestane, and Sir Patrick Murray of Pittidinner,² who immediately discharged Blackwood, and appointed another chamberlain in his place. Blackwood resented this, and as at the beginning of their management, the confidence of the Marquis in his old chamberlain remained unshaken, the commissioners were thwarted in all their measures. One of the most active of the creatures of Blackwood in inflaming the mind of the Marquis against them was William Simpson, an innkeeper in the village of Douglas. He gained an ascendancy over the Marquis, whom he frequently attended, and accompanied in journeys to Edinburgh and London. He was detected in some irregularities and acts of oppression against the tenants,

¹ Copy Memorandum anent Blackwood, 1699, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Commission, dated 12th August 1698, to endure for nine years.

and the commissioners imprisoned him until he consented to purchase his freedom by promising to keep away from the Marquis and renouncing certain leases which he had influenced the Marquis to bestow on him.¹ The Marquis then perceived his great mistake, and became amenable to counsel, though too late for his own comfort. At his request Blackwood was ultimately proceeded against by the commissioners. In a letter to the Duke of Queensberry, dated in March 1699, the Marquis writes:—

“Please your Grace, I cannot but acknowledge the intire respect and kyndnes showne to me by your Grace and my other noble and generous freinds, vndertakeing the management of my affaires, which, I must confesse, are in great disorder, occasioned chiefly (nay, I may say only) by Blackwood’s mismanagement, who had the sole trust thereof for about 28 years’ space, wherein he hes most vndutifully, vnworthily and egregiously maleversed and kept matters so close from me, till, to my great disappointment, all is gone to confusion. And, certainlie, if he had been faithfull in his charge as ane honest man would, I might have expected, as others on good ground did, that by his intromissions with my rents and casualities litle debt should have been to pay, whereas I vnderstand (but too late) the debt is vastly augmented, and my whole affaires in disorder. The case being thus, I would earnestly entreat your Grace, and my other freinds, amongst your other favors, to bring Blackwood to account for his intromissions and malversations. For I am persuaded, on a true account, he will be found debtor to me in considerable sommes, and I must recomend to your care and advyse what course is fittest and speediest to be taken with him, not only to cause him make compt and pay, but, besides, that he may be punished for his grosse, maleverse, and deceitfull dealing (wherewnto I judge the Secret Councill to be most proper), and for abstracting the bond he and his cautioner gave me to be comptable when he gott his commission, which he has medled with amongst my other papers without any warrand or allowance from me, and will ordane Blackwood to delyver back that bond, or, if it cannot be had, to ordaine him to finde sufficient caution to pay what shall be found due after compt. It’s lyke he will pretend he hes alreadye gott my approbatione of severall of his accompts. But I am hopefull justice will have no regard thereto, Blackwood having imposed on me from tyme to tyme, making me beleive my affaires were in good order, wherein I did but too much trust him, and, withall, the whole accompt and instructiones of his discharge being still kept and detained by himself, and are yet in his own hands, so

¹ Proceedings against William Simpson, 1699. Douglas Charter-chest.

that on that single ground I thinke law will oblige him yet to compt from his first medleing till the tyme I turned him off. Please to comunicat what I have here written to my other freinds, whose assistance and concurrence I desyre and expect, and that no tyme be delayed, Blackwood being now ane aged man, and any fortune he hes so conveyed as no expectatione of satisfaction can be if the former bond of caution be not redelyvered or new caution found.”¹

The commissioners allowed the Marquis a fixed sum of 12,000 merks yearly for the maintenance of himself and household, and with the remainder of the rental they had to extinguish a debt of more than £240,000 Scots. They found the barony of Tantallon so encumbered that it was deemed advisable to sell it, and it was disposed of in 1699 to Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, President of the Court of Session, for the sum of 112,000 merks, the purchaser out of that price first clearing the land of burdeus.² Under their judicious management the estates were eventually cleared, and the successor of the Marquis reaped the benefit of their disinterested labours.

Before the commissioners were formally invested as such they prevailed upon the Marquis to denude himself of his estate in favour of his only son then in life, Archibald, Lord Angus. This he did in 1697,³ reserving the question of who should be heirs of entail until two years later, when he settled the succession, giving his brother Archibald, Earl of Forfar, a right to inherit immediately after the failure of the heirs of the Marquis and Lord Angus.⁴ Within a few weeks the Marquis was taken seriously ill, and an attempt was then made to withdraw the name of the Earl of Forfar by inducing the Marquis to sign a new document nominating tutors to his son. But the attempt was detected and defeated by the Earl of Forfar

¹ Copy letter in Douglas Charter-chest.

in favour of Archibald Lord Angus, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Scroll Disposition and relative Papers in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Disposition, dated 14th September 1697, followed by Crown Charter, 24th June 1698,

⁴ 11th March 1699. Note and Extract of Deed of Nomination, *ibid.*

obtaining from the Marquis, after his recovery, a renunciation of this document as having been "industriously offered to us to be subscribed under the pretence of a nomination of tutorie when we were under the burden of ane heavy sickness and at the nearest approach to death, and when we were in no fitness to judge of or examine the contents of such a write."¹ The terms of the entail were thus restored as formerly arranged.

On 25th February in the following year, 1700, the Marquis died at Douglas, aged fifty-four years, and was interred in the family vault in the old Chapel of St. Bride, it is said, without pomp or ceremony. He was survived by his second Marchioness, Lady Mary Ker, for many years. She was principal guardian to her son, and is entitled to credit for the way in which she contributed to retrieve the family fortunes. She died at Edinburgh on 21st January 1736, and was buried in the aisle of Douglas, Viscount of Belhaven, in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood.²

By his first wife James, Marquis of Douglas, had one son, and by his second wife two sons and a daughter.

1. James, Earl of Angus, of whom a short memoir follows.
2. William, Earl of Angus, born 15th October 1693, died 20th March 1694.
3. Archibald, third Marquis, and Duke of Douglas; of him a memoir follows.
4. Lady Jane Douglas, of whom also a memoir follows.

¹ Extract Declaration in favour of the Earl of Forfar, 15th June 1699, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Her Testament-dative, given up by her son and daughter in the following month, contains an inventory of jewellery left by the Marchioness in the house occupied by her in Edinburgh (in Sir James Elphinstone's tenement at the foot of Gray's Close). It included a gold watch and chain, and several

miniature portraits, one of which, set in gold, was that of her husband. The others, set in brass, were thought to be those of the first Marquis of Douglas, the Marquis of Argyll, and a member of the Lothian family. There are also lists of furniture in the rooms of her house in Edinburgh and at Merchiston Castle, where the Marchioness also sojourned occasionally. [Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments, vol. 99.]



Douglas
B Douglas



A Douglas



JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF ANGUS,
ELDEST SON OF JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.
BORN 1671, DIED V.P. 1692.

JAMES EARL OF ANGUS, the only son of the marriage of James, second Marquis of Douglas and Lady Barbara Erskine, was born in the year 1671. His education was conducted by tutors, one of the first of whom was Matthew M^cKail, brother of the youthful martyr, Hugh M^cKail, on whose behalf, after he was captured, the dowager Marchioness of Douglas wrote a letter to Archbishop Sharp, with, however, no effect.¹ About 1682, Lord Angus was pursuing his education in England under the charge of a Mr. Abernethy as tutor. King Charles the Second interested himself in him, and instructed the Scottish Treasurer to bestow an annual pension of £200 sterling towards the completion of his education. This token of goodwill was confirmed and continued by King James the Seventh after his brother's death, but it is doubtful if much of the money was ever really paid.² Lord Angus was frequently at Court during this period. In the early part of the year 1687 he fell ill, was bled and sent to Tunbridge Wells for a time. He was advised to return to Scotland,³ but if he did so, his stay must have been very short, as in September he was again at Tunbridge, afterwards in London, and he then appears to have gone to France and Holland. There were at this time proposals made for his marriage into one of several families, one

¹ Aikman's History of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 532.

original correspondence in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 45-50. Also

³ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 279.

design being to secure a wealthy heiress, by means of which the fortunes of the Douglas family might be assisted, but nothing came of these endeavours.

At the Revolution of 1688, an invasion of the west of Scotland by the Irish was feared, and it was resolved by the Government to arm such of the inhabitants as were disposed to enrol for the defence of the country. The Covenanters, many of whom were natives of Douglasdale and the mountainous districts by which it is surrounded, were at the time debating among themselves the duty of aiding the Government, and Lord Angus, on their behalf, offered the services of a regiment from their ranks of twenty companies, twelve hundred men in all. The offer was accepted, a commission as colonel granted to Lord Angus, and on the 14th May 1689 the entire strength of the regiment was enrolled at the Marquis's Holm, on the Douglas, a little way from the town. This regiment was originally known as "the Angus Regiment," from the title of its commander, but afterwards was better known as the "Cameronian Regiment." Shortly after its embodiment it was ordered to Perth and other places, and it greatly distinguished itself by its brilliant defence of Dunkeld against General Cannon.¹ It is now the 26th Regiment.

Lord Angus had not hitherto taken part in any active work with his regiment. Being an only son and the hope of the family, his father was averse to his incurring the risks of war, and by the king's permission he pursued his studies in Holland. Unpleasant censures on this forbearance circulated busily, and greatly disquieted Lord Angus, who, from Utrecht, wrote urgently but dutifully to his father desiring that he would either permit him to take his place at the head of his regiment, which was then actively engaged in the Netherlands against Louis the Fourteenth of France, or call him home to live in private retirement.² The wish of Lord Angus was

¹ *Faithful Contendings*, pp. 393-413.

(No. 15), Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

² *Letter*, James Lord Angus to his father, January 1692. Original in Riddell collec-

gratified. He joined his regiment, but it was only to fall at the battle of Steinkirk on 3d August 1692, where his regiment fought with great bravery, although it, with the rest of the British army, was deserted by their allies. This seems to have been the only battle in which Lord Angus was engaged, though he probably commanded his regiment for a month or two previously. He died unmarried. His testament-dative was given up by his brother Archibald, Duke of Douglas, in 1710, when there was due to him by the Government, of arrears and other charges, the sum of about £360 sterling.¹

There is, at Alloa House, a portrait of this Earl of Angus. It represents a youth with a prepossessing countenance.

¹ Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments, vol. 84, H.M. General Register House.



A large, ornate, cursive signature or monogram, possibly reading 'F. M. G.' or similar, with elaborate flourishes.

XII.—1. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, THIRD MARQUIS AND FIRST
DUKE OF DOUGLAS.

MARGARET DOUGLAS (MAINS), HIS DUCHESS.

1700—1761.

AT the death of James, second Marquis of Douglas, his surviving son Archibald was only six years old, having been born in 1694, and baptized on 13th October in that year. He was placed under the guardianship of his mother, James, Earl of Morton, Robert, Earl of Lothian, William, Lord Jedburgh, Lord Charles Ker and others, appointed by his father in his testament,¹ and received an education appropriate to his rank.

During his minority, his tutors and friends pressed in Parliament the claim for precedence due to his family. Protests were made on his behalf, and continued even after the title of Duke was conferred upon him. On 16th January 1707, before the passing of the Act of Union, a special protest was made that the treaty should not prejudice his honours and privileges of the first vote in Parliament, carrying the crown, and leading the van in battle. Before the final dissolution of Parliament an Act was passed ratifying a charter confirming and securing these privileges to the Duke and his successors.²

¹ Bond of Relief, naming the tutors, 10th January 1701, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. pp. 32, 48, 52, 116, 209, 303, 403, 475. In terms of this grant the Duke, at the close

of the Parliament, though still only a boy, and supported on his horse, carried the crown from the Parliament House to the Castle of Edinburgh, where it was deposited with much ceremony. [Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. pp. 137, 138.]

The titles of Duke of Douglas, Marquis of Angus, Earl of Angus and Abernethy, Viscount of Jedburgh Forest, Lord Douglas of Boncle, Preston, and Robertson, were conferred on the young Marquis by Queen Anne on 10th April 1703,¹ and in 1707, upon a resignation by the Duke, the Queen granted the charter already referred to, which, besides confirming the ancient privileges of the family, erected the Douglas and Angus estates into a dukedom and regality.² Queen Anne seems to have taken a special interest in the young Duke. She defrayed the expenses of his education by a pension of £400 yearly, payable out of the lordships of Dunbar and Etrick, and in 1710, apparently in answer to an application setting forth that that sum was insufficient to provide education and maintenance suitable to the Duke's rank and increasing age, another sum of £500 yearly was ordered to be paid to him by the Governor of the Leeward Islands, who was apparently appointed at the Duke's instance. It was, at the same time, suggested that compensation should be given him for privileges lost at the Union, and that this might aid in paying the debts on his estate, estimated at £20,000 sterling. His claims to a peerage of Great Britain were also pressed upon her Majesty.³

On the accession of King George the First, the Duke of Douglas claimed to attend the coronation and officiate in his hereditary capacity, but it does not appear that he was actually present.⁴ Soon afterwards the Duke or his tutors petitioned the King to continue the favours and pensions bestowed by Queen Anne, and the petition was indorsed by the Scottish Treasury, but the result has not been ascertained.⁵

When in September 1715 the standard of insurrection was raised by the Earl of Mar on behalf of the Pretender, the Duke of Douglas joined heartily

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 347.

³ Petition to King George I., and Draft Memorial, 1710, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 476. Resignation and Charter, dated 10th March 1707.

⁴ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 245.
⁵ Petition to King George I., 12th March 1715. Douglas Charter-chest.

in preparations to aid the Government. He was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Forfar, but his greatest activity was shown in the immediate neighbourhood of Douglas Castle. The number of his vassals, who were all well-affected, was estimated at five hundred, and of these, as it was harvest time, he mustered and put under training three hundred men. They were ready for the field by the 27th of September, and it was arranged that they should march in three detachments to join the Duke of Argyll at Stirling. The first detachment of one hundred men accordingly set out for Stirling, and arrived the same night at Carluke. They were to be followed next day by the second detachment, and the Duke himself was to march with the remainder on 29th September. But an officer who had been sent forward to acquaint Argyll of their march, returned to Carluke about the time of arrival there of the first troop of Douglas men, with orders that, in consequence of scarcity of provisions, they were to quarter on the north side of Clyde until further instructions. The march of the later detachments was therefore delayed, and at last the whole were ordered to remain at Douglas under arms, ready to proceed if required.¹

The Duke of Douglas, though his men were thus prevented from joining the royal army, set out in person, accompanied by a number of neighbouring gentlemen, and met the Duke of Argyll at Stirling. In the military movements which followed, and particularly at the battle of Sheriffmuir, the Duke remained in constant attendance upon Argyll as commander-in-chief, and "behav'd very well."² He was so far identified with Argyll's movements that among other false statements made by the rebels was a report that the Dukes of Argyll and Douglas, and other royalists, with only two regiments, were shut up in Dunblane, surrounded by rebel troops, and that their escape from being cut to pieces was impossible.³

¹ Patten's *History of the Rebellion of 1715*, p. 232; Rae's *History*, pp. 203, 206, 231, 232.

² Rae, p. 300.

³ *Ibid.* p. 311.

In January 1717 the Duke was in London, and seems to have remained there some time, but in March 1718 he was again in Scotland, as in that year he made various provisions for his sister, Lady Jane Douglas, which will be more fully detailed in her memoir.¹ He also made a brief visit to Paris about 1720 in quest of his sister.

In 1725 a tragedy occurred which considerably overshadowed the remainder of the Duke's life. This was the death of Captain John Ker, a natural son of Lord Mark Ker, a young man of whom his Grace was very fond, and who was then staying at Douglas Castle. The particulars of the tragedy have been so variously related that it is impossible to ascertain the exact details, but there seems no doubt that the young man fell by the Duke's own hand, while they were fencing or otherwise. A few days afterwards the Duke went to Edinburgh and sailed for Holland.²

How long he remained there is not known, but in 1726 he had returned home, as he then granted further provisions in favour of his sister Lady Jane. From that time he resided chiefly at Douglas Castle. He was there on 10th November 1745, when he wrote to a correspondent referring to some persons who had been arrested on their way to join Prince Charles Edward, and declaring his readiness to embrace every opportunity of serving his king and country.³ On the 24th December the same year, Prince Charles Edward spent the night at Douglas Castle, where he exacted free quarters. He usually made remuneration for lodging and provision, but in the case of Douglas Castle and Drumlanrig this was omitted, as the Prince accounted the owners enemies of his family. At Hamilton some small payment was made, but at Douglas even the "vails" to the servants were neglected.⁴ When Prince

¹ Letter from London, 13th January 1717 ;
Edinburgh, 15th March 1718. Douglas
Charter-chest.

³ Original letter, apparently to Andrew
Fletcher Lord Milton, in Salton Charter-
chest.

² Cf. Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 208.

⁴ Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*,
1745-6, edition 1869, p. 207.

Charles was at Douglas Castle he was on his way north from England, and either with him, or about the same time, a party of Highlanders remained, it is said, two days in the town of Douglas. They conducted themselves so as to be a trouble to the inhabitants, and according to tradition were got rid of by a ruse. They carried off from the castle the famous sword described in the memoir of the Good Sir James Douglas, in the previous volume of this work, but the weapon was recovered by the Duke after the battle of Culloden.¹ It was in reference to this visit of Prince Charles and his followers—among whom apparently was Lord George Murray—that the Duke of Douglas received a letter from the Duke of Athole, expressing concern for the treatment given to the Douglas property by the rebels. The arrival in Scotland of the Duke of Cumberland is also announced.² To another correspondent the Duke of Douglas, writing in March 1746, desires his compliments to be presented to His Royal Highness, and expresses the hope that he may be able to kiss hands when the Royal Duke returned to Edinburgh.³

The incidents of the marriage of Lady Jane Douglas in 1747, and the subsequent conduct towards her of her brother the Duke, will be found narrated in her memoir. During the years which followed 1753, the Duke made

¹ Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. p. 184. Vol. i. of this work, pp. 183, 184. In a Memorial for the Duke of Douglas to be given to Lord Mark Ker in the year 1746, the Duke sets forth the number of guns, broadswords, one of them "the black Douglas sword," and pistols, which were taken away from the Castle as he believes by the orders of Secretary Murray, who also pulled down a very good drum with his own hands, and broke up closets and presses of books and cabinets; took his Grace's sheep, horses, etc., silver jugs and silver spoons; broke down the park dykes about the Castle, and destroyed a

great deal of planting; pillaged and robbed all sorts of eatables and drinkables, and ruined all the Duke's corn and hay; and made the Duke's house worse than a hog's sty. In special Sir William Gordon of Park took from the Duke two hundred and thirty-one pounds, ten shillings sterling, and they also took from his butler clothes to the value of twenty-four pounds. The Duke imputed the whole to Mr. Murray as the principal incendiary. [Memorial in Douglas Charter-chest.]

² Vol. iv. of this work, p. 290.

³ Letter dated at Douglas Castle 8th March 1746, in Salton Charter-chest.

various settlements of his estates, with express intention to prevent their passing to the family of his sister, but these deeds were all cancelled at a later period of his life.

In March 1758, the Duke married Miss Peggy or Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of James Douglas of Mains in Dumbartonshire, a cadet of the family of Morton. The marriage took place at Douglas Castle.¹ The Duchess is said to have been beautiful, which, with her rank and wit, made her a recognised leader in Scottish society. In the end of the same year, Douglas Castle was burned, the fire originating in a small room adjoining the bedroom of the Duchess, whose jewels were destroyed, with the whole furniture in the upper part of the house.²

Only a year after their marriage, the Duke and Duchess separated by mutual consent, the Duke granting to his wife a yearly income of £250 sterling, on condition that she made no effort to see or speak with him, unless by his own invitation.³ Within a few months, however, a reconciliation was effected, and they remained together until the Duke's death.⁴ One special mark of favour was the replacing of the Duchess's jewels by a set which cost upwards of £3000 sterling. By the friendly offices of his Duchess, added to other influences, the Duke was ultimately induced to do justice to the memory of his late sister Lady Jane Douglas, and he left his whole estate to his own nearest heirs, no longer excluding his surviving nephew, Archibald Steuart.

One of the Duke's latest acts was the rebuilding of Douglas Castle. He employed Adam, the celebrated architect, to make plans for the new edifice, which, as designed, is still unfinished. Adam had shortly before built the

¹ Scots Magazine, vol. xx. p. 275.

² Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. p. 161.

³ Contract, dated 20th April 1759, in

Douglas Charter-chest. Date of separation, 6th March 1759.

⁴ A post-nuptial contract of marriage was entered into between the Duke and Duchess on 6th August 1759.

new castle of Inveraray for Archibald, third Duke of Argyll. The Duke of Douglas adopted a plan for a castle similar to that at Inveraray. But, influenced probably by the ancient prophecy that as often as Douglas Castle was destroyed it should rise again in larger dimensions and greater splendour, the Duke specially ordered that his castle of Douglas should be ten feet longer, ten feet broader, ten feet higher, and, in short, ten feet larger all over than the castle of Inveraray.¹

The Duke of Douglas resided in Edinburgh for some time previous to his death, living either at Queensberry House in the Canongate, or at Holyrood Palace. A glimpse is afforded of his character and manner, by the narrative of a contemporary English nobleman, William, second Earl of Shelburne, who visited the Duke during the later years of his life. Lord Shelburne thus writes :—"In Scotland, I suppose I saw the last of the feudal lords, like my ancestors, in the person of the last Duke of Douglas. When I was introduced to him at Holyrood House by appointment, he met me at the top of the stairs with his hat and sword. Lord Dunmore, General Scot, the father of Lady Tichfield, and Mr. John Home, the poet, went with me. He (the Duke) spoke occasionally to Lord Dunmore, but not much, and did not open his lips to General Scot. When anything was said about his family, he nodded to Mr. John Home to narrate what regarded it. I happened to say something about the Highlands, which I had misapprehended or been misinformed about, at which Lord Dunmore laughed. The Duke drew up, and vindicated fully what I had said, signifying by his manner to Lord Dunmore his disapprobation.

"I told him that I had seen a new house he was building in the Highlands. He said he heard that the Earl of Northumberland was building a house in the north of England, the kitchen of which was as large as his whole house; upon which the Duchess, an enterprising

¹ Tradition received from the late Earl of Home.

woman, as may be seen from the famous Douglas Cause, observed that if the Douglasses were to meet the Percys once more in the field, then would the question be whose kitchen was the largest? Upon this the Duke nodded to Mr. Home to state some of the great battles in which the Douglas family had distinguished themselves. I told him that I hoped to wait upon him in London. He said he feared not, he could be of no use there; he was not sufficiently informed to carry any weight there; he could neither read nor write without great difficulty. I told him that many of the greatest men in the history of both kingdoms could do neither, to which he assented."¹

A few days before his decease, which took place at Edinburgh on 21st July 1761, the Duke of Douglas made various dispositions to his Duchess and his nephew.² To the former he left a considerable sum of money, with jewels and furniture, and appointed guardians for the latter. Besides other directions to his executors, the Duke desired that his body should be interred in the bowling-green at Douglas and that when his wife died her body might be laid beside his.³ He, however, was actually buried in a vault under the new church of the parish of Douglas. As the Duke died without issue, his estates, to which during his life he had largely added by purchases of lands, passed to his nephew, Archibald Steuart, eldest son of Lady Jane Douglas, the Duke's sister.⁴ Of Mr. Steuart, who, in terms of the Duke's

¹ The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, 1875, vol. i. p. 10. He succeeded his father in that title in May 1761, and was afterwards created first Marquis of Lansdowne.

² Dispositions to Duchess of Douglas 8th and 15th July 1761. Douglas Charter-chest. During his last illness the Duke swallowed a great quantity of "quicksilver" as a remedy, but without any sensible effect.

³ This wish explains a statement by Pen-nant (vol. ii. p. 116) that the Duke was buried under one of the towers of his new castle.

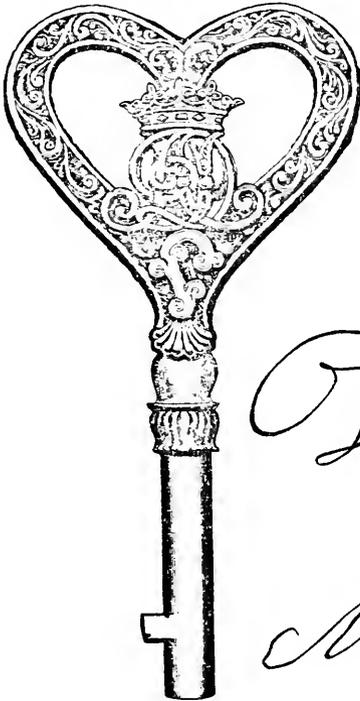
⁴ During the years between 1742 and 1760 the Duke of Douglas made very extensive purchases of land, chiefly in his own neighbourhood—Scrogtounhead, Craignethan with its castle, the original of "Tillietudlem," Castlehill, Belstaine, Cormacoup, Hasleside, Kennox, Harecleuch, Dunsiston, Littlegill, Sornfalla,

settlements, took the name of Douglas, a memoir will be found on a later page.

The Duchess of Douglas survived her husband thirteen years, and died on 24th October 1774. She was a person of much force of character, and it was greatly owing to her active exertions and powerful influence that her nephew Mr. Douglas was enabled to retain his estates.

Abbotsinches, Leightshaw, and other smaller lands. All these purchases were very judi-

icious investments, and have proved to be of much benefit to the estates of Douglas.



Douglas

M Douglas

XII.—2. LADY JANE DOUGLAS,

ONLY SISTER OF ARCHIBALD DUKE OF DOUGLAS.

1698—1753.

SIR JOHN STEUART OF GRANDTULLY, BARONET,

1687—1764.

LADY JANE DOUGLAS, only daughter of James, second Marquis of Douglas, and sister of Archibald, third Marquis, and only Duke of Douglas, was born on the 17th of March 1698, and was about three years of age at her father's death. She and her brother were brought up as befitted their rank, and Lady Jane, gifted with strong natural talents, improved by education, became one of the most accomplished ladies of her time, besides being handsome in person, and elegant and engaging in manner. Possessed of so many attractions, and by birth occupying a position that commanded so many of the elements of human happiness, it might have been thought that Lady Jane would be one of the most fortunate of her family. But although she was admired and courted by noblemen of the highest rank, she met with a more than ordinary cross fate, as she called it, which appears to have followed her throughout life.

In early life she had the prospect of a very advantageous marriage with a nobleman of the first rank and fortune in Scotland, Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, who became second Duke of Buccleuch in 1732, on the death of his grandmother—Anna, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth. To this alliance the Duchess herself was highly favourable, as we learn from

her correspondence with Sir James Mackenzie, Lord Royston. In a letter to him, dated 2d February [1720], she says that she had written to him some weeks before to inform him of a most agreeable undertaking she was about, which was a projected marriage of Lord Dalkeith with Lady Jane Douglas, sister of the Duke of Douglas, a young lady whom she had heard much commended before she saw her, and who since had lost no ground with her.¹

But though the Duchess of Buccleuch was thus in February promoting the marriage of Lady Jane, in the following month she is found regretting that the intended union was broken off. Circumstances over which Lady Jane had no control, and of which, indeed, as will be shown, she was the victim, had prevented the marriage from taking place. In another letter to Lord Royston, the Duchess writes, "Mr. Somervill has acquainted you with my disapointment in the marage of my grandson, her nobll grace of Queensbury I imput it to, becaws she has the same fait which some others have in this worald, more powr then they deserve."² The blame of the failure of the marriage was thus clearly imputed to Catharine, Duchess of Queensberry,³ who thwarted the marriage to promote that of her sister-in-law, another Lady Jane Douglas, the second daughter of James, second Duke of Queensberry, whom Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, married on 5th April 1720.⁴

¹ The Red Book of Grandtully, by William Fraser, 1868, vol. ii. p. 306, No. 237.

² *Ibid.* No. 238, 4th March 1720.

³ Lady Catharine Hyde, the duchess of Charles, third Duke of Queensberry. She was a patroness of Pope, Prior, and other poets, who celebrated her beauty. Prior wrote that Kitty Hyde was "beautiful and young, and wild as colt untamed." Her portrait was engraved, and below it were placed the well-known lines of Horace Walpole:—

"To many a Kitty Love his car
Would for a day engage,
But Prior's Kitty, ever fair,
Obtained it for an age."

She was herself married only on 10th March 1720.

⁴ Had the wishes of her Grace of Buccleuch been fulfilled in the marriage of her grandson with Lady Jane Douglas the heirs of the marriage would probably have inherited the estates of the Duke of Douglas, and there

At this time Lady Jane Douglas was only about twenty-two years of age. After her death, when the Douglas estates were in competition between her only surviving son and George James, the young Duke of Hamilton, the incidents of the intended marriage are specially referred to in terms unfavourable to Lady Jane, and the blame of breaking off the match is laid upon her. In the pleading for the Duke of Hamilton by his eminent counsel, Sir Adam Ferguson, it was represented that Lady Jane had in her younger days been asked in marriage by several persons of high rank, all of whom she refused; that among others, she had been asked by a nobleman of the first quality, and possessed of the greatest fortune in Scotland, but that when this advantageous match was on the point of being concluded, she made an elopement into France disguised in men's clothes. This happened, it was alleged, in the year 1721.¹

Although not directly stated, it is here implied that Lady Jane jilted Lord Dalkeith, and eloped with that intent. But this account of the conduct of Lady Jane does not agree either with contemporary or later evidence. Had she acted in 1721 in the way first described forty-five years afterwards, in this special law pleading in the year 1766, the Duchess of Buccleuch would not at the time of the transaction have thrown the whole blame on the Duchess of Queensberry. No share of the blame was imputed to Lady Jane, and this must exonerate her from the skilfully stated insinuation as to her elopement. The visit of Lady Jane to Paris was made after the match was broken off, and instead of being the cause of the breach, was one of the unfortunate consequences of it. Had Lady Jane never gone to Paris, but

might have been a line of Dukes of Buccleuch inheriting the ancient estates of Douglas and Angus. Matters, however, were otherwise destined, and while the Dukedom of Douglas did not pass into the Buccleuch family, the marriage of the Earl of Dalkeith and Lady

Jane Douglas of Queensberry happily led, in their grandson Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, in the year 1810, to the junction of the dukedoms of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

¹ Memorial for the Duke of Hamilton, printed 24th January 1767, in the Douglas Cause.

remained in London where she was staying at the time, the match would equally have been broken off.

In the final pleading for Archibald Douglas of Douglas in the Douglas cause, the facts of the visit to Paris brought out in evidence are given by his able counsel, Mr. Ilay Campbell, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session. He stated that Lady Jane Douglas was brought up by her mother, the Marchioness, in principles of the strictest piety, which she always retained. Her great beauty and accomplishments procured her universal attention, and an alliance so honourable was courted by persons of the first rank and fortune in the kingdom. An incident, however, happened at an early period in her life, which was now unjustly taken hold of to her prejudice, though her conduct was vindicated at the time, and was indeed only the effect of high spirit and perhaps uncommon sensitiveness. She had been prevailed on to listen to the addresses of a nobleman of distinguished rank, who solicited her in marriage. Everything was settled by their mutual friends, and the match ready to be concluded, when Lady Jane, who then happened to be in London, was surprised one day, on her way to Court, by her chair being stopped by a person unknown, who delivered her a letter, written in the name of her lover, signifying that he was under engagements to another lady, of whom he had long been fond, and without whom he could not be happy.

It would, the counsel argued, have been a singular instance of philosophy in a young lady of her high station, and so much accustomed to admiration, had she submitted with patience to so cruel an affront. She figured to herself that an adventure of this kind would soon be in the mouths of the world, and that she would be exposed to ridicule and contempt. Full of this idea, she resolved to abandon for ever a country in which she imagined she could no longer pass her days with comfort. In order to prevent discovery she set out privately, and in disguise, attended only by her maid, who was a French

woman, and went to France with a determined purpose of shutting herself up in a convent. Her mother, the Marchioness, immediately followed, and came up with her before her intentions were carried out. Her brother, the Duke, after avenging the insult which had been offered to his family by fighting the supposed author of it, went also to France in quest of his sister, and prevailed with her to forget what had happened, and to return to her native country.¹

The visit to Paris is further explained by Mrs. Hepburn, sister of Margaret, Duchess of Douglas, who, in her depositions, stated what she had heard from the Duke of Douglas on the subject. From her evidence it appears that Lady Jane, considering herself affronted by Lord Dalkeith, took the advice of her French governess, who had gained an ascendancy over her, and went to France disguised in male attire. Mrs. Hepburn also corroborated the fact of the Duke of Douglas being provoked at the treatment of his sister, and in consequence fighting a duel with the Duke of Buccleuch.² Thus it appears that instead of Lady Jane Douglas having jilted her lover on the eve of her marriage, he jilted her, which quite accords with the explanation afforded by the contemporary letters of the Duchess of Buccleuch, which were unknown at the time of the partisan pleadings in the Douglas Cause.

Another and a more enduring trouble in the life of Lady Jane Douglas was the attitude of resentment maintained towards her for many years by her brother Archibald, Duke of Douglas. During their younger years she was his peculiar favourite, and his affection for his sister, whom he usually called "his dear sister Jeanie," was shown in several testamentary deeds which were made by him. On 15th March 1718, he made first a disposition in favour of his own heirs of entail, whom failing, to Lady Jane,

¹ Memorial in Douglas Cause, printed in 1766, p. 4.

² Defender's Proof in Douglas Cause, p. 434.

etc.; secondly, a nomination and disposition to Lady Jane, appointing her his sole executrix; and, thirdly, a bond of provision to her for 30,000 merks, which, with the provision of 20,000 merks which her father had secured to her, by a bond dated 11th March 1699, made in all 50,000 merks. Still following out his intentions of providing for Lady Jane, the Duke on the 7th of May 1718 made to her an additional bond of provision, and a further nomination and disposition of executry. On the 11th of June same year, he made another disposition of his estate of Dudhope, or Dundee, to the heirs-male of his body; failing whom, to his heirs-female, and their heirs whomsoever, taking solely, and not as portioners; failing whom, to Lady Jane and the heirs-male of her body; failing whom, to Lady Jane's heirs-female, taking in the same manner as his own; failing whom, to the other heirs therein mentioned. In 1726 the Duke, having made purchases of other landed estates, settled them, together with his ancient estate of Douglas, in the same manner. These provisions in favour of Lady Jane were all made in the lifetime of her mother, but the latter having died in 1736, and her jointure having ceased, the Duke considered it necessary to increase the allowance to his sister. On 7th February 1736 the Duke gave Lady Jane a bond, reciting that 50,000 merks were due to her, the interest of which was £138, 17s. 9½d., and that by the death of the Marchioness, her mother, with whom she lived, it having become insufficient to maintain her, he intended to give her in addition £161, 2s. 2½d., both sums amounting to £300. He accordingly bound himself to pay to her £300 a year, revocable, however, as to the last sum of £161, 2s. 2½d. The Duke also declared that in case of her marriage, he would put her in possession of the estate of Dundee, and make other suitable provisions upon her.

Mary, Marchioness of Douglas, widow of the second Marquis, who died in 1700, survived till the year 1736. Her daughter, Lady Jane, lived in the family with her, their residence for some time being at Merchiston

Castle, on the south side of Edinburgh. After the death of the Marchioness, Lady Jane set up house for herself, and for the greater part of the next ten years lived at Drumsheugh House, in the western district of that city. It was while Lady Jane was thus residing alone, and about two years after her mother's death that the change came over the feelings of the Duke towards his sister. This fact requires to be explained in justice to the memory of Lady Jane, and it was so well done by the eminent counsel for Lady Jane's son Archibald, in the competition for the Douglas estates, that we may be excused for adopting the words of the memorial which was submitted to the Court of Session in 1766 :—

“About the year 1725 the Duke was suspected of having committed a rash action, which made it necessary for him to live in retirement; and, from that period, for many years, he continued to lead a solitary life in the castle of Douglas, where few people had access to him, and where he became a prey to designing and interested persons. Lady Jane lived in Edinburgh with her mother the Marchioness, and seldom had occasion to meet with her brother. In 1738 (the Marchioness being then dead), an incident happened which produced a misunderstanding between them. The Duke, in a fit of passion, had beat one of his dependants; and, as this made a noise in the country, and revived in some degree the former story then almost forgot, it was given out and believed, that an information had been lodged against him to government.¹ Lady Jane heard soon after that he had thought of leaving his retirement to pay a visit in Edinburgh. She wrote to him by express, begging him to delay his journey, and signifying an apprehension that he might be put to trouble if he appeared in publick at that time. This letter, though well intended, gave offence to the Duke. He prosecuted his journey

¹ As already noticed in the Memoir of the Duke of Douglas, stories of his eccentric character have been handed down by tradi-

tion. But many of these are obviously exaggerated.

to Edinburgh, but by an accident did not meet with his sister; and he returned to the country very much dissatisfied with her.”¹

The memorial proceeds to explain that about this time a person called White of Stockbrigs insinuated himself into the confidence of the Duke, and acquired remarkable influence over him. He lived with him in the castle of Douglas, and continued for many years to be his sole adviser and favourite. This was an unhappy connection both for the Duke and Lady Jane, as it was for the interest of Stockbrigs that the Duke's relatives and friends should be kept at a distance from him. This person, and certain others combined with him, abused the confidence of the Duke. Acting as partisans of the Duke of Hamilton, who was a Douglas in the male line, and the next collateral male heir of the Duke of Douglas, they used every effort to induce the latter to alter the succession to his estates in favour of the Duke of Hamilton, in the hope that when their end was secured they would share in the management. As, however, they could not accomplish their purpose so long as Lady Jane possessed the confidence and affection of her brother, they had recourse to innumerable arts by which to infuse jealousies and suspicions against her into his mind.

The Duke of Douglas, from his peculiarity of temper, was extremely prone to receive such impressions, and the plotters were only too successful. If Lady Jane happened not to be at home when the Duke came to visit her in Edinburgh, it was insinuated that she neglected him. It was represented to him that she had been contriving to have him put under restraint that she might get possession of his estate; and though this imputation was proved to be wholly unfounded, it took possession of his mind, and he vowed resentment against her. The Duke lived for some time in Edinburgh, where he was unpopular. Having been insulted by the mob in his house there, he was made to believe that the populace, headed by Colonel

¹ Memorial for Archibald Douglas of Douglas, printed in 1766, pp. 5, 6.

John Steuart, who, he understood, was courting his sister,—and the idea of her alliance with whom offended his family pride,—had been hired by her to murder him, or to carry him off to St. Kilda. And when, in 1745, the rebels invaded Douglas Castle, the Duke was assured that it was done at the instigation of Lady Jane in order to rob him of his money and arms. He all the more readily believed the story from his dislike of Colonel Steuart, whom he regarded as a Jacobite and a Papist, and as deeply involved in the rebellion.¹

Under these circumstances the situation of Lady Jane was a very unhappy one. It was about a year after this that she married. It does not appear, however, that her unpleasant relations with her brother were in any sense the occasion of her contemplating marriage. Her resolution was taken previous to any unhappiness between them. But the circumstances just related would, at least latterly, tend to confirm her in any thought she had of marriage. That which chiefly moved her in this matter was her brother's declared intentions not to marry, and his importunities that she should enter into that state. Before their alienation he not only urged her to this, but held out inducements for her to marry. Hence the bond, already narrated, which the Duke made in her favour on 7th February 1736. This he promised to supplement. He advised and urged her on this point; he told her it was a matter indifferent which of them married; for if she had children they would inherit the estate, and should he marry and have children also, there would be enough for them both. He pressed Lady Jane much to marry, saying, if she married either a nobleman or gentleman of character, he would give her £300 sterling per annum in addition to the £300 sterling she then had, and the estate of Dundee; and he would also refer to any four noblemen in Scotland what more he should give her.²

In reference to these conversations between Lady Jane and her brother

¹ Douglas Case, 4to, pp. 7, 8.

² Defender's Proof, p. 896.

about marriage, Lady Jane wrote a letter, on 16th September 1748, two years after her marriage, to her friend Mr. Haldane, in which she says:—"It is mighty certain, that my inclinations were never in the marrying way: and had not I at last been absolutely sure that my brother was resolved never to marry, I never should have one thought of doing it; but since this was his determined unalterable resolution, I judged it fit to overcome a natural disinclination and backwardness, and to put myself in the way of doing something for a family not the worst in Scotland; and therefore gave my hand to Mr. Stewart, the consequence of which has proved more happy than I could well have expected, since, on the 10th of July last, I was favoured with two boys, the one very strong and promising, the other extremely weak, and does not promise a great deal. However he still lives."¹

Before entering on the full history of Lady Jane's marriage and its consequences, an episode showing her sympathy with the Jacobites may here be related. It was in her house that, in 1746, a secure refuge was for some time afforded to the Chevalier Johnstone, assistant aide-de-camp to Prince Charles Edward,—a circumstance which, had it been discovered at the time by any Government official, would have brought Lady Jane into considerable trouble as accessory to the rebellion. Chevalier Johnstone, in his *Memoirs of the Rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746*, has related with some minuteness the incidents of his sojourn with Lady Jane Douglas, and these claim a place in her memoir.

After the defeat of Prince Charles Edward at Culloden on 16th April 1746, rigorous measures were adopted for securing the persons of those who had been engaged in the rebellion, and who had not submitted to the king's mercy. Those Jacobites who were still at large, and who were not fortunate enough to escape abroad, were lurking in concealment in different parts of the country. On 1st May proclamation was made requiring magistrates to

¹ Letter of Lady Jane, Pursuer's Proof, p. 63. *Vide* another letter, p. 65.

make strict search for the fugitives ; ministers of the Gospel were required to give information of the disaffected in their parishes ; the country was divided into several divisions, and a cordon of troops drawn round each division, while many of the rebels who were taken suffered the last penalty of the law. In the face of such determined rigour upon the part of the Government it became extremely hazardous to harbour a disloyal person.

The Chevalier, who was in great fear of being apprehended, having formerly received kindness from Lady Jane, resolved to risk a visit to her in the hope that she might be able to assist him.¹ In the habit of a beggar, he

¹ The Chevalier was the only son of James Johnstone, merchant in Edinburgh, and of his wife, Miss Hewit, who was the aunt of Helen Hewit, who figures so prominently as the companion and friend of Lady Jane Douglas. Cecilia Johnstone, the sister of the Chevalier, was married to a son of Lord Rollo, who succeeded to the estate and title in 1765. The Chevalier appears to have moved in the best society in his youth, and, probably owing to his being cousin of Helen Hewit, was admitted to the society of Lady Jane Douglas, who treated him with great kindness. He was at the battle of Culloden, and narrowly escaped with his life by flight to the mountains of Cairngorm. He had formerly acquired a collection of the precious stones found there, several of which were very beautiful, especially a fine ruby, which had cost him no more than a crown in its rough state. When polished he refused fifty guineas for it from the Duke of Hamilton. The Chevalier explains that this stone was the size of a bean ; the colour was a little deep, and the fire equal to that of the most beautiful diamond. Edinburgh jewellers

took it for an oriental ruby. This stone he made a present of to Lady Jane Douglas, who, he says, paid him amply for it some time afterwards by saving his life. [Memoirs, pp. 170, 171.]

Along with two fellow-officers, Chevalier Johnstone concealed himself in Glenprosen, at the house of a person of the name of Samuel, who was very poor, and where for seventeen days they had the most scanty fare, being oatmeal and water. The night before the Chevalier and his two companions had arranged to escape to the mountains, he had a dream in which his safety and Lady Jane Douglas were associated. This dream made such an impression on his mind when he awoke, that, instead of escaping in the morning to the mountains with his companions, as arranged, he resolved on risking a visit to Edinburgh, disguised as a beggar. He arrived at Leith, where he had many adventures and narrow escapes, as it was filled with Hessian and English troops waiting for embarkation to Flanders.—[Memoir of the Rebellion, *passim*.]

travelled from Glenprosen to Leith. On his arrival there, he contrived to acquaint Lady Jane with his whereabouts. Her ladyship, accompanied by Mr. Stewart and Mrs. Hewit, visited him *incognita* the following day. Learning that he was not safe in his lodging, she offered him an asylum in her house, which, in the circumstances, he was glad to accept. Retaining his disguise, he reached Drumsheugh House the same night about eleven o'clock. There he was received by the gardener, who was intrusted with the secret, and, by Lady Jane's instructions, was at once ushered into her apartment. Lady Jane, Mr. Stewart, and Mrs. Hewit, who were waiting for him, acknowledged the completeness of his disguise. At Lady Jane's suggestion, and as a further precaution, his eyebrows were blackened with burnt cork. A chamber which had not been occupied for some time was allotted to him. Here he had opportunity to divest himself of his rags, which he was glad to have burned.

During the two months he remained in the house of Lady Jane every precaution was taken to prevent suspicion of his being there. With the exception of the gardener, and latterly of a footman, none of the servants were informed of his presence in the house. He was not allowed to wear shoes in his room, lest the noise of his treading the floor should be a means of betraying him. His food was brought to him by the gardener. He ventured out of the house only at midnight for a walk in the garden. And it was only at considerable intervals that he had the pleasure of spending a few hours in the apartment of Lady Jane, with her ladyship and Mr. Stewart. The time which might otherwise have passed drearily with him he employed in reading historical works supplied to him from the library of Lady Jane. Indeed, so well was his safety secured, and so much was his comfort studied, in circumstances extremely difficult, that the Chevalier would have been reconciled to an indefinite continuance in the condition in which he was placed.

At the expiry of two months, an event transpired which created considerable alarm to those in the secret, and which led to the Chevalier Johnstone leaving Edinburgh and proceeding to London. The following account is given of this event by the Chevalier:—"A servant maid who returned from Edinburgh with provisions told her companions in the kitchen that whilst she was purchasing meat in the flesh-market, the lacquey of an English gentleman, a commissioner of the customs, whispered in her ear 'That they knew very well that I was concealed in the house of Lady Jane Douglas, her mistress, and that there was every reason for supposing that her house would immediately be searched.' She added that she had openly contradicted this calumny."¹ When the gardener made known what he had been told by the maid, a consultation was at once held as to what should be done. The Chevalier expressed to Lady Jane his fear lest he had exposed her to danger. To this she at once replied, "If there were no risk, you would be under no obligation to me." The Chevalier was concealed for that day in a rick of hay. But the situation was one of so much discomfort owing to the greatness of the heat, and his confined position, and as no better expedient offered at the time, it was agreed that he should without delay set out for London. A pony was procured for him, and, in the disguise of a pedlar, he reached that city in safety.

We now come to the most prominent event in Lady Jane's life, her marriage, the circumstances leading to which have already been referred to. The gentleman to whom she gave her hand was Colonel John Steuart, afterwards Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, Baronet. Lady Jane met him in Edinburgh society, where, although her income was very limited for a lady of her rank, she held a distinguished place, private letters of the period referring to her as a lady of great consideration. Colonel Stewart's gallant bearing, his handsome personal appearance, or, as one witness called him, "a prodigious fine figure of a man,"² and lively conversation, appear to have

¹ *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745-1746*, pp. 250, 251.

² *Pursuer's Proof*, p. 340.

been attractions for Lady Jane.¹ Their acquaintance apparently began before her mother's death, but a long interruption to their friendship took place through a misunderstanding. Ten years afterwards, however, under the circumstances already stated, their intercourse was renewed. Lady Jane listened to his addresses, and they were privately married in her own house of Drumsheugh by the Rev. Robert Keith of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, commonly called Bishop Keith,² on the 4th of August 1746.³ Mr. Steuart was then fifty-nine years of age, and Lady Jane had then nearly completed her forty-eighth year. As Colonel Steuart was only a younger

¹ The small oil portrait of Sir John Steuart, now at Murthly Castle, was formerly in the possession of the Steuarts of Ballechin. It was given by one of them to a member of the Grandtully family, who presented it to his cousin, the present Sir Archibald Douglas Steuart, Baronet. The late Sir William Drummond Steuart had an enlarged copy made of that portrait. From the copy was made the lithographed portrait of Sir John, which is in the Red Book of Grandtully.

² At the date of the marriage, Mr. Keith was a bishop of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and he was, in 1743, elected Primus of that Church. He appears to have had a great regard for Lady Jane Douglas, as, in 1734, he dedicated to her his well-known and valuable work on the "History of the affairs of Church and State in Scotland," in the following terms:—

To the Right Honourable the Lady Jane Douglas, only daughter of the late James, Marquis of Douglas, and sister to Archibald, the present most noble head of that renowned House; This following History of the Affairs,

civil and ecclesiastical, in Scotland, is, upon account of her Ladyship's illustrious descent and personal merit, with great regard inscribed, by her Ladyship's most respectful and most humble servant, Robert Keith.

³ Bishop Keith wrote two certificates of his having officiated as the clergyman on the occasion. The first certificate bears date at Edinburgh, 14th September 1748, and it certifies that on the 4th of August 1746, he joined together in holy matrimony the Honourable Colonel John Steuart and the Right Honourable the Lady Jane Douglas before witness [Certificate printed in Defender's Proof, p. 999]. The second certificate bears date at Edinburgh, 19th February 1752, and it declares that, on 4th August 1746, Bishop Keith married the two following persons together as man and wife according to the liturgy of the Church of England, viz., John Steuart, Esq., brother-german to Sir George Steuart of Grandtully, and the Lady Jane Douglas, sister-lawful to Archibald, the present Duke of Douglas [Certificate printed in Defender's Proof, p. 999].

son, with a very limited income, and as Lady Jane herself, after her mother's death, having far too limited an allowance for her position, had been obliged to run into arrear, their marriage, in the pecuniary circumstances of both, was imprudent. For this reason, and also from the fear that the Duke would withdraw Lady Jane's annuity, they resolved to keep the marriage strictly private, and to live abroad for some time.

Of Mr. Steuart, who thus became the husband of Lady Jane Douglas, some further information may here be given. The second son of Sir Thomas Steuart of Balcaskie, in Fife, Baronet, a lord of Session with the title of Lord Balcaskie, by Lady Jane Mackenzie, third daughter of George, first Earl of Cromartie, Mr. Steuart was born on the 29th September 1687. He married, in 1725, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir James Mackenzie, Lord Royston, who predeceased him. The Stuarts of Grandtully were a branch of the royal and illustrious house of Stewart, so that by both father's and mother's side, Mr. Steuart was well born and well allied. He appears to have had many friends. The Earl of Crawford wrote to him in the most intimate terms, saluting him as "Dear John—with unalterable regard, your most devoted friend and humble servant, Crauford."¹ True to his Stewart clanship, he espoused the cause of the exiled royal family, and, in the rebellion of 1715, he joined the Earl of Mar for their restoration by force of arms. At the battle of Sherriffmuir, which took place on the 12th of November of that year, he fought in the army of the Pretender. Mr. Steuart was then twenty-eight years of age. His engaging in the rising of 1715 made him liable to forfeiture; and in the entail of the Grandtully estates, which was executed by his cousin, John Steuart, two years later, this contingency was carefully guarded against.²

Mr. Steuart entered the Swedish military service, in which he rose to the

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 48.

² The Red Book of Grandtully, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. clviii.

rank of colonel, and he was commonly designated Colonel Steuart till in 1759 he succeeded his brother as the third Baronet of Grandtully. In the life of Charles the Twelfth mention is made of a Steuart who was an officer near the person of that sovereign; and Mr Steuart was probably in the army of Charles the Twelfth. His sword-belt, of considerable breadth and of a yellow colour, garnished with silver, and with a massive buckle—part of the Swedish uniform, and evidently such as would have been worn by a superior officer—was long preserved at Murthly Castle, one of the residences of the Grandtully Baronets. Mr. Steuart was also an adventurer in the Mississippi scheme, and when it collapsed, he vowed that he would not again trust in paper though the Pope should keep the bank.¹

Mr. Steuart has himself explained the passionate admiration with which he was captivated at first sight by Lady Jane. In a letter to their son, Archibald Steuart Douglas, dated at Murthly on 12th October 1763, nine months before his death, Sir John frankly details the history of his courtship and marriage:—

“ Know then, my dearest child, that at first sight your noble mother captivated my heart, and that though I well knew the improbability, if not impossibility, of having my addresses to her hearkened to, after her having refused those of the Dukes of Hamilton, Buccleuch, and Athole, Earls of Hopetoun, Aberdeen, Panmure, *cum multis aliis*, the strength of my passion brought me over all these difficulties, and forced me to make a respectful declaration of it, and [I] had the pleasure to find I did not incur her displeasure by my aspiring boldness, as I was allowed the honour of continuing my visits and respectful assiduities for two years. I then met with a strong and unexpected shock from dear Lady Jane, which was, sending me back many trifles she had vouchsafed to receive from me, without giving any reason, and from that time [I] was forbid access, and had no return to letters I sent her begging to know in what I had offended, as I could not accuse myself in thought, word, nor deed. In short, on this unhappy turn, I left Scotland, unable to be where she was whilst banished from her presence. After ten years’ absence I was obliged to return on the death of Lord

¹ Pursuer’s Proof in Douglas Cause, p. 376.

Royston, father of my first wife, as my son succeeded to his fortune. Very soon after, I had the honour of an obliging message from Lady Jane, telling me that very soon after my leaving Scotland she came to know that she had done me injustice, that she would acknowledge it publicly if I chose, as the undeserved shock was known: *enfin*, I was allowed to visit her as formerly, and in about ten months after she honoured me with her hand."¹

From the time of her marriage the story of the chequered life of Lady Jane Douglas is very affecting, and in the touching picture it presents of suffering and injured innocence is no way surpassed by the most tragic tales of romance.

A few days after their marriage, in pursuance of their design to live abroad for some time, Mr. Steuart and Lady Jane left Edinburgh for the Continent, travelling at first separately. Lady Jane travelled under the assumed name of Mrs. Gray,² and assigned as her reason for going abroad that travelling and mineral waters were necessary for her health. She set out for England accompanied by her lady attendant or companion, Mrs. Helen Hewit, who had acted in the same capacity to her mother, the late Marchioness of Douglas, and knew Lady Jane from her childhood.³ She appears to have acted like a sister to Lady Jane almost from her birth to her death, and it is impossible to read the record of their life-long connection without admiring the constancy and devotion of this faithful attendant, who almost worshipped Lady Jane, and frequently alluded to her as her angel. It suited the enemies of Lady Jane to represent Mrs. Hewit as an intriguer, and that opinion of her was pressed by them upon the Duke of Douglas. But from the evidence of credible witnesses it is shown that the Duke entertained a very favourable opinion of Mrs. Hewit.⁴

¹ Original Letter in Douglas Charter-chest.

² Memoirs of the Rebellion, by Chevalier de Johnstone, p. 304.

³ In the litigation regarding the Douglas estates, popularly known as the Douglas Cause, Mrs. Hewit figures as one of the

dramatis personæ only second to Lady Jane and Sir John Steuart.

⁴ In the evidence given by Mrs. Jane Stuart, gentlewoman to the Duchess of Douglas, she said that the Duke of Douglas spoke of Mrs. Hewit as "an excessive sensible, honest

In the course of her journey southwards Lady Jane was accompanied by her old friend Mr. Patrick Haldane, advocate, as far as Beltonford. In his evidence as a witness, Mr. Haldane explained that his acquaintance with Lady Jane dated from an interesting ceremony a quarter of a century previously. Lady Jane was bride's-maid to Lady Margaret Carmichael at her marriage in 1720, and Mr. Haldane was "best-man." The friendship then formed continued through life.¹ Lady Jane also stayed a night with her cousin and namesake, Mr. Douglas of Edrington, at his house of Nether Mordington, in Berwickshire. He accompanied her the next stage, but was unable to proceed further on account of his harvest. In a letter from Winbridge, dated 17th August 1746, she says they now jog on by themselves, as she is no stranger to travelling.²

At Huntingdon in England Lady Jane was joined by Mr. Stuart. They stayed for some days at the house of a Mr. Raith, and then went to Harwich. At this place they were joined by the Chevalier Johnstone, who, as previously arranged by Lady Jane, took this opportunity of escaping abroad under the assumed character of her servant.³ At Harwich they embarked for Holland. Having arrived at the Hague about the beginning of the month of September 1746, they took up their residence in that town till the end of December

woman, and had always been a great friend both to him and to his sister, and to his family in general" [Defender's Proof, p. 435]. The Rev. William Harper, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, the clergyman who attended Mrs. Hewit in her last illness, gave evidence to the effect that he had been acquainted with her for nine years, that he verily believed Mrs. Hewit to be a woman of truth and veracity, and a sincere conscientious woman [Defender's Proof, p. 452]. In his deposition Mr. Walter Colvill stated that he had known

Mrs. Hewit for about forty years, and that she was "his relation, though not near, and that, as far as the deponent ever saw, she is a woman of probity and veracity" [Pursuer's Proof, p. 297].

¹ *Ibid.* p. 302.

² Letter from Lady Jane, Pursuer's Proof, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 296, 306. When they arrived at Holland the Chevalier left the company of Lady Jane and proceeded to Paris.

After their arrival at the Hague they made application to the British Minister resident there for a passport for Lady Jane to go to the waters of Bourbon, in France. But this was refused. From the Hague they went to Utrecht, where they resided till April 1747. During the whole time of their stay in Holland, their marriage was kept a secret. In the letters written by both to their friends, no allusion is made by them to each other. Mr. Steuart, writing to his son, John Steuart of Farnese, afterwards of Grandtully, from the Hague, 7th February 1747, informs him that he had left the Hague, "the prettiest village in the world," for Utrecht, in the hope of finding the air there less moist, as it stood higher; but the difference, if any, was scarcely perceptible. He proposed to go in the following month for the season to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he hoped to find things better and cheaper.¹ Lady Jane Douglas, in a letter from Utrecht, 10th February 1747, to Mrs. Carse, writes:—"This place stands high, and is very wholesome, which made me chose it till the season for Aix return. I left the Hague only because it was damp, and not without a good deal of regret, having got several acquaintances; and some amongst the Dutch I found mighty well-bred, agreeable people. I have been as lucky since I came here in meeting with a great many Scots and English gentlemen. They are indeed chiefly of the younger sort, who choose this place for their education; but they have so great a share of good sense, and so much wit, they render themselves acceptable to much older people."²

Having stayed at Utrecht for some time, Colonel Steuart and Lady Jane set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, where they arrived on the 26th of April 1747, and where, with the exception of a fortnight which they passed at Spa, they remained till the 21st of May 1748. It was during the time of their stay at Aix-la-Chapelle, sometime in the month of March 1748, that they made

¹ Red Book of Grandtully, vol. ii. p. 352, No. 289.

² Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, London, 1767, p. 6.

known to several persons their marriage, which hitherto they had kept private. The reason for making it known was that Lady Jane's advanced pregnancy could no longer be concealed.

Colonel Steuart's own account of the period between his marriage with Lady Jane and their departure from Aix-la-Chapelle in May 1748 may here be given. In the letter to his son Archibald Douglas already quoted from, after touching upon the misunderstanding between the Duke of Douglas and Lady Jane, he says:—

“In this unhappy situation of her affairs with her brother, wee went together in poor enough circumstances. She had nothing but thre hundred pounds annuity from the Duke her brother, and my small patrimony spent long befor; only my son¹ supply'd me with what was of some use at that time, as Lady Jane was in some debt. On this narrow bottom wee set owt in a few days after our marriage for Aix-la-Chapelle, where meeting with the Elector and Electrix Pallatine and Princess of Solme, who took particular notice of Lady Jeane, this naturally led us into more expence thane was convenient for our narow funds; she and I both trusting to the kindness of brothers, she, ane only sister, to the Duke, and I, ane only brother, to Sir George Stewart, who had no child, and had ane estate better than £1000, with many woods and other perquisites upon it, to very considerable amount. But it unluckily hapned (that from bad advisers) each of them seem'd to owt-doe one another in unkindness to us; so of course wee came in debt and difficultys which was attended with many unlucky consequences, espetically as Lady Jeane by this time was considerably advanced in her pregnancy. Well, with what we could muster up, with the assistance of some frends, wee set owt from Aix-la-Chapelle, not to the south of France, as we at first intended, where a little mony goes farr, but for Rheims in our way to Paris, where the best assistance was to be expected. . . .”²

Having resolved on going to Paris, Lady Jane and Colonel Steuart, after providing themselves with a letter of credit upon a banker in Paris for 1978 livres, departed from Aix-la-Chapelle on 21st May 1748. Attended by Mrs. Hewit and their two maid-servants, Isabel Walker and Effie Caw, they

¹ His son by his first wife, John Steuart of Farnese, afterwards fourth baronet of Grandtully.

² Original letter in Douglas Charter-chest.

travelled through Liége and Sedan, continuing some days at each of these places, for Rheims, at which they arrived on the evening of the 7th of June. From Rheims they started on the 2d of July for Paris, in the public stage-coach, attended by Mrs. Hewit, leaving behind them their two maid-servants, and on the evening of the 4th of July they arrived in the French capital,¹ where, after staying two or three days in the Hôtel Chalons, kept by one Godfrey, they removed to the house of a woman named La Brune, who let lodgings, and in this house Lady Jane gave birth to twins—two boys—on the 10th of July. About the 19th or 20th of July, they took lodgings in the Hôtel d'Anjou, kept by one Michelle, where they stayed till they left Paris, about the 3d or 4th of August. For the benefit of fresh air, they went from Paris to the village of Dammartine. Lady Jane having recovered, they proceeded to Rheims on the 14th of August 1748, taking with them one of the infants—Archibald, a strong, healthy child, who was there baptized with much public ceremony, and leaving the other, who was born weak and sickly, with a nurse in the neighbourhood of Paris, under the inspection of Pierre la Marre, who had acted as accoucheur.

Lady Jane now strongly desired to communicate the facts of her marriage, and of the birth of the children, to her brother, the Duke of Douglas, from a hope that, forgetting the past, he might now relent, and restore her to her former place in his fraternal affections. Availing herself of the friendly offices of John Earl of Crawford,² she wrote a letter to her brother, which the Earl enclosed in one from himself to the Duke. The Earl, whose letter is without date, thus writes:—

“As it has providentially been my fate to pass these six last months confined to a

¹ Colonel Steuart writes, “when wee arrived in Paris (we) had but one loi d’or remaining.”

² This Earl of Crawford adopted the military profession, and when in the imperial

army as a volunteer, he received, in a battle fought against the Turks in the year 1739, a dangerous wound in his thigh, from which he never recovered, and which caused his death in the year 1749.

place where the irretrievable misfortunes it has pleased the Almighty to afflict me with could only be rendered supportable to me by the most agreeable society of so deserving people as that of your sister Lady Jane and Mr. Steuart ; and as, during the space of time we have been together, I have, from a regard I have for your Grace's family I cannot conceal, so far merited my Lady Jane's confidence as to be intrusted with the alteration there has happened in her state of life, as also the notifying of it to your Grace by the enclosed, a service that the same regard I have mentioned I ever shall have for your family, has even prompted me to offer, on so important an occasion, recommending, with the greatest earnestness, all its consequences to your Grace's most mature deliberation ; I say, as my undertaking proceeds from the most warm affection to your Grace's family, I'm hopeful my representations will not only meet with forgiveness, but with all their wished-for success in reconciling your Grace to an event, all the well-wishers of your Grace's family may have the greatest reason to rejoice at, as there is such visible hopes of its being attended with the natural consequences so much longed for by all who are fond of seeing the family of Douglas multiply ; and since I have thus far ventured upon my dear Duke's goodness, he must forgive me if I proceed a little further, and represent that a sister tenderly fond of your Grace as she is, and in the situation my Lady Jane is in at present, a favourable answer from your Grace is more necessary than may be at first, perhaps, adverted to ; wherefore, allow me once more to entreat you will, neither by silence nor indifference, hazard the bad consequences that may follow either the one or the other. I can assure your Grace she does great honour to her family wherever she appears, and is respected and beloved by all that have the honour of her acquaintance. She certainly merits all the affectionate marks of an only brother to an only sister." ¹

The contents of Lady Jane's letter to her brother, the Duke of Douglas, enclosed in that of the Earl of Crawford to him are not known, but the Duke returned her no answer. Still hoping to touch his heart in her favour, she wrote to him a second letter, dated Rheims, 7th August 1748 :—

“DEAR BROTHER,—Though not a little discouraged by your favouring me with no answer to that under cover of Lord Crawford's, acquainting your Grace with my change of state, and in whose favours I think it my incumbent duty, as well as natural inclination, to acquaint you further with the happy consequences of it, which I am hopeful may be a means to replace me, in some measure, to the share of

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, London, 1767, p. 11.

your favour I was once happy in, and never willingly forfeited ; but, to the contrary, have regretted my ill fortune in that particular more than all the others of my more than ordinary cross fate. If want of title and estate in the gentleman I have chosen seems surprising, your Grace well knows no subject could add to me ; and a gentleman as well born as any can take nothing off. Please know then, my Lord, that the tenth of last month, I was blessed with ¹ boys, one a promising child ; the other, poor thing, so weak, that I fear it is little to be reckoned on. God's will be done : the other my hopes centre in, and want but the pleasure of your approving his having your name, with that of Sholto to the younger, to be happy ; for, thank God, I have philosophy enough not to place happiness on superfluous riches or pomp, and faith enough to hope they nor I shall never want a decent competency." ²

This letter, like the former one written by Lady Jane to her brother, remained unanswered.

The Earl of Crawford continued to take the warmest interest in the welfare of Lady Jane, and was assiduous in his endeavours to bring the influence of others to bear upon her brother, in order to reconcile him to a sister whom, had she ever wronged him, which it does not appear she ever did, it was his duty to forgive. Having returned to London, he recommended her condition to the attention of the Duke of Argyll, who promised that he would speak to Lord Milton about bringing the Duke of Douglas to think of the matter as he ought to do. He also wrote to the Duke of Douglas a second letter, though he had received no answer to his first, intimating the safe delivery of Lady Jane, "thundering in his ears his family's cause, and trying to rouse up all that was Douglas in him." He engaged the Earl of Home, who had gone down to Lord Mark Kerr's, to endeavour to conciliate the Duke, and he intended to go himself as soon as he was well, in order to talk to him about some supplies for Lady Jane. He had also spoken to the Master of Ross, son of Lord Ross, who had lately returned from Prussia, and who had gone to Scotland to see his father, urging him to talk with his father and the Marquis of Lothian to take the proper steps with the Duke of Douglas, to

¹ A blot occurs on the paper here.

² Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 9.

induce him to act a right part towards Lady Jane, and the Master of Ross undertook the thing very willingly.¹

That hopes of a reconciliation with the Duke should have been entertained by his sister and others was only natural. He was unmarried, and with no children of his own to succeed him, the birth of children, who were at the time his nearest heirs, could not have been uninteresting to him. In these circumstances, and taking into account the strong affection which he once had for his sister, such an event was fitted greatly to modify, if not altogether to dispel any bitterness which had prevailed, and to revive the former attachment which the Duke had shown to Lady Jane. But so far from the Duke of Douglas justifying the hopes of Lady Jane and her friends, by relenting towards her on hearing of the birth of her children, this event prejudiced him the more, and was made the occasion of a new and serious charge against her. Those who had access to the Duke, and who had originated in his mind prejudices against his sister, were not slow to insinuate that the children were only adopted by Lady Jane, and palmed upon the Duke and the world as her own. In the unhappy state of mind in which the Duke was at the time, these insinuations were only too readily listened to by him. Hence the appeals made to the Duke of Douglas by Lady Jane, the Earl of Crawford, and other influential persons, failed to produce any favourable effect.

While she was looked upon with suspicion, and virtually charged with a most reprehensible action by her brother, who should have known her better, the high character she possessed protected Lady Jane in the eyes of her friends from such a charge as that now brought against her. The letter of Bishop Keith to Mr. Steuart on the birth of the twin sons of Lady Jane shows that such a suspicion never entered his mind. His letter is as follows:—

“SIR,—With great joy and satisfaction I received the news of the happy

¹ Letter of the Earl of Crawford to Colonel August 1748, O.S., among Letters of Lady John Steuart at Rheims, dated London, 12th Jane Douglas, p. 15.

event consequent upon the ceremony of which you make mention in the letter wherewith you have honoured me. Blessed be God for it, and may He be pleased to grant life and health to the two dear infants, that they may serve in their order to carry down to late posterity the illustrious house from which they are sprung. With my own and my wife's most cordial respects and sincere best wishes and prayers for your most honourable Lady and yourself, I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT KEITH.

“Edinburgh, 14th September 1748.”¹

After Lady Jane's death, when her son was prosecuting his claim to succeed his uncle in the Douglas estates, ladies, young and old, of the highest rank, came forward as witnesses on behalf of the son of Lady Jane. The celebrated beauty, Lady Susan Kennedy, Dowager Countess of Eglinton, in her seventieth year, stated that she was well acquainted with Lady Jane, who was a lady of sense and conscience, and incapable of imposing upon the world children as hers that were not her own.² Elizabeth, Countess of Glasgow, thirty years of age, gave testimony to the same effect.

Lady Jane and Mr. Steuart remained at Rheims till the beginning of November 1749, when they went again to Paris for their child Sholto, and having brought him to Rheims, left that city with their two children on the 29th of that month, on their way to England, arriving in London about the end of December. Soon after their arrival in England, Sholto—who, immediately on his birth, in consequence of his being weak and sickly, had been baptized by the accoucheur—was baptized by a clergyman, in presence of the Countess of Wigtown and others.

Upon her return Lady Jane found herself involved in great pecuniary distress. The annual allowance of £300, which had been formerly paid by her brother, the Duke of Douglas, was withdrawn in July 1749 by a letter from the Duke to his law-agent in Edinburgh. The reason assigned by his

¹ Defender's Proof in Douglas Cause, p. 998.

² *Ibid.* pp. 397, 398.

Grace for that step was that an urgent creditor of Lady Jane's had laid an arrestment of her annuity in the hands of the Duke, and that a similar course had been adopted by another creditor in the previous year. The Duke felt aggrieved by these proceedings, and all the more so that he had lent money to his sister under two bonds, which were still unpaid by her. At the same time her husband, Mr. Steuart, was without any means of his own to supply the loss of the annuity from the Duke, and in the following year, had to take refuge from his creditors within the rules of the King's Bench. Thus reduced to destitution, Lady Jane met with all but universal sympathy, and, by the advice of friends, applied to King George the Second for pecuniary assistance. She wrote in the following terms to Mr. Pelham, the Prime Minister, to lay her case before his Majesty :—

“SIR,—If I meant to importune you, I should ill deserve the generous compassion which I was informed some months ago you express'd, upon being acquainted with my distress. I take this as the least troublesome way of thanking you, and desiring you to lay my application before the king in such a light as your own humanity will suggest. I cannot tell my story without seeming to complain of one of whom I never will complain. I am persuaded my brother wishes me well, but from a mistaken resentment upon a creditor of mine demanding from him a trifling sum, he has stopt the annuity which he had always paid me, my father having left me, his only younger child, in a manner unprovided for.

“Till the Duke of Douglas is set right, which I'm confident he will be, I am destitute. Presumptive heiress of a great estate and family, with two children, I want bread. Your own nobleness of mind will make you feel how much it costs me to beg, tho' from the king. My birth, and the attachment of my family, I flatter myself, his Majesty is not unacquainted with ; should he think me an object of his royal bounty, my heart won't suffer any bounds to be set to my gratitude ; and give me leave to say my spirit won't suffer me to be burdensome to his Majesty longer than my cruel necessity compells me.

“I little thought of ever being reduced to petition in this way ; your goodness will therefore excuse me, if I have mistaken the manner, or said anything improper.

“Tho' personally unknown to you, I rely upon your intercession, the consciousness of your own mind, in having done so good and charitable a deed, will be a better

return than the perpetual thanks of, Sir, your most obliged, most faithful, and most obedient servant,

JANE DOUGLAS STEUART.

“St. James's Place, May 15, 1750.”¹

Although Lady Jane was personally unknown to Mr. Pelham, he felt the hardship of her case, and represented it to the king so effectually that his Majesty was pleased to grant her an allowance of £300 a year, being the amount of the annuity which was withdrawn by her brother. In a letter from Mr. Pelham, dated 3d August 1750, intimating the grant to Lady Jane, he added: “Whatever share I may have had in procuring to your ladyship this mark of the king's goodness, cannot but be very pleasing to me, as it furnishes me with an opportunity of testifying the great respect with which I have the honour to be,”² etc. In addition to the pecuniary assistance which his Majesty so generously afforded to Lady Jane, he showed her marked attention when, some months afterwards, she was presented at Court. The following is her own account of the presentation in a letter to the Earl of Morton, dated London, December 22, 1750:—“Her ladyship [Lady Irvine], according to her continued favour for me, did me the honour to introduce me last Friday to the king, who was graciously pleased to receive me with peculiar marks of good will and kindness: Lady Irwin, who is acquainted with courts, assured me that the greatest favourite could not have had a more favourable reception, for which I shall ever retain a lasting gratitude. Next Sunday I am to be introduced by her ladyship to the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Friday following to the Duke and Princess Æmilia. Excuse the length of this letter, and do me the justice to believe that I am, with the highest esteem and the greatest regard, my Lord, your lordship's most grateful and most obedient servant, and most affectionate cousin,

“JANE DOUGLAS STEUART.”³

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 970.

² *Ibid.* p. 961.

³ *Ibid.* p. 777, the date at the end of the letter is 5th January.

The grant by the king was very seasonable at the time, but it was afterwards found to be quite inadequate to provide for Lady Jane's necessities. On the 2d September 1751 she took up her residence at Chelsea, where she remained for some time. During this period, she was often in great pecuniary embarrassment, for she had not only herself and her children to support, but also her husband, who was then in the King's Bench Prison in Southwark. As an instance of the straits to which she was reduced, the following letter may be quoted :—

“Tuesday morning.

“DEAR MR. STEUART,—You may judge how low money matters are with me at present, by this most scurvy poor half-crown I send you. I'm quite ashamed of it, and to conceal it from my servants, I have enclosed it well wrapt up in the pretty little money box, which ought to contain gold ; wish to heaven I could send of that useful, but rare metal with us. This poor bit of silver I send just to procure you a little rappee.

“Don't be in pain about money when the time of day rules come, for then I'll pawn my coat, rather than you should want money for coming out every day, as long as these days of freedom last ; keep but up your spirits as I do mine ; I am perfectly content, and easy as to myself, all my distress of mind is for you, lest you should be discouraged, and for the valuable Baron's melancholy situation ; pray God soon to deliver you both out of all your troubles. Offer him my respectful compliments, you shall hear again from me this week. The children are well. Mrs. Hewit sends you her kind compliments. Adieu, dear Mr. Steuart, I ever am, with the tenderest affection, intirely yours,

J. D. S.

“Keep the little book till the next occasion.”¹

Yet, amidst the ever-recurring pressure of poverty which daily afflicted Lady Jane, she was constantly encouraging and comforting her unfortunate husband during his restraint. Correspondence passed between them almost daily, and their letters, many of which have been printed in the proof for their son in the Douglas Cause, present an affecting picture not only of their straitened circumstances, but of their affection towards each other, and of

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 840-1.

their solicitude for their children. Lady Jane's letters especially display a cheerfulness, a meek resignation, and an attached and affectionate tenderness which is marvellous in the circumstances, and although pecuniary difficulties pressed with unceasing constancy upon her, she was not unmindful of higher considerations, as another letter to her husband at this time will show.

“CHELSEA, Thursday, March 5.

“DEAR MR. STEUART,—I have this moment the pleasure of your letter by your messenger. This and all yours are ever welcome and agreeable to me; but the paragraph of some of your late letters, and in this last one in particular, upon religious matters, absolutely charm me. Go on, dear Mr. Steuart, fix your eyes, your hope, and trust above, and all worldly concerns will soon seem perfectly easy, nay, will in reality become so, for God never disappoints those that entirely depend on him, nor will he continue to afflict when we fly to him for succour, and place our whole happiness in his favour alone. Allow me to send you by the bearer a favourite book of mine, *Thomas à Kempis*. Read it, I beg you. In it you'll discover so much heavenly and even worldly wisdom, that it never fails to please both the spiritual and temporal mind, and to instruct both.”¹

Meanwhile the twin brothers continued in good health. Lady Jane, in a letter to her step-son, John Steuart of Farnese, dated St. James's Place, 24th June 1751, says—“Your two little brothers, Archy and Sholto, thrive hitherto very well;” and in another letter to him from Chelsea, she writes—“Your two little brothers are very well, and talk pretty distinctly. In a little time they'll be able to send you their affectionate compliments.”²

In the year 1752 Lady Jane made a journey with her children to Scotland, chiefly with the design of renewing her solicitations for a reconciliation with her brother, the Duke of Douglas, whose estrangement from her had caused her so much distress, and to vindicate herself from the calumny that she was not the mother of the children which she had brought from France, but was attempting to impose upon him supposititious children as her own.

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 841.

² Note of two letters by Lady Jane Douglas at Murthly.

She arrived in Edinburgh on the 17th of August 1752. Writing to Mr. Steuart from that city on the 18th of that month, she says,—“ I am now in my own country once more, and, blessed be God, arrived there in perfect safety, and in perfect good health ; the children, too, are mighty well, and in great good spirits, delighted with everything they see ; and the people, as we came along, and here, seem, in indulgence to me, to be highly delighted with them. We came to town yesterday, the 17th, so that our journey was not a tedious one, and was a very agreeable one in all respects.”¹ In another letter to her step-son, dated Edinburgh, 16th September same year, she writes :—“ I arrived here a fortnight ago with your two little brothers, Archy and Sholto, after having made a very safe and prosperous voyage ;”² a statement which does not exactly agree with the preceding letter as to the date of Lady Jane’s arrival in Edinburgh, but the discrepancy is unimportant. Again, writing to her husband on the 3d of September, she says,—“ I’m mighty well lodged and commodiously, at Mrs. Maitland’s house, in Bishop’s Land, and at a pretty easy rate, it being the vacance.”³

After remaining in that lodging about two months, her own health and that of her children not being good, she removed with them to Hope Park, on the south side of Edinburgh, which was then considered to be in “ the country,” and “ out of the smoke of the town,” but is now incorporated with that city. “ As to your anxiety about my living in the country,” she says, in a letter to Mr. Steuart from Hope Park, 15th November 1752, “ imputing it entirely to economy, which I do assure you is the least consideration ; my dear children’s and my own health being the chief motive that made me leave Edinburgh, neither they nor I agreeing with the place. We were truly indisposed almost all the while we were in town ; and Sholto had a little

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 84.

² Note of a letter by Lady Jane Douglas at Murthly.

³ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 87.

fever upon him when I brought him here ; he is now, I bless God, very well and hearty. But it was full time to leave a place that impaired our health ; but for all that, I made no great haste to leave it, being eight weeks in town, lodging in the best house in it in Bishop's Land, where I saw all my friends and acquaintances that were then in town ; nor will they grudge to step a quarter of a mile out of it to see me here ; and when I choose to wait on them, a chair can carry me in five minutes. I hope, after reading these reasons, you'll be persuaded that it is best for me to live in the country, so pray be satisfied and easy as to that article." She adds,—“ Archy and Sholto send you their humble duty. They speak frequently of you, and are perpetually writing letters to you, especially Archy, it is his chief employment.”¹

A large fashionable assembly having been held at Edinburgh on the 16th of November 1752, in celebration of the anniversary of the birth of King George the Second, Lady Jane, though, from the circumstance of Mr. Steuart's imprisonment for debt, she had little heart for mingling in scenes of amusement, yet to testify her gratitude to the sovereign who had graciously bestowed upon her an annual allowance in her necessity, joined in this demonstration of loyalty, and took her children with her. The marked attention shown her on that occasion, and the strong interest and sympathy with which her children were regarded, afforded her much gratification. This intelligence she communicates two days later in a very pleasing manner in a letter to Mr. Steuart:—

“ I went to the assembly this last Thursday, the king's birthday being solemnised here on that day, because the week before was set apart on account of the holy sacrament. I deal not much in public diversions ; it would ill become me, as you're in confinement ; but our dear little ones and I, as well as you, are under such great obligations to his majesty, that I thought it my indispensable duty to be present on the day that was appointed for solemn-

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, pp. 94, 95.

nising his birthday, that I might, by that demonstration, express publicly to the world the sense I have of his majesty's great goodness to me and mine, and for that reason I took the children along with me; and I cannot really express the warm and kind reception we met with from the whole assembly, which was extremely crowded and full of company. Archy and Sholto behaved to a wonder, and were caressed beyond measure. I thought the people would have eat them up; and very many that I did not know complimented me upon their account, and upon my being returned to my own country; so that I wanted nothing to make me perfectly happy on this occasion but your being there to share in my satisfaction, and so to make it complete."¹

Immediately on her arrival in Scotland, Lady Jane wrote to a person who had constant access to her brother, a letter, which she wished to be shown to him. But as up to the 20th of September 1752,² she had received no answer, she penned and despatched directly to her brother a most submissive letter, of which she informs her husband.³ In order to propitiate her brother, she also delivered up certain valuable papers of her own to Mr. Archibald Stuart, (father to Mr. Andrew Stuart, agent for the Duke of Hamilton in the Douglas case,) to be delivered to her brother. To her second letter to him, as to the first, her brother vouchsafed no answer. In a communication, dated 8th December 1752, to a person whose name is now unknown, she says,—“I received the favour of both your letters, that just on my arrival in Edinburgh, and the other some weeks ago. It gives me inexpressible pain to find by them that my brother continues still inflexible; nay, seems to be more than ever incensed against me, notwithstanding that I have made him all the submissions, by writing in the most humble as well as affectionate manner, and in giving up

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 96, 18th November 1752.

² Letter from Lady Jane to Mr. Steuart of that date, *ibid.* p. 88.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 90, 91.

my papers which were of great consequence and advantage to me to have kept; yet, to please him, I have resigned them, without being compelled by any other motive than my inclination to do everything that might contribute to his satisfaction, if happily, by these concessions, I might gain back his favour again, which is all my desire, and the utmost of my wishes."¹

The deep feelings of her brother against her, Lady Jane learned in another way. She thought it proper to pay a friendly visit to the Duchess of Hamilton when that lady came to Edinburgh; but she was not admitted to her presence. The Duke of Hamilton had written to the Duke of Douglas to inquire whether, in case Lady Jane offered a visit to the Duchess, it would be agreeable to him that it should be accepted or not? The Duke of Douglas replied that he did not pretend to dictate or to lay down rules to the Duke of Hamilton, but that since he never intended to see his sister, he would take it well if the Duchess of Hamilton did not see her. This was told to Lady Jane by Dr. Clark, an eminent physician in Edinburgh, to whom the Duke of Hamilton had shown the letter he had received from her brother.²

Lady Jane had resolved to wait upon her brother, and was only prevented from doing so by several persons, who told her that such an attempt would incur his displeasure. When, however, she was under the necessity of going to England "to seek out a cheap place to live in," she could not think of leaving Scotland "without making an effort to see him once before she died," in order to vindicate herself from the false and cruel aspersions which her enemies had cast upon her. In April 1753 Lady Jane and her two sons, attended by four servants, repaired to Douglas Castle. She at first asked her law-agent, Mr. Loch, and others, to accompany her. But she was advised by a person of distinction to go to Douglas Castle in the plainest way, with servants only, and no friends.

The visit which Lady Jane made to Douglas Castle has been described by

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 106.
VOL. II.

² *Ibid.* pp. 102, 109.
3 S

various witnesses. The most circumstantial account of her appearance there was given by William Greenshiells, who was master of the household to the Duke. He says:—"When Lady Jane came to Douglas Castle with her two sons, she look'd in at the little gate as I was passing thro' the court. She called and I went to her Ladyship, who told me she was come to wait of the Duke, with her children; I proposed to open the gates, and carry in her ladyship; but she said she would not go in till I acquainted his Grace; I accordingly went to the Duke and told him my message, at which he seemed a little surprised, and stood some time thoughtful, and then, without the least reflection against her, said he had no room to put them in, and ask'd me where he could lodge them; I answered, there was room enough; but he desired me to call Stockbriggs to speak with him; and when Stockie came, the Duke and him conversed a little together by themselves, Stockie left the Duke came to me, and ordered me to tell Lady Jane she could get no access there; and after Lady Jane and the children went away, the Duke asked me if I had seen the children? I told his Grace that I had them both in my arms; that the eldest was black, and the youngest, Sholto, was as like Lady Jane as ever a child was like the mother."¹

Further particulars of the visit were given by Mr. John Anderson, writer in Douglas. After being refused access to her brother, Lady Jane came to the town from the castle, and sent for the witness. He conversed with her more than an hour, and found her in a very melancholy and distressed condition. Before he was admitted to her, he saw the two children and had them both on his knee. Afterwards, in his conversation with Lady Jane, he said he thought Sholto had a very great resemblance to herself. It was Saturday night, and Lady Jane proposed to go to Douglas Church next day to her brother's seat; but Mr. Anderson told her that if she did she would have a crowd following after her all Sunday, as the people of Douglas

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 898.

had not seen such a near relation of the Duke in the place for many years; and that considering how she stood with her brother, if she went to church, and became popular in the parish, it would irritate him more and more. She accepted this advice, and went off on Sunday by five o'clock in the morning.¹

On receiving the Duke's refusal to see her, Lady Jane was greatly distressed. Disdainfully driven from the ducal mansion reared by her brother on the site of the famous Castle Dangerous of her ancestors, poor Lady Jane and her boys wended their way to the small inn or tavern in the town of Douglas to ask shelter for the remainder of the day and the following night. From that lowly retreat² the broken-hearted lady immediately wrote to her brother the following impassioned letter, which was sufficient to move any brother possessed of the ordinary feelings of humanity:—

“DEAR BROTHER,—I came down from London, on purpose to wait upon, and pay my dutiful respects to you, which I wrote, and acquainted your Grace of, on my first arrival in Edinburgh. I was not honoured with any answer; notwithstanding. I resolved to make offer of a visit to your Grace, but was detained, by various people industriously bringing it to my ears, that such an attempt would incur your displeasure, and give you a great deal of uneasiness. Upon which I, with much regret, laid aside what above all things I wish'd, and was ambitious to have performed; but now, that I am under a necessity to go into England to seek out a cheap place to live in, I could not think of leaving this country without making an effort to see you once before I die, to vindicate the cruel, false aspersion that my enemies, wicked and designing people, have as unjustly as cruelly spoke against me, and which, I am informed, have reached your ears, and that your Grace gives credit to them, the thoughts of which pierces my heart, and gives me inexpressible anguish. What then must my sorrow be, and what an additional torment do I now feel, when in your house, with my

¹ Pursuer's Proof, p. 319.

² It was “a two-storey house” called “The Scribe Tree Inn” [Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. pp. 169, 170], and was known as the roadside inn of Douglas, on

the highway between Lanark and Ayr. It was taken down some years ago. The site of it has lately been incorporated as part of the additional burying-ground made by the present Earl of Home around the ancient church of St. Bride's.

children, come to throw ourselves at your feet, we are debarred access to your presence ! Recal that cruel sentence, I beseech you, if you don't intend to render me all my life miserable, and to shorten it too, which must be the case ; for it is impossible to live any time with a load of such exquisite grief as mine is. All I beg is to be permitted to speak but a few moments to your Grace, and if I don't, to your own conviction, clear up my injured innocence, inflict what punishment you please upon me. I shall receive it willingly, and shall think I deserve your utmost rigour, if I cannot justify myself fully of all that is basely and falsely laid to my charge. In hopes that your Grace will, with great goodness and humanity, allow this my petition to take place in your heart, and you will call me back again, I shall remain this day, and the following night, in Douglas town.

“The children, poor babies, have never yet done any fault. May I not then plead for their being admitted and allowed to see you, and to kiss your hands. The youngest, Sholto, is thought to resemble you much when you were a child : and Archie is thought by a great many to have the honour too of resembling you much when you became a man.

“I am, dear brother, your ever affectionate sister,

“JANE DOUGLAS STEUART.”¹

But affecting as was this letter, the Duke of Douglas continued obdurate, and would not admit his sister into his presence. The disappointment of not being permitted to see her brother, with whom she was so extremely desirous to come to a good understanding, threw Lady Jane into such deep mental affliction as greatly to impair her health, and she felt as if it would be impossible for her to live any length of time under the crushing weight of the bitter anguish she endured.

Shortly after this, about the 16th of the same month of April, Lady Jane returned to London. Her children were left at Edinburgh in a house near the Meadows, on the south side of the city, under the charge of Mr. William Loch, writer in Edinburgh, law agent for Lady Jane, and Walter Colville, one of the macers of the Court of Session, and also in the care of her maidservant, Isabel Walker, a cook maid, and a footman. Two days after Lady Jane

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, pp. 124-126.

left Scotland, the youngest of her twin children, Sholto, fell ill of a fever, and died on 5th May.

His death greatly aggravated the mental distress of Lady Jane, and gave a severe shock to her health, which was already in a very precarious state. The Rev. Mr. Gusthart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, wrote to her the following consolatory letter on the afflicting event:—

“MADAM,—’Tis with grief I write your Ladyship on the subject of dear Sholto’s death! How afflicting must it be to you, a tender-hearted mother! and to his affectionate father, the Colonel! You left him in perfect health, and hoped to see him again in the same good way; but God, in his holy, wise providence, has seen fit to order it otherways. I may easily tell you what is your duty under this afflicting dispensation of Providence, and your own reason will suggest it to you: but, alas! ’tis not so easy to go into it. I hope God will support and comfort you under it, and bring you to a patient and humble submission to his disposing will, and cheerfully to say, Thy will be done! to justify God, and condemn yourself; and to say, The Lord has punished me less than mine iniquities deserve!

“O pray that God may make you able to say, It was good for me that I was afflicted! God is our best friend, and we must never fall out with Him, do to us what He will! Let us never place our happiness in things below! How short-lived are they, and uncertain in their enjoyment! Little did you, or any here, think of what has now happened.

“’Tis a mercy dear Stewart is preserved to you. May he live long to be a comfort to his parents, and an honour to the family of Douglas. No doubt you’ve been acquainted he was taken into town, and is in perfect health. Your maid expects you’ll write where he must go to till you return: ’tis not thought fit he should go back to the house he was in. Lady Mary will have wrote you the child was most decently and honourably buried, and that she wrote by an express to your brother acquainting him of his death. She’s your true, if not truest friend. My humble compliments to your Ladyship and the Colonel, and service to Mrs. Hewit. I heartily sympathise with you, and pray for you. May God return you in safety and in health.—Madam, your Ladyship’s sympathising and most obedient humble servant, WM. GUSTHART.

“Edinburgh, May 8th, 1753.”¹

From the above letter, and also from the reply to it by Lady Jane’s

¹ Printed Service of Archibald Douglas, pp. 64, 65.

husband, dated London, 15th May 1753,¹ we learn that Lady Mary Hamilton had acquainted the Duke of Douglas, by express, with the distress of his sister at that unexpected stroke. Lady Jane also wrote to her brother the following letter, intimating the death of her son:—

“DEAR BROTHER,—Though I am not so vain as to flatter myself that anything relating to me, either prosperous or adverse, can give the Duke of Douglas joy or grief; yet I think it my incumbent duty to inform him of any matter of consequence that befalls me. Permit me, then, to acquaint your Grace that Sholto Thomas Steuart, my second boy, died on the 5th of this month of May of an intermitting fever, after continuing in that illness seventeen days. It pleased Almighty God, in his infinite, wise providence, to remove that comfort from me. God’s will be done. It has added, indeed, considerably to my grief that I was absent from the child when he died, but I submit, without murmuring, to whatever God is pleased to order concerning me.

“I wrote to your Grace, when I was in Douglas town, of my intention to set out for England to seek out for a cheap place to live in; but being informed by a letter from London that the gentleman who receives the pension his Majesty is graciously pleased to bestow upon me, was indisposed, so that his health would not allow him to do me that favour any longer, I was therefore advised to go to London that I might myself put that matter, which is of great moment to me, into other hands; this obliged me to make a journey to London, where I arrived the 28th of last month, and where I only shall remain a very short space of time till I regulate that affair, which I hope I shall get so soon finished, that I shall get from this the first week of June, and so return to Edinburgh, from whence I propose to go to the cheapest place I can find out in England, as I wrote to your Grace before.

“I pray God to bestow upon you, dear brother, every happiness this world can afford, and to bless you with a long, very long life, and with perfect health.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your Grace’s most obedient servant and most affectionate sister,

JANE DOUGLAS STEUART.

“London, 15th May 1753.”²

In her deposition as a witness in the Douglas Cause, a lady who had accompanied Lady Jane to London, and who waited on her there, immediately after hearing of the event, describes the mother’s distress on the death of her

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 140.

² Printed Service of Archibald Douglas, pp. 68, 69.

younger son. Lady Jane asked the visitor, "Will you indulge me to speak of my son?" and cried out with great vehemency, "Oh, Sholto, Sholto, my son Sholto!" After speaking of the death of her son Sholto, she said she thanked God that her son Archie was alive, and added—What would the enemies of me and my children say if they saw me lying in the dust of death upon account of the death of my son Sholto? Would they have any stronger proof of their being my children than my dying for them? Lady Jane also insisted that the shock which she had received by the death of Sholto, and other griefs that she had met with, were so severe upon her that she was perfectly persuaded she would never recover, but considered herself as a dying woman, and one who was soon to appear in the presence of Almighty God, to whom she must answer. She declared that these children, Archie and Sholto, were born of her body, and that there was one blessing which her enemies could not deprive her of, which was her innocency. She could pray to Almighty God for the life of her other son. The lady advised her to take care of herself, as her death would be a great loss to her son. But she said she was not afraid for him, for that God Almighty would take care of him. When advised not to indulge her grief so much, as it would hurt her, she answered that what she said had relieved her mind, and given her ease; she further added that she thought it the duty of good Christians to forgive their enemies, and that accordingly she forgave hers. The same lady afterwards saw Lady Jane frequently in London, and observed that her distress increased. In evidence she declared that she never entertained the least doubt that the children were Lady Jane's; and, if she had, Lady Jane's distress upon the death of her son Sholto would have removed such doubt altogether. She esteemed Lady Jane Douglas as a pious and devout woman, possessed of high notions of the honour and dignity of her family, even to a degree of enthusiasm, and incapable of "imposing imposters upon the world as her own children."

Both parents were remarkably attached to their two sons. An old servant of the family described in her deposition how she had seen Sir John Steuart frequently singing and dancing with his elder son in his arms, and praying God to bless him; and how she had seen Lady Jane doing the same in the most affectionate manner.¹

Many persons who were acquainted with Lady Jane and her children stated that the elder was like his father, Sir John, and he was even described by a stranger as resembling his half-brother, John Steuart, the eldest son of Sir John by his first marriage. The younger son, again, was not like his brother, but, according to some, he was the very picture of his mother in miniature. On this point the evidence of the Chevalier Johnstone is perhaps the most striking. He stated "that the youngest of the two children resembled Lady Jane in the eyes, the complexion, the nose and the mouth, and all the features of the face, . . . that he never saw anything so like, but he does not remember the colour of his eyes." "The eldest," he adds, "resembled Colonel Steuart."² Dr. Martin Eccles of Edinburgh, who attended Lady Jane in her last illness, said that "Sholto had a striking likeness of his mother, Lady Jane."³ And among other witnesses, the Honourable Mrs. Maitland affirmed that "Sholto was as like her in every respect as ever a son was like a mother."⁴

During her sickness in London Lady Jane was attended by Mr. James Pringle, surgeon to the Guards, and when he left the city, by Mr Fordyce. Both these gentlemen declared that Lady Jane's disease was a broken heart.⁵ In August 1753, she was sufficiently recovered to be able to travel from London to Edinburgh. Sad in mind and afflicted in body, she made another

¹ Defender's Proof, pp. 406-7.

² *Ibid.* p. 504; depositions of Mrs. Hepburn, of Keith, p. 9; Miss Fleming Primrose, p. 360; Isabella Walker, p. 370.

³ *Ibid.* p. 385.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 386, 400, 403.

⁵ Deposition of Mrs. Hewit, in Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 154.

unsuccessful effort to obtain admission to her brother, the Duke of Douglas. But the Duke was inexorable, believing that she was attempting to impose upon him a supposititious child as her own, and repelled her most earnest entreaties for permission to vindicate herself in his presence from the calumnies by which his mind had been poisoned against her.

It appears from her letters that when in good health Lady Jane was attentive to the ordinances of religion. In a letter to her husband, without date, but evidently soon after she took up her residence at Chelsea, in September 1751, she writes: "I went last Sunday to church here, having no sort of scruple, I do assure you, though brought up a Presbyterian; there is no material difference between the two principles save a few forms, which, in reality is just nothing at all.¹ Did you imagine I would go the length of Mr. Earle's in Longacre? that would have been a performance indeed, and an expense which at present no ways suits me."² In a subsequent letter, dated 18th November 1752, Lady Jane explains that she was not able to write him for six days owing to the holy sacrament, which she had the honour of attending.³ Only about eleven days before her death, though then suffering much from pain, she joined in the observance of the sacrament of the Supper in the New Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. After that she was never able to leave her house.

To her only surviving son, Archibald, she showed much attachment; and she expressed her anxiety as to what should become of him after her decease.⁴

¹ Lady Jane's practice was in conformity with the opinions here expressed. When her second son, Sholto, was rebaptized, the ceremony was performed in the house of the dowager-Countess of Wigtown at Hampstead by a clergyman of the Church of England; and when her eldest son Archibald had to be baptized abroad, it was according to the forms of the Roman Catholic religion, and the

bishop of the place was invited to the festivities after the baptism, and expressed his regret that he was not asked to officiate at the baptism.

² Defender's Proof, p. 924.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Deposition of Dr. Martin Eccles, physician in Edinburgh, in Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 154.

Every night, for some time preceding her death, Lady Jane took leave of him in a very affectionate manner, as for many nights before her death she was so ill that she did not expect to see the morning. About four hours before she expired, having ordered him to be brought to her bedside, she laid her hand upon his head, and expressing the warmest concern for his welfare, recommended him to God as her son, in the most tender and pathetic manner. "God bless you, my child," she said; "God make you a good and an honest man, for riches I despise. Take a sword in your hand, and you may one day be as great a hero as some of your predecessors."¹ She died in her house in the Crosscauseway, near the Windmill, in the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh,² about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 22d of November 1753.

The melancholy intelligence of the death of Lady Jane was immediately communicated to her husband, Mr. Steuart, by Dr. Martin Eccles, the physician who attended her, in a letter, dated Edinburgh, 21st November 1753:³—"With very great grief and concern, I take this opportunity to inform you that Lady Jane Douglas Steuart died this day at noon, very much emaciated and decayed. She bore her sickness with Christian patience and resignation, accompanied with that remarkable sweetness of temper and affable behaviour so natural to her."⁴ Another letter was also written by Mr. Walter Colville, who was a friend of the family, which gives more particulars, in the following terms:—

"Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1753.

"SIR,—I am obliged to write you this melancholy letter, with the deepest grief and

¹ Deposition of Mrs. Hewit, in *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, p. 154.

² *Defender's Proof*, p. 955: also the *Testament-dative of Lady Jane*, 7th January 1756. [*Commissariat of Edinburgh*, vol. 116.]

³ Another correspondent says 22d. *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, p. 128. The 22d is also stated as the date of her death in several letters, and in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. xv. p. 581.

⁴ *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, p. 127.

concern imaginable, for the death of that dear angel, Lady Jane, who departed this life the 22d instant, at twelve o'clock forenoon. Poor Mrs. Hewit is in the greatest affliction that can be ; she is neither capable of writing nor speaking to any body, only begs of you, for dear Archy's sake and her's, you'll take care of your own health and preservation. She feels your distress in the most tender way ; but all the comfort she can give you is, that while dear Lady Jane was alive, nothing was wanting that either gave her ease or satisfaction. Nobody durst venture to write you the situation she was in ; she absolutely discharged it. There is an express gone away to the Duke to see what he will do. However, whether he will do or not, every thing shall be done about her like herself. Mrs. Hewit has had credit all along to support her, and still will for what is necessary ; therefore, she begs you'll let nothing of that trouble you ; and when all is over, and she gets herself composed, she will give you a full account. Poor woman, she is left at present with a few shillings in her pocket ; but her only lamentation and cry is for you. The poor dear child is at present very well, and she has just given orders for his mournings." ¹

The death of a wife to whom he was so tenderly attached was a great blow to her husband. In answer to a letter of condolence from the Chevalier Douglas, Sir John thus expressed his sorrow for the loss of his wife :—

“ It was only the other day that I received the obliging letter which you did me the honour to write on the 5th of February last, M^r M^cArcher, to whom it was addressed, being out of town. Alas ! my dear Chevalier, what you have heard is but too true. The charming Lady Jane is no more ! She left this world the 22d November for a better ; her own nearest relations broke her dear heart, which occasioned her death. They have a great deal to answer for, for she possessed every good quality, without a mixture of any faults. Her dear son (which is all I now have of her, and is my only consolation) is, I thank God, in perfect health, and in all appearance will be worthy of her, for he has already discovered, on sundry occasions, sentiments worthy of a Douglas, which I will have the honour to mention to you very soon, for this country is become insupportable to me since my misfortune, and so soon as I have ordered my affairs I am resolved to pass the rest of my days in France, where I hope often to enjoy your company, and to become acquainted with the rest of the family I honour so much.

“ London, March 14, 1754.” ²

It may here be appropriate to quote the panegyric of the Chevalier

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 956.

² *Ibid.* p. 713.

Johnstone on Lady Jane Douglas, to whom he was so much indebted. He says that this worthy and virtuous lady, who was idolised by her country, possessed every good and amiable quality that could adorn her sex. She was beloved, respected and adored by all who had the privilege of knowing her, as well as by the public in general, who only knew her through the high character and reputation she possessed. She had been very beautiful in her youth, and was still beautiful at the age of forty-five, appearing at least fifteen years younger than she really was, from the uniform temperate, regular, frugal and simple way of living she had always observed. She was virtuous, pious, devout and charitable without ostentation; her devoutness was neither affected nor oppressive to others. Her affability, easy and engaging manners and goodness of heart, soon set at their ease those who paid court to her, whom her graceful and majestic air might at first have rendered timid. Her mind was highly cultivated; she had a decided taste for literature, a great memory, much good sense and intelligence, a sound judgment and a quick discernment. Her library was well stored with the best authors, without any of those trifling novels which generally form so large a portion of the libraries of women. She possessed great elevation of soul, and was even haughty and proud on proper occasions, supporting her illustrious birth with dignity, without arrogance and without vanity, but in a manner truly noble.

The Chevalier adds that in what he has said to her praise, he has not been guilty of exaggeration. All those, he says, who had the good fortune to know her and who now lament her death, will say a thousand times more in her praise without being able to do justice to the merit of this adorable lady, who was as illustrious as she was unfortunate.¹

Four days after her death, on the 26th November, the body of Lady Jane was interred in the grave of her mother, the Marchioness of Douglas,

¹ Memoirs by Chevalier Johnstone. London, 1820. Pp. 241-243.

in the aisle of Douglas, Viscount of Belhaven, in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood.¹

Matthew Brown, a writer in Edinburgh, who was employed for Mr. Archibald Stuart, agent of the Duke of Douglas, was a witness cited for the Duke of Hamilton. He stated that upon Lady Jane Douglas's death, which, by his memorandum-book, was upon the 22d day of November 1753, at one o'clock afternoon, he received from Mr. Archibald Stuart, Writer to the Signet, an open letter written by the deceased Dr. John Clark, addressed to the Duke of Douglas, which he was directed by Mr. Stuart to carry to his Grace, then at Douglas Castle; the contents of which were, as far as he remembered, acquainting his Grace of Lady Jane's death, and of her having died in narrow circumstances, and that she could not be buried without his Grace's aid. This letter was delivered to the Duke, who at first refused to be at any expense in burying Lady Jane; but after much intercession by the witness, his Grace at length agreed to sign an order for burying Lady Jane in the Abbey of Holyrood. The funeral was to be arranged in a decent, but at the same time, in the most frugal way. The speaker added, that as he was coming away, the Duke called him back, and said, Remember if either Lord Haining or Mr. Archibald Stuart suffer that boy, meaning Lady Jane's son, to be present at Lady Jane's burial, it will be the last thing they should do for him, or words to that purpose.²

After the death of Lady Jane there was discovered the draft of a letter

¹ Burial Register at Holyrood, in which she is named and designated Lady Jane Steuart, sister to his Grace the Duke of Douglas. Sir Robert Douglas, who was created Viscount of Belhaven, on 24th June 1633, was descended from the family of Douglas of Mains, cadets of Douglas, Earls of Morton. He died without issue, when his

title became extinct. His nephews, Sir Archibald and Sir Robert Douglas, who inherited his property, erected to his memory an imposing mural monument, or altar-tomb, of Italian marble, with a recumbent figure of the Viscount as large as life.

² Pursuer's Proof, p. 304-5.

by her to the Duke. It is not known whether the letter was actually sent to his Grace, but it is worthy of a place here as showing the spirit of forgiveness which she bore to her brother after all his neglect of her. The draft letter is undated, but it was probably written shortly before her death in November 1753, as the feeble state of health so feelingly described by her is proved by several witnesses :—

“DEAR BROTHER,—Upon my first arrival in Scotland, which was on the 12th August, I would have wrote to your Grace, but by my severe illness during almost all the time I was in London, and the fatigue occasioned by my journey coming down, it was not in my power to perform that duty, nor am I well able to do it yet, my health being very little, if anything at all restor'd, which is a prevailing argument to prompt me to write to you, dear brother, finding myself in so dangerous a condition, if possibly I may be so happy as to prevail with you to admit of a visit from me before I die. I wrote in my last from Douglas, and acquainted your Grace that I was but in a mighty indifferent way as to my health, and what the consequence of not seeing you might prove ; since which time I am become so ill, that I am now truly an object of compassion, a violent pain in my stomach, to nothing but skin and bone, and withal so weak and feeble that I am unable to walk up my own stair ; so that each time I go out ride, which my physician orders me to do frequently (and which I find some benefit by), I am obliged to be carried up stairs in a chair by two people.¹ I'm still able to walk down, though with great pain and difficulty.

“After this description of my melancholy situation, I flatter myself, dear brother, you won't refuse my ardent, earnest request of being permitted to come and pay you my last visit, which I shall only employ in giving you my blessing and best wishes, and to ask your pardon for what has appeared to you wrong in my conduct ; and shall not, I do assure your Grace, trouble or take up your time with asking any favour, or making any request. This being my sole views in desiring to see you, no interested motive, I can assure you, dear brother, urging me to it ; I therefore cannot refrain indulging my earnest, ardent inclination of endeavouring to make a second attempt to pay my duty to your Grace, even in this my great and dangerous distress ; and my

¹ Mr. Walter Colville deponed that after her return from the sacrament of the Supper, Lady Jane was so weak that he had to carry

her up-stairs to her room. Pursuer's Proof in the Douglas Cause, p. 296.

fondness to do it will make me interpret silence to be at least no absolute command against it.

“ I shall trouble you, dear brother, with no longer letter at present ; I am, indeed, unable to write any more ; only allow me to assure you, before I conclude, that I most earnestly and sincerely wish you all the blessings, both spiritual and temporal, that heaven can bestow, that you may be fully possess of them, both here and hereafter, is my constant prayer.

“ Adieu, dear brother, I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, esteem, and love, your Grace’s most obedient, most humble servant, and affectionate sister.”¹

Though the hope which, as appears from the above letter, Lady Jane cherished to the last of being reconciled to her brother was never fulfilled, her memory was at last cleared in the eyes of the Duke, and the harshness which he had displayed towards his only sister was turned into remorse. It appears from the evidence of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Mary Hepburn, sister of the Duchess of Douglas, that Mr. Loch showed the Duke, when he was staying at the Abbey of Holyrood, a writing in Lady Jane’s own hand containing an account of her life for several years antecedent to her marriage. It is much to be regretted that no trace of that writing has been discovered, as a memoir of Lady Jane Douglas, written by herself, would be a valuable and interesting work, and might clear up many facts as to which her friends and foes were at variance. It appears that the Duke was much moved with Lady Jane’s memoir. Mr. Loch followed up the effect produced by narrating the great distress which Lady Jane endured on the death of her son Sholto, the distress and poverty she endured at her own death, and the neglect which she had met with from her friends. After Mr. Loch left the Duke, his Grace told his sister-in-law that he would sleep none all night, as the account of his sister’s distress had affected him so much. He added that he saw from her memoir that she had certainly been the most injured woman in the world. He said that all that Lady Jane had suffered in her

¹ Defender’s Proof, p. 994.

life did not affect him so much as what she suffered at her death. He pressed his breast with his hand repeating some of the expressions Mr. Loch had used to him, and said that his sister had not only been neglected before her death, but after it. The Duke at that time appeared to be much affected, and even shed tears, expressing his regret for the neglect that he himself had shown to Lady Jane.¹

Mrs. Hepburn also gave an account of the feelings of deep regret which the Duke felt in his last illness for his neglect of his sister. During that illness, which continued about forty-two days, she was almost constantly with him, both by night and day. The Duke sometimes referred to Lady Jane, regretting the difficulties to which she was reduced at the end of her life, and prayed that God might forgive him for what he had done to her, and that God might forgive Lord Dundonald and Mr. Archibald Stuart, for that they and Stockbrigs were the cause of his neglecting his sister. He also said that if he had done injustice to her, he had done ample justice to her son, for that he had given him his whole estate.²

Another witness also spoke of the remorse which the Duke ultimately felt on account of his treatment of his sister. He had heard the Duke several times, and particularly when he lived in Queensberry House in the Canongate, reflect on Stockbrigs and others for depriving him of the pleasure of seeing "his dear sister Janie," as he called her, and her bairns, when they came to Douglas Castle to see him, since now he never could have that happiness. On that occasion, Stockbrigs contrived to prevent the Duke from seeing his sister and his nephews, by locking him into a room in Douglas Castle. The Duke used to refer to that incident in great passion.³

After the death of Lady Jane, and the consequent lapse of the annual allowance of £300 from Government, her husband's affairs did not improve: they seem to have gone on from bad to worse. He retired to the Isle of Man,

¹ Defender's Proof, p. 429.

² *Ibid.* pp. 430, 431.

³ Pursuer's Proof, 374.

and lived there on a small allowance from his brother Sir George, at whose death, on 3d November 1759, without leaving children, Mr. Steuart inherited the Grandtully baronetcy and estates. This succession was the means of relieving Sir John from his pecuniary difficulties. His very first act on his return from the Isle of Man, on succeeding to his brother, was to request his law-agent, Mr. Loch of Edinburgh, to furnish him with the form of a bond of provision for his son Archibald. Sir John wrote the whole bond with his own hand. At first he insisted for a larger sum, but was persuaded by his agent to restrict it to 50,000 merks. Sir John thought that too small a provision for the son of Lady Jane, but he was assured that it was as much as the entailed estate could bear.

Nine years after the death of Lady Jane, Sir John married as his third wife, the Honourable Helen Murray, daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, the marriage being celebrated at Edinburgh on 12th September 1761. The lady survived Sir John without issue, and died at Ormiston, East Lothian, on 29th December 1809, in the ninety-fourth year of her age.

Sir John Steuart survived Lady Jane Douglas for eleven years, and died at Murthly on 14th June 1764. His body was interred in the mortuary chapel there. The hatchment which was made on his death is still in the chapel in tolerable preservation, considering the lapse of time and the frail materials of which it is composed. A week before his death he made the following declaration in reference to his sons, Archibald and Sholto, by Lady Jane Douglas:—

“ Murthly, June 7th, 1764.

“ Having lately had some sever fitts of the goutt in my stommach, with my health in other respects much impaired, these, with my great age, going seventy-six, make it appear incumbent on me to make the following declaration, as aspersions have been thrown out by interested and most malicious people as to the birth of Ladie Jean Douglas her children, in order to robb

the surviving child, Archibald, of his birthright, by making his parents, Lady Jean and me, appear infamous, to make him illegittimat.

"I, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, do solemnly declare, before God, that the forementioned Lady Jean Douglas, my lawfull spouse, did, in the year 1748, bring to the world two sons, Archibald and Sholto, and I firmly believe the children were mine, as I am sure they were hers. Of the two sons, Archibald is the only [one] in life now. I make this declaration, as stepping into eternity, befor the witnesses aftermentioned: James Biset, minister of the gospel at Caputh, and James Hill, minister at Gurdie; John Stewart of Dalgoos, Esq., Justice of Peace; Joseph Anderson, tennent in Slogenhole.¹

(Signed) "JO. STEWART."²

" James Bisset, witness.

" James Hill, witness.

" Jos. Anderson, witness.

" Jo. Stewart, witness."

¹ There was then a small inn at Slogenholl. The tradition in the Grandtully family is that the declaration was made at the inn. It has been removed, and the place is now called Slogenholm.

² Defender's Proof, p. 447. Scots Magazine, vol. xxvi. p. 350.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James Douglas Stewart". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered at the bottom of the page.

XIII.—ARCHIBALD JAMES EDWARD STEUART DOUGLAS,
FIRST LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

LADY LUCY GRAHAM (MONTROSE), HIS FIRST WIFE.

LADY FRANCES SCOTT (BUCCLEUCH), HIS SECOND WIFE.

1761—1827.

AS already stated in the memoir of Lady Jane Douglas, her two children, Archibald, the subject of the present notice, and his younger brother, Sholto Thomas, were born on 10th July 1748.¹ Sholto died in May 1753, about six months before his mother. Archibald, who was only five years old at Lady Jane's death, was taken under the protection of Lady Schaw, one of his mother's most intimate friends, who supported and educated him until her death. In a letter, dated in February 1754, written to Colonel Steuart, Lady Schaw thus refers to her young charge: "I received your letter of 10th January . . . which I would have answered before this time if I had not delayed it on purpose to see how your child agreed with his new quarters. I can now assure you that not only I, but others who see him think that he

¹ Sholto, owing to his weakness, was baptized immediately after his birth, and again in England in November 1749, but Archibald was baptized at Rheims in Champagne, on the 22d September 1748, by Antoine Curios, D.D., curé of the parish church of St. Jacques. The ceremony took place publicly, accompanied by ringing of bells and scattering of

money to the populace. The godfathers were the Earl of Crawford, who appeared by proxy, Baron Cezar M'Elligot, and Lord Blantyre, while the godmothers were, the Marchioness of Lothian, by proxy, and the Countess of Wigtown. [Certificate in Douglas Cause, Defender's Proof, pp. 724, 725.]

is improved both in growth and spirit; for, as he is a very sensible child, he was extremely cast down for the loss of his dear mother. . . . It was mere Providence that sent me to this place of the country when my Lady left this world for a better one, which gave me the opportunity to hear of the destitute condition her poor infant was in, whom I brought home, and [it] is my intention to use him as my own child so long as I live; but as I am old, that probably will not be many years. I wish your affairs may be settled, so as to take care of your child at my death; till then, neither I nor none of mine have any demands upon you nor none of yours; and I think myself happy to have it in my power to say that it gives me the greatest satisfaction to show any part of the regard and honour I had for the dear deceased.”¹

On the death of Lady Schaw, Archibald Steuart was cared for by other friends, notably by the Duke of Queensberry, who afterwards bequeathed to him the estate of Amesbury, in Wiltshire. His father's fortunes also improved, and on succeeding to the title and estates of Grandtully in 1759, Colonel Steuart was enabled to settle a yearly income upon his son.² But Archibald found his staunchest and most energetic friend in an unexpected quarter. His uncle, the Duke of Douglas, who still refused to acknowledge him, married, in 1758, as already stated, Margaret Douglas of Mains, and this lady espoused the cause of Archibald Steuart with all her characteristic ardour. A tradition in her family asserts that the primary cause of the interest the Duchess of Douglas took in the son of Lady Jane Douglas was a desire to humble the pride of the Duchess of Hamilton, the beautiful Elizabeth

¹ Letters of Lady Jane Douglas, p. 144; The Red Book of Grandtully, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. ccvi.

² In a letter by Sir John Steuart to his son Archibald, dated 12th October 1763, Sir John says he has nothing to leave him but a re-

peating watch to measure precious time by. This may have been the gold repeating watch which belonged to Lady Jane. A creditor valued it at £25 as the only asset of Lady Jane to which he was confirmed executor *quâ* creditor on 7th January 1756.—[Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments, vol. iii.]

Gunning, who is described as recently married and who gave offence to the older duchess, but this tradition is contradicted by actual events, and the motives which inspired the Duchess of Douglas were probably of a more noble character.¹

The Duchess used all her influence to disabuse the mind of the Duke of the suspicions which possessed him regarding his sister and her children. It is said she importuned him so strongly on the subject that it led to their separation. This separation took place in March 1759, but, contrary to expectation, it was the means of accomplishing the desire of the Duchess. With much good sense and disinterestedness she accepted from her husband at their separation, a deed settling upon her much less than she was entitled to, which produced upon him so strong an impression in her favour, that he became convinced that she had been equally disinterested in her solicitations on behalf of Archibald Steuart. Her persuasions induced him to make inquiries as to the truth, and discovering that he had been imposed upon, he seemed satisfied that the children, who had been represented as spurious, were in reality his sister's. The effect produced upon the Duke's mind by the true account of his sister's history and sufferings has already been narrated in her memoir.

A few months after their separation the Duke sought a reconciliation with the Duchess. At the time of their marriage no formal contract appears to have been made. A post-nuptial contract of marriage between the Duke and Duchess was now entered into, whereby, failing issue of his own body, and heirs appointed or to be appointed by himself, he left his whole Douglas estates to his own nearest heirs and assignees, without excepting the son of his sister Lady Jane.² In January 1760 the Duke revoked and cancelled the

¹ Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton, was married in 1752, and she became a widow in January 1758, a month or more before the

marriage of the Duchess of Douglas.

² Contract of marriage, dated 6th August 1759. Old Inventory in Douglas Charter-chest.

settlements of 1754 and 1757, in terms of which, failing heirs of his own body, his estates were destined to the family of Hamilton. In July 1761, shortly before his death, he entailed his whole estate in favour of himself and the heirs whomsoever of his body, failing whom, of the heirs whomsoever of the body of his father, James, Marquis of Douglas, failing whom, in favour of Lord Douglas Hamilton and other heirs named. The Duke also by another deed appointed the Duchess of Douglas, the Duke of Queensberry, and others, as tutors and guardians to Archibald Steuart or Douglas, who was declared to be the son of his sister Lady Jane, and his successor in the estates of Douglas, failing issue of the Duke's own body.¹ Justice was thus done to the memory of Lady Jane Douglas, and his proper inheritance secured to her surviving son.

Archibald Steuart was for some time previous to his uncle's death at school at Rugby. This appears from a letter written to him in 1767 by the headmaster of Rugby. The letter has special reference to the young man's likeness to his uncle the Duke, but it also bears upon his conduct at school, and may so far be quoted. "As it is now some years since you left me, and you were then young, 'tis probable I have no great share of your remembrance. I do not, however, forget the promising appearance of your childhood, and the good hopes you caus'd all here to entertain of you. Your most valuable friend and aunt, her Grace the Dutchess, remov'd you to Westminster, which was right, particularly in your case, and certainly made no alteration in the regard we always had for you. Our esteem for you was not grounded upon your being of the honourable house of Douglass, but upon your own disposition and behaviour. I am, however, convinc'd you are of that house, notwithstanding everything alledged to the contrary. I had many letters from your father and from Mrs. Hewitt, which were to me undeniable evidence of a parent's affection and the tenderest regard. They were written in such an

¹ The Duke's revocation is dated 5th July 1761. The Red Book of Grandtully, by January 1760; his later settlements on 11th William Fraser, vol. i. p. ccix.

unaffected and natural manner, testify'd such a concern for your truest interest, and contained such emanations from the heart, that it was impossible they could be the produce of deceit and imposture. . . ."¹

The writer makes a proffer of those letters he has preserved, to be used as evidence, if thought necessary. He then narrates an incident which occurred when Archibald Steuart was summoned to Scotland on the death of his uncle the Duke. "Your father sent one Mr. M'Glashan to conduct you into Scotland; he came to Rugby late in the evening, and I went to his inn next morning and brought him to my house. When we came in, you were in the hall with some of your school-fellows; he immediately, of himself, singled you out as soon as he saw you, and said he was sure from the family likeness you must be the gentleman he came for. I understood he had never seen you before . . ." The letter concludes—"Dear Sir, to see persons whose memories you must revere, most cruelly aspersed, is enough to put you out of humour with the world at your first entrance into it. I shall be glad to hear you can enjoy your health and preserve that evenness of temper you used to possess. I make no doubt but young as you are, you have laid in a fund of learning and good sense to make you respected in every situation," etc.²

The Duke of Douglas died on 21st July 1761, and the tutors of Archibald Steuart Douglas, without delay, obtained brieves for his service as heir of entail and provision to his uncle. Notwithstanding that reports were circulated unfavourable to his parentage, the proofs that Archibald was the son of Lady Jane Douglas were so satisfactory, that, without any formal opposition by the next heir, the Duke of Hamilton, he was served heir to the Duke of Douglas. Two months later he obtained a charter from the Crown of the estates of Douglas as heir to his uncle, and was duly infeft in the lands.³

¹ Letter, Rev. Stanley Burrough, head-master of Rugby, to Mr. Douglas, 5th September 1767, in Douglas Charter-chest.

² *Ibid.*

³ Retour of service, 9th September 1761; Crown charter 10th December, and sasine following 17th December 1761. Douglas Cause, p. 22.

Shortly afterwards, however, the Duke of Hamilton, who had been served nearest heir-male to the Duke of Douglas, and the Earl of Selkirk, brought actions of reduction to set aside the title of Mr. Steuart Douglas to the estates of Angus and Douglas and the lands of Dundee, but in December 1762, the Court of Session decided in favour of Mr. Douglas.¹

Meanwhile young Douglas was continuing his education at Westminster, London. Several of his letters to his elder brother John, afterwards Sir John Steuart of Grandtully, are written from that school. In one, he informs his brother that he was reading Virgil, and Pinax, a Greek book, and verse exercises out of Horace, with writing and dancing.² In another, he writes,—“I hope you will excuse my long silence as I have been in the country and void of franks. I hope you have been very well since I wrote to you last. We have broke up for our holydays a little while ago, and I have spent the most part of them as agreeably as if I had been the greatest man in the world, even the king himself, who, one would think, enjoys all the happiness that can be had for love or gold.”³ In another letter to his brother, written nearly a year after the decision in his favour already noticed, he writes—“I have resolved steadfastly to regard those who have proved my truest friends in my adversity, and to despise those who have put on a false cloak of friendship since my prosperity, as some people of my acquaintance, and I don't know but relations too, directly as this affair is decided in favour of the Douglasses, will fawn like a little dog about them, and at the same time they are wishing them joy at their success wish them at the devil in their hearts.”⁴

The victory gained by the trustees of Archibald Douglas in 1762 was comparatively brief, and the contest against him was shortly renewed in another form. Three separate actions of reduction of the service of Archibald,

¹ Douglas Cause, pp. 22, 23.

³ 1st June 1762, original at Murthly.

² Letter dated 16th January 1762, at Murthly.

⁴ 19th November 1763, original at Murthly.

as heir of his uncle the Duke of Douglas, were brought before the Court of Session, on the ground that he was not the son of Lady Jane Douglas. One action was raised by the guardians of the Duke of Hamilton, another by Lord Douglas Hamilton, founded upon the entail of 11th July 1761; and a third by Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Baronet, one of the heirs of line.¹ These three actions were conjoined by the court, and the litigation which ensued became the famous Douglas Cause, one of the greatest pleas which ever came before the Court of Session; while, from the magnitude of the interests depending upon it, as well as from the extraordinary circumstances of the case, it excited the greatest interest throughout the country.

After a large and somewhat conflicting mass of evidence had been adduced, and the employment as counsel of all the leading men of the Scottish Bar, several of whom became judges in the case during its progress, the Court of Session, on 15th July 1767, by the casting vote of Lord President Dundas, decided adversely to the claim of Mr. Douglas.² He himself, however, was not cast down at the result. Writing to his brother from Edinburgh a few days after the decision, he says, "Our cause is indeed lost here, but there is another Court, where justice and impartiality must prevail. The final decision here is not so great a stroke upon us as I believe upon most of our friends. Every person's character here is pretty well known, as well as their motives for their behaviour, but time and a little patience show every thing and every man in their proper light."³

As foreshadowed in this letter, the Douglas Cause was carried by appeal to the House of Lords, and the case was fixed for hearing in January 1769. One notable incident connected with the hearing in the House of Lords, was that the cause of Lady Jane Douglas and her son was advocated with all the eloquence of Edward Thurlow, then a young barrister, who afterwards

¹ The Red Book of Grandtully, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. ccxii.

² *Ibid.* p. ccxiii.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 369, No. 303.

became Lord Chancellor. It is said that Thurlow received his brief in the case through being overheard arguing the subject in Nando's Coffee-house, a favourite resort for young lawyers. In this argument, Thurlow took the part of Mr. Archibald Steuart, and point by point proved the validity of his claim. The next morning he was waited upon with a brief and a fee. Whether this story be true or not, he was engaged in the case, and, as is well known, after a hard contest, he aided in gaining the cause.¹ The House of Lords reversed the judgment of the Court of Session, and decided in favour of Archibald Douglas on 17th February 1769.²

While the hearing of the case was in progress in the House of Lords, which occupied some days, it was the one absorbing topic of society. Every fashionable drawing-room had its clique, favourable or otherwise, and all the leaders of fashion were arrayed on one side or other. This we learn from the journal of a lady of the period, herself a partisan of Mr. Douglas. She describes how the Duchess of Hamilton (as she was still called, though at that time Marchioness of Lorne), and those who favoured her son, were by no means particular as to the means they took to influence the judges. It was even attempted to drag the King and Queen into the controversy. On the other hand the Duchess of Douglas solicited no one. Her anxiety, however, was very great, and till the case was over, she said she could enjoy no peace. Mr. Douglas himself behaved with the utmost composure during the excite-

¹ According to a private journal of the time, Thurlow even put himself in the way of shedding his blood for the cause, by fighting a duel with Mr. Stuart, who was the chief agent and manager of the case for the Duke of Hamilton. Lady Mary Coke, who records the fact, states that the affair took place near her house, that two or three post-chaises with four horses waited, pistols were fired,

and the party then returned to their chaises, it not being known what mischief was done. Report at first named the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Beaucherk as the duellists, but it was afterwards understood that Mr. Stuart had challenged Thurlow.

² The Red Book of Grandtully, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. ccciv.

ment of the trial, and even his opponents said of him, that he bore so good a character it was impossible to have any enmity to him. On the day following the decision, the same lady writes, "I went to the Duchess of Douglass to congratulate her on the justice the House of Lords had done Mr. Douglass. I mett a great many Peers who came to wish her joy. The Duchess insisted upon my dining with her. Mr. Douglass behaved with the same modest composure in his prosperity that he had conducted himself during all the time of his adverse fortune. The numbers of people that came in the evening must have fatigued the Duchess of Douglass with congratulations, but is a proof how much the cause is espoused." In an interview with the Princess Amelia, it was indicated that the King himself had held an opinion favourable to Mr. Douglas, and the Princess herself expressed pleasure at the result and the unanimity of the Lords, who decided the case without a division.¹

If such was the feeling in London, the popular excitement and expression in Scotland was much more enthusiastic. A private letter to Sir John Steuart of Grandtully, written when the news reached Edinburgh, says: "Your brother has carried his cause unanimously: no division of the House. God make us all thankful. . . . Send off to Ballachin instantly. This is glorious. The joy here is beyond description. The express is not in above half an hour, and the windows are mostly illuminated already. . . ." ² In another private letter, the popular feeling in Edinburgh is thus referred to: "An express arrived here at eight o'clock Thursday night, with the news of Mr. Douglas having prevaill'd, which was so agreeable to the people in general, that in a few minutes the whole houses were illuminated; all the windows to the street were broke by the mob before candles could be lighted. They began with the President's house, the Justice-

¹ Lady Mary Coke's Journal at The Hirsell.

² Letter, 2d March 1769. Original at Murthly.

Clerk's,¹ Lord Galloway's, etc., etc., upon which the military in the castle were called. Last night the mob were as numerous as ever. The houses were again illuminated last night, and it's thought the mob will continue this evening. The military continue still to patrole the streets; and, notwithstanding, I hear of no dammage done except the breaking of windows, which indeed is general. When I went in to Sir Ludovick's (Sir Ludovick Grant's) to acquaint them of the news, you cannot immagine the joyful faces. . . ."²

Nor was the interest in the case confined to Scotland. Many incidents connected with it having occurred in France and other foreign countries, and much evidence having been taken in France, the keen interest excited extended over Europe, and it is still referred to, like some important historical event, as the great Douglas Cause. Other celebrated cases, involving the highest titles of honour, and large possessions, such as the old dukedom of Montrose, and the extensive estates of the earldom of Breadalbane, have been litigated since. But neither of these, nor any others, ever stirred society like the Douglas Cause.

Having thus obtained possession of the ancient inheritance of his family, Mr. Douglas took his position in the country as became the representative of the great house of Douglas. He was, however, more or less harassed by actions of reduction until 1779, when these were finally settled in his favour by the House of Lords,³ and he seems then to have remained in peaceful occupation of his large estates. The first few years of his tenure were employed in paying off debts, including those incurred by Lady Jane Douglas and her husband, Colonel Steuart, which had remained for many years

¹ The Lord President (Robert Dundas of Arniston), and the Lord Justice-Clerk (Sir Thomas Miller), had both given judgments strongly against Mr. Douglas in the Court of Session, and were therefore specially obnoxious to the populace.

² Letter, 4th March 1769, Ludovick Grant, writer in Edinburgh, to James Grant, younger of Grant. The Chiefs of Grant, by William Fraser, LL.D., vol. ii. p. 272.

³ Papers, and Judgment, 29th March 1779, in Douglas Charter-chest.

unpaid. Mr. Douglas continued the rebuilding of Douglas Castle, the unfinished wing of which he completed, while he also effected other improvements, buildings, drainage, etc., over his estates. He did much to beautify the neighbourhood, and is said to have meditated the transference of the town of Douglas to a site two miles below the castle, a project which was not carried out. His favourite residence, however, was at Bothwell, where Lord Forfar had erected a modern mansion adjacent to the ruins of the ancient castle. Mr. Douglas added to, and partly rebuilt that mansion and improved the surroundings.

The history of Mr. Douglas, after the termination of the Douglas Cause, was comparatively uneventful, unless we except the contests with the Hamilton family for political ascendancy in the county of Lanark. He himself entered the House of Commons as member for the county of Forfar, of which he was Lord-lieutenant. On 9th July 1790, he was created a British peer, with the title of LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS. He died on 26th December 1827, in the eightieth year of his age. He left kindly memories behind him, to one of which a newspaper article of twenty years ago thus refers: "We remember of seeing him seated on the bench beside the judges in the old Justiciary Court Hall on a trial in Glasgow, in or about the year 1819, for housebreaking and theft from Bothwell Castle, which ended in a capital conviction and two executions. He was very much affected about it. . . . His was truly a remarkable life. . . . When he came into Glasgow, as he did frequently, from Bothwell Castle, in his elegant carriage and four high mettled blood horses, with their handsome outriders in their cockades, he received the most polite attention from gentle and simple, young and old. He was a hale hearty old man down to the day of his death."¹

Archibald, first Lord Douglas, was twice married; first on 13th June 1771, to Lady Lucy Graham, only daughter of William second Duke of Montrose.

¹ Glasgow Gazette, 17th January 1863.

She died on 13th February 1780, and Lord Douglas, on 13th May 1783, married Lady Frances Scott, sister of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch. She also predeceased him, dying in May 1817. Lord Douglas and his two wives were interred in the vault under the parish church of Douglas.

By his two wives Lord Douglas had issue eight sons and four daughters.

The sons were—

1. Archibald, who succeeded his father as second Lord Douglas. Of him a short notice follows.
2. Charles, who succeeded his brother as third Lord Douglas. Of him a short notice follows.
3. William, born 31st October 1777, who died young.
4. Sholto Scott, eldest son of the second marriage, born 17th September 1785, died on 30th October 1821 without issue.
5. James, who succeeded his brother Charles as fourth Lord Douglas. Of him a short notice follows.
6. George, born 2d August 1788. He became a captain in the Royal Navy, and died unmarried on 30th August 1838.
7. Henry, who died young.
8. John, who also died young.

The daughters were—

1. Jane Margaret, only daughter of the first marriage, born 21st December 1779. She married on 22d November 1804, Henry James, Lord Montagu of Boughton, second son of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, and had issue four daughters. She died 10th January 1859. At the death of her brother James Lord Douglas without issue, in 1857, the succession to the Douglas estates devolved upon this lady. Upon her decease they were inherited by her eldest daughter, Lucy, Countess of Home.
2. Caroline Lucy, eldest daughter of the second marriage, born 16th

- February 1784. She married, on 27th October 1807, Admiral Sir George Scott, K.C.B., and died on 20th April 1857 without issue.
3. Frances Elizabeth, born 9th December 1790; married, on 18th October 1826, Major William Moray Stirling of Abercairny and Ardoch. She survived her husband, who deceased on 9th November 1850, and died at Granton on 14th September 1854. They had no issue.
 4. Mary Sidney, born 16th July 1796; married, ante-nuptial contract dated 28th May 1821, Robert Douglas of Strathendry, county of Fife. She survived him for many years, and liferented the estate of Strathendry. She died at Springhill, near Coldstream, on 29th September 1882. One son was born of the marriage, but he predeceased his father.

Douglas

Frances Douglas

XIV.—1. ARCHIBALD, SECOND LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

1827—1844.

HE was the eldest son of Archibald, first Lord Douglas, by his first wife, Lady Lucy Graham, and was born on 25th March 1773. He succeeded his father in 1827, and is remembered as a keen politician. In 1831 he made strenuous efforts to secure the election of his brother, the Honourable Charles Douglas, in opposition to the Hamilton interest, which was then Whig, their candidate being Mr. Maxwell, afterwards the late Sir John Maxwell of Pollok.¹ Lord Douglas resided chiefly at Douglas Castle, where he took the deepest interest, not only in the place itself, which he greatly embellished and improved, but in every part of his estates, stimulating the exertions of his tenantry by the most liberal yet judicious management. He also frequently resided at Bothwell Castle, where he died on 27th January 1844, in his 71st year. During the seventeen years of his possession of the Douglas estates his beneficence to his poorer dependants is gratefully recorded.² A contemporary journal says, "The tenor of his lordship's career was quiet, kindly, and unobtrusive; his greatest happiness was to see all happy around him. A monument, more enduring than iron or brass, he has himself raised to his own memory in the happy and contented condition of his numerous tenantry of Bothwell and Douglas, where his lordship was universally loved and respected."³ He was buried in the family vault under the parish church of Douglas. Archibald, Lord Douglas, never married, and was succeeded by his brother.

¹ *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 117.

² *New Statistical Account*, vol. vi. pp. 487, 496.

³ *Glasgow Herald*.

XIV.—2. CHARLES, THIRD LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

1844—1848.

HE was born on 26th October 1775. Reference has been made to the contest in 1831, between him and Mr. Maxwell, younger of Pollok, for the membership of the county of Lanark. It was the last election which took place in Lanarkshire before the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, and is said to have been one of the most extraordinary and alarming which ever took place in that county. Popular feeling ran very high. The freeholders met in the parish church of Lanark on 13th May 1831, the place being crowded to excess by them and non-electors, while hundreds outside awaited the result. Mr. Douglas was elected by a majority of eleven votes, but on rising to thank the freeholders, who had voted for him, he was rudely assailed from the galleries of the church, and wounded in the forehead by a missile thrown at him—a copper penny it is said. An eye-witness, in describing the scene, states that the blood was seen streaming down his mild and handsome countenance. Amid intense excitement, his friends, including Mr. Duncan M'Neil, advocate, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, sprang from their seats, arranged themselves around him, and prepared to defend him from further insult. But he soon recovered and proceeded with his address. The excitement, however, continued to increase, and was such that in the evening, when some of Mr. Douglas's friends were leaving Lanark in their carriages, they were pelted with stones. Hereupon the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, Mr. Rose Robinson, read the Riot Act, and the

streets were then cleared by a troop of dragoons previously summoned from Hamilton.¹ The candidates, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Maxwell, acted with the utmost courtesy to each other throughout the contest.

Apart from politics, Charles Lord Douglas was regarded with esteem by all classes, and was very amiable and highly accomplished. Along with Lord Montagu he was guardian to the late Walter Francis, Dale of Buccleuch and Queensberry, whose excellent business qualities were carefully fostered by Mr. Charles Douglas, as he then was. On 27th January 1844 he succeeded to his elder brother Archibald as third LORD DOUGLAS or DOUGLASS, but enjoyed possession of the estates little more than four years. He had suffered from paralysis for upwards of sixteen years, yet with comparatively good health in the circumstances, but at last his illness assumed an alarming phase, and he expired somewhat suddenly on the morning of the 11th September 1848. He was buried in the family vault at the parish church of Douglas.

Charles, Lord Douglas, was a deputy-lieutenant of the counties of Roxburgh, Forfar, and Lanark. Owing to his bodily infirmity, he had not been in Scotland for many years before his death. He was a kind and considerate landlord. Like his brother Archibald, Lord Charles never married, and he was succeeded by his brother James.

¹ Glasgow Gazette, 17th January 1863; *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 118.

XIV. —3. JAMES, FOURTH LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

WILHELMINA MURRAY (EDRANK), HIS WIFE.

1818—1857.

HE was born on 9th July 1787. Having been educated for the Church, he was in 1819 appointed rector of Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire, and also in 1825 rector of Broughton, in the county of Northampton. He was at the same time a freeholder in Lanarkshire, and as such voted for his brother in 1831, though being an old college companion of his brother's opponent, Mr. Maxwell of Pollok, he declared to the latter, with tears in his eyes, that it was the hardest thing he had ever experienced, to vote against him, even for a brother. On 11th September 1818 he succeeded to his brother Charles as fourth LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS. Subsequently to his accession to the family estates, he lived principally either at Douglas Castle or at Bothwell Castle, but being far advanced in life, he rarely took any active part in public affairs. He married, on 18th May 1813, Wilhelmina, daughter of General the Honourable James Murray, fifth son of the fourth Lord Elibank, and celebrated for his gallant defence of Minorca in 1781. He died at Bothwell on 6th April 1857, and having no issue, the title of Lord Douglas became extinct, and the estates devolved upon his sister, Jane Margaret, Lady Montagu. Lady Douglas survived till 25th February 1866. Both she and Lord Douglas were buried in the family vault at the parish church of Douglas.

XIV.—4. THE HON. JANE MARGARET DOUGLAS, LADY MONTAGU.

OF the eight sons and four daughters of Archibald, first Lord Douglas, the Honourable Jane Margaret, only daughter by his first wife, Lady Lucy Graham, alone left issue. She was born on 21st December 1779, and married on 22d November 1804, at Dalkeith House, Lord Henry James Montagu, second surviving son of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, and grandson of George, Duke of Montagu. On the death of the latter on 23d May 1790, Lord Henry succeeded to his grandfather's barony of Montagu. Lord Montagu died in London on 30th October 1845, and was survived by his wife, who, on the death of her brother James, fourth Lord Douglas, in April 1857, inherited the Douglas and Angus estates. She died at Ditton Park, on 10th January 1859, and was buried beside her husband at Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire. They had issue four daughters, the eldest of whom,

XV.—LUCY ELIZABETH DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF HOME,

INHERITED the estates on her mother's death. She was born in 1805, and married on 4th December 1832 Cospatrick Alexander Home, Lord Dunglas, afterwards eleventh Earl of Home. On 11th June 1875 he was created a peer of the United Kingdom, with the title of BARON DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS, to hold to him and the heirs-male of his body.¹ Lucy, Countess of Home, died on 15th May 1877, and was buried in the church of St. Bride's, Douglas, where a monument is erected to her memory. The Earl of Home died on 4th July 1881, and was interred beside the Countess. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, CHARLES ALEXANDER DOUGLAS-HOME, twelfth and present EARL OF HOME, and second BARON DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 389, 390.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF DOUGLAS, EARLS OF ANGUS.

I.—GEORGE OF DOUGLAS, FIRST EARL OF ANGUS.

Son of William, first Earl of Douglas, and Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus, and first Earl of Angus of the name of Douglas. While under age, he received a charter of his mother's honours and estates, 10th April 1389. He accompanied the Earl of Douglas to the battle of Homildon in 1402, where he was taken prisoner, and died the same year. He married the Princess Mary, youngest daughter of King Robert III. Their contract of marriage is dated 24th May 1397. The Princess survived the Earl, and married three times after his death—1st, Sir James Kennedy, knight; 2dly, Sir William Graham of Kincairdine; 3dly, Sir William Edmonstone of Dumtreath. By his wife, George, Earl of Angus, had issue, one son and one daughter. *Memoir*, pp. 17-23 of this volume.

II.—WILLIAM, SECOND EARL OF ANGUS.

Was sent to England to negotiate the ransom of King James the First in 1423. He sat on the trial of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, 1425. He was ambassador to England in 1430, appointed Warden of the Middle Marches 1434, commanded at Piperden in 1435, and gained the victory. He died in October 1437. He married, in 1425, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester, ancestor of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who survived her husband, and was alive in 1484. Issue, four sons. *Memoir*, pp. 24-36.

LADY ELIZABETH, married, first, *circa* 1423, Alexander Lord Forbes; secondly, Sir David Hay of Yester. She had issue to both husbands.

III.—1. JAMES, THIRD EARL OF ANGUS.

Served heir to his father on 11th January 1438. In 1443 he adhered to Crichton's party in the disputes with the Earl of Douglas, and was threatened with forfeiture, but submitted. He died before 9th September 1446, without issue. He was betrothed on 18th October 1440, to the Princess Jean, third daughter of King James I., but the marriage was never completed. The Princess afterwards married the first Earl of Morton. She was known as the "dumb Lady of Dalkeith." James, third Earl of Angus, was succeeded by his brother George as fourth Earl. *Memoir*, pp. 37-44.

III.—2. GEORGE, FOURTH EARL OF ANGUS.

Succeeded his brother as fourth Earl before 9th September 1446. Godscroft refers to him as the "Great Earl." He entered in 1452 into an agreement with Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers as to Hermitage Castle, and the same year received from King James II. a charter of Tantallon Castle. He was Warden of the East Marches, and commanded the king's troops during the rebellion of James, the ninth and last Earl of Douglas, in 1455. He received a charter of Douglasdale on 8th April 1457. He made an indenture with Henry VI. of England in 1462, by which Henry promised the Earl valuable lands in England, to be erected into a Dukedom. He was one of the Governors of Scotland on the death of James II. The Earl died on 12th March 1463, and was buried at Abernethy. By his Countess, Isabel, daughter of Sir John Sibbald of Balgony, in Fife, who survived him, he had two sons and seven daughters. *Memoir*, pp. 45-65.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, designed of Crany. He acted as guardian to his nephew Archibald. Hewas Lord of Sunderland, Traquair, and other lands. Hedied unmarried before 1475.

ARCHIBALD (?), described in 1475 as uncle of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus.

IV.—ARCHIBALD, FIFTH EARL OF ANGUS.

Called also "BELL THE CAT." He succeeded his father in 1463. He received charters of Tantallon in 1475 and 1479. In 1482, he was the leader of the Scottish nobles in the attack at Lauder upon the favourites of King James III., and there obtained his name of "Bell the Cat." In 1488 he joined James, Prince of Scotland, against his father King James the Third. In 1491 he was warded in Tantallon on suspicion of treasonable dealings with England, and was obliged to exchange the lordship of Liddesdale and Castle of Hermitage for the barony and Castle of Bothwell in 1492. In 1493 he was made Chancellor of Scotland, which office he held till 1498. In 1495 he received a grant of the lordship of Crawford-Lindsay, and the castle and town of Crawford, forfeited by David Lindsay, Duke of Montrose. He accompanied King James the Fourth to Flodden, but withdrew before the battle owing to a dispute with the king. The Earl died in the Priory of Whitburn in Galloway, about December 1513. By his first Countess (married in 1468), Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd, the Earl had four sons and three daughters. He married, secondly, Janet Kennedy, but was soon separated from her. He married, thirdly, about 1500, Catherine, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, who was also separated from him about 1512. *Memoir*, pp. 66-110.

JOHN, who died without issue after 14th May 1471.

ANNE, married William, second Lord Graham, and had issue.

ISABEL, married Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, *circa* 1464, and had issue.

ELIZABETH, married, in 1476, Sir Robert Graham of Fintry, and had issue.

MARGARET, married Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in 1479, and had issue.

JANE, married, first, in 1472, David Scott, younger of Buccleuch; and secondly, after 1484, George, second Earl of Rothes, and had issue to both husbands. She died about 1494.

EGIDIA or GILES.

ALISON, living 1476.

V.—1. GEORGE MASTER OF ANGUS.

He received charters of Tantallon, Douglas, Jedburgh, Liblesdale, Selkirk, Ewesdale, Eskdale, and Crawford-Lindsay, and was appointed Warden of the Marches. He fell at Flodden, 9th September 1513. He married, before 1488, Elizabeth, second daughter of John, first Lord Drummond, widow of Sir David Fleming, grandson of Robert, first Lord Fleming, and had issue three sons and five daughters. Memoir, pp. 125-139.

V.—2. SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF BRAIDWOOD. He was guardian of Elizabeth, grand-daughter and heiress of Sir John Auchinleck of that ilk and Glenbervie, whom he married, and acquired Glenbervie. He also possessed Braidwood. He fell at Flodden in 1513. By his wife, who survived him, he had one son. Memoir, pp. 111-115.

VI.—1. ARCHIBALD, SIXTH EARL OF ANGUS.

He succeeded his grandfather before 31st January 1513-4. The same year he married Queen Margaret of Scotland, widow of King James IV. He was for a time Chancellor of Scotland. In 1528 he was forfeited by the Parliament, but was restored in 1543. He strongly supported an alliance with England. He commanded the van at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. In the same year, he executed charters of entail of his lands. He died in January 1556-7. He married, first, Margaret, daughter of Patrick Hepburn, first Earl of Bothwell, by whom he had no surviving issue; secondly, Queen Margaret of Scotland, from whom he was divorced in 1528. By her he had one daughter. He married, thirdly, in 1543, Margaret, daughter of Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, who survived him, and married Sir William Baillie of Lamington. By her he had one son. He also had three natural children, a son and two daughters. Memoir, pp. 177-228.

VI.—2. SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS OF PITTENDRIECH.

Was forfeited along with his brother Archibald in 1528, and restored in 1543. He was one of the most active and skillful diplomatists of his day, and strongly supported an alliance with England. He died at Elgin in July or August 1552. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendriech, and had issue two sons. He had also several natural children, a son George, known as George Douglas of Parkhead, and four daughters. Memoir, pp. 140-170.

JAMES, MASTER OF ANGUS, who predeceased his father, dying a mere infant, in February 1547-8, as stated in the retour of Archibald his cousin, as his heir-male and of entail, on 19th January 1559.

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, who married Matthew Earl of Lennox. Her eldest son was KING HENRY, LORD DARNLEY. Memoir, pp. 289-292.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, legitimated 14th March 1543. In December 1546 he was nominated for the Abbacy of Arbroath, and was then commonly known as the Postulate. He took a prominent part in the murder of Rizzio. In 1573 he was made Bishop of Moray, and died about 1589. Memoir, pp. 293-4.

VII.—1. DAVID DOUGLAS OF COLDBRANDSPATH. Succeeded his uncle as SEVENTH EARL in January 1556-7, and died in June 1557. He was never infert in the Douglas estates. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Hamilton of Clydesdale, brother of James, Duke of Chatelherault and Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland. By her he had issue, one son and two daughters. Memoir, pp. 295-297.

JAMES DOUGLAS, married Elizabeth, daughter of James, third Earl of Morton, and was provided to that title. He was Regent of Scotland, 1572-8, and was beheaded in 1581, leaving no lawful male issue. Memoir, pp. 298-322.

VIII.—1. ARCHIBALD, EIGHTH EARL OF ANGUS AND FIFTH EARL OF MORTON.

Who was called the Good Earl, was retoured heir to James, Master of Angus, the son of his granduncle, the sixth Earl, in the lands of Douglas, etc., on 19th January 1559. In 1565, by a special contract, signed by Queen Mary, Henry Lord Darnley, the Earl of Lennox, and others, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, renounced her claim to the Earldom of Angus in favour of Archibald and his heirs. He possessed great authority in the Borders, as shown by the numerous grants of lieutenantancy and bonds of manrent made to him. He was forfeited in 1581, but was rehabilitated on 1st November 1582. In 1587 the title and estates of Morton were ratified to him by Parliament. He died at Smeaton, near Dalkeith, on 4th August 1588. He married, first, Lady Mary Erskine, only daughter of John Lord Erskine, first Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland; secondly, Lady Margaret Leslie, fourth daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, having no issue by either. By his third wife, Jean Lyon, eldest daughter of John, tenth Lord Glamis, who survived him and married Alexander Lindsay, first Lord Spynie, he had one daughter. Memoir, pp. 323-367.

LADY MARGARET, married, first, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch; secondly, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, and had issue by both husbands. She survived until the year 1640.

LADY ELIZABETH, married John, seventh Lord Maxwell, 1572, and had issue. She married, secondly, Alexander Stewart of Garlies, *s.p.*; and, thirdly, John Wallace, elder of Craigmiles. She died in 1637.

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS.

She was retoured heir-general to her father on 13th July 1590. She died young. The titles and estates being limited to male heirs, were inherited by Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie as NINTH EARL, while the title of Earl of Morton descended to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven as seventh Earl. He was ancestor of the present Earl.



<p>GAVIN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, celebrated for his poetical works. Died at London in September 1522. Memoir, pp. 119-121.</p>	<p>SIR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Kilsplindie, Provost of Edinburgh, and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Forfeited in 1523. Died about 1535. He married, about 1515, Isobel Hoppar. He had issue one son. Memoir, pp. 122-124.</p>	<p>MARION, married Cuthbert Lord Kilmaurs. Contract dated 24th June 1492.</p>	<p>ELIZABETH, married Robert Lord Lyle. Contract dated 19th June 1493.</p>	<p>JANET, married Andrew, son of Herbert Lord Herries. Contract dated 25th November 1495.</p>
---	--	--	---	--

<p>WILLIAM DOUGLAS, Prior of Coldingham, and Abbot of Holyrood-house. Died in 1528. Memoir, pp. 171-173.</p>	<p>ELIZABETH, married, before 17th September 1509, Sir John Hay of Hoprew, son of John Lord Hay of Yester.</p>	<p>JANET, married John, sixth Lord Glamis. She was executed in 1537, leaving issue. Memoir, pp. 174-176.</p>	<p>ALISON, married, first, Robert Blackadder of that ilk. Marriage-contract dated 13th March 1510-1. She married, secondly, David Home of Wedderburn, county of Berwick. She left issue by both husbands.</p>	<p>MARGARET, married, in 1513, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig. — said to have married John, Master of Forbes.</p>	<p>VI.—3. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE. Was still a minor in 1528. In 1542, he received a charter of Glenbervie from the king, and in 1554 a charter of the lands of Bothwell from the Earl of Angus. He died on 29th September 1570. He married, first, Lady Agnes Keith, fourth daughter of William, third Earl Marischal, by whom he had issue one son and nine daughters; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. Memoir, pp. 115-118.</p>	<p>ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Kilsplindie, who was restored to the estates of his father 15th March 1542-3. He was provost of Edinburgh for ten years, but was deposed by royal command in 1565. He had issue.</p>
---	---	---	--	---	--	---

<p>VII.—2. WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE. He is first named in his contract of marriage with Giles, daughter of Robert Grahame of Morpie, 18th February 1551-2. On 4th August 1588, he succeeded his cousin the eighth Earl, as heir-male, and became SIXTH EARL OF ANGUS. His title was opposed by King James VI., but the Court of Session, on 7th March 1588-9, decided in his favour. He died at Glenbervie on 1st July 1591, and was buried there. By his wife above named he had issue nine sons and four daughters. Memoir, pp. 363-378.</p>	<p>JAMES, parson of Glenbervie, ancestor of the Douglasses of Whytrigs, and of Sylvester Douglas, LORD GLENBERVIE OF KINCARDINE. See p. 548 of this volume.</p>	<p>ELIZABETH, married Alexander Falconer of Halkerton. Contract dated 1st June 1543.</p>	<p>MARGARET, married John Erskine of Balhagartie (now Pittodrie).</p>	<p>MARJORIE, married Andrew Keith of Ravenscraig.</p>	<p>CHRISTIAN, married Alexander Irvine, grandson of Robert Irvine of Beltie. Contract dated 23d May 1555. She died about 1568.</p>	<p>JOHN.</p>	<p>ARCHIBALD. Both named in their father's will in 1570.</p>	<p>ISOBEL, married James Melville, younger of Dysart. Contract dated 1st March 1562. She died before 1581.</p>	<p>ALICE, married Alexander Gathrie, younger of Kincaidrum. Contract dated 28th December 1567.</p>	<p>AGNES.</p>	<p>MARION.</p>	<p>KATHERINE.</p>	<p>SARA, married John Carmichael of Meadowflat, Captain of Crawford.</p>	<p>ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Kilsplindie, mentioned as "younger" in 1573, when he was sent to Berwick as a pledge for some artillery lent for the siege of Edinburgh Castle. He died before 1585, leaving issue.</p>
---	---	---	--	--	---	---------------------	---	---	---	----------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------	---	--

<p>VIII.—2. WILLIAM, TENTH EARL OF ANGUS. Was on 10th November 1591 re-toured heir to his father in the Earldom. In 1592 he received a special commission against the Earls of Huntly and Athole. In June 1594 he was forfeited by Parliament. In 1599 he was Lieutenant of the West Border, and in the same year had his place in Parliament ratified to him under the king's own hand. He died in Paris on 3d March 1611. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant, and had issue three sons and three daughters. Memoir, pp. 380-411.</p>	<p>MR. ARCHIBALD, parson of Glenbervie in 1581; died in 1584. <i>s.p.</i></p>	<p>MR. GEORGE, of Panlathie, <i>d. v.p.</i> before 15th December 1590, <i>s.p.</i></p>	<p>ROBERT, who carried on the line of Glenbervie. See separate Pedigree.</p>	<p>MR. DUNCAN, who succeeded his brother Archibald as parson of Glenbervie, <i>d. s.p.</i> before 1591.</p>	<p>MR. GAVIN, of Bridgeford, in the county of Kincardine. See Glenbervie Pedigree.</p>	<p>MR. JOHN, of Barras, in the county of Kincardine. See Glenbervie Pedigree.</p>	<p>FRANCIS, alive in 1600, <i>d. s.p.</i> at Rome.</p>	<p>HENRY DOUGLAS of Tannachy, <i>d. s.p.</i> on 5th October 1595.</p>	<p>MARGARET, married William Forbes of Monymusk, and had issue.</p>	<p>JEAN, married John Wishart, heir of Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow. Contract dated 31st May 1576.</p>	<p>ELIZABETH, married before 1581, Thomas Gordon, fiar of Clunay.</p>	<p>SARAH, who married, first, Robert, son of Alexander Strachan, fiar of Thornton (contract dated 4th and 5th April 1586); and secondly, Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno.</p>	<p>PATRICK DOUGLAS of Kilsplindie, who in 1585 had a lease of Aberlady. He built a castle there. In 1609 he resigned his lands in favour of his eldest son. He married Agnes, daughter of Patrick, Lord Gray, and had issue.</p>	<p>JAMES DOUGLAS, mentioned as brother of Patrick Douglas of Kilsplindie, in entail of 1609, where he is an heir.</p>
--	--	---	---	--	---	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	---	--

	a		b		
IX.—WILLIAM, ELEVENTH EARL OF ANGUS AND FIRST MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS.	SIR JAMES, LORD MORDINGTON, whose male line is extinct.	SIR PATRICK DOUGLAS of Kilsplindie, who, as "younger" of Kilsplindie in 1669, had a charter of Kilsplindie, Aberlady, and other lands. He at that time married a daughter of Sir Alexander Hay of Kennet, Clerk Register. He is mentioned as "Knight" in 1641 and 1649. But having parted with both his estates of Kilsplindie and Aberlady, his succession, if any, has not been traced.			
Succeeded his father in 1611. He was created MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS 17th June 1633. He was, in 1646, imprisoned by the Committee of Estates for joining the Marquis of Montrose, and fined 50,000 merks. He was also fined by Cromwell in 1654. He died on 19th February 1661, and was buried at Douglas. He married, first, Margaret, daughter of Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley; secondly, Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of George Marquis of Huntly, and had issue six sons and ten daughters. Memoir, pp. 412-425.	SIR FRANCIS DOUGLAS of Sandilands, who married a sister of the Earl of Wigton, <i>s.p.</i>				
	LADY CATHERINE, on 28th November 1690, contracted to Sir Andrew Ker, younger of Ferniehirst, <i>d. s.p.</i> before 1708.		ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, named in entail of 1609 as next heir to his brother Patrick. The next heirs were his uncle James, and then James, second son of William Earl of Angus.		
	LADY MARY, married Alexander Earl of Linlithgow.				
	LADY ELIZABETH, married Sir Alexander Campbell of Calder.				
X.—ARCHIBALD, EARL OF ANGUS. Named first in the "Minute" of contract of marriage between him and his first wife, Lady Anna Stewart, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, dated 27th June 1628, and signed by King Charles I. on behalf of Lady Anna. Lord Archibald assisted at the coronation of King Charles II. in 1651. He was created EARL OF ORMOND, LORD BOTHWELL AND HARTSIDE, with remainder to the heirs-male of his second marriage, 3d April 1651. He predeceased his father, dying on 16th January 1655. He married, as his second wife, in 1649, Lady Jean, daughter of David Earl of Wemyss. Issue, three sons and three daughters. Memoir, pp. 433-442.	LORD WILLIAM, alive 22d September 1624, <i>d. s.p.</i> before 1632	WILLIAM, EARL OF SELKIRK, created DUKE OF HAMILTON for life. Memoir, p. 430.	LADY MARGARET, married William Lord Alexander, died 1st January 1660.	LADY ISABEL, married William, first Duke of Queensberry.	
	LORD JAMES DOUGLAS, who entered the service of Louis XIV. of France, and was killed near Douay on 21st October 1645. Buried at Paris. Memoir, pp. 427-429.	GEORGE, created, in 1675, EARL OF DUMBARTON. Memoir, pp. 431-432.	LADY JEAN, married John Lord Bargeny, <i>d.</i> 1669.	LADY GRIZEL, married, before 1638, Sir William Carmichael of that ilk, and had issue.	LADY JANE, married James Earl of Perth.
		LORD JAMES, colonel in the army. Died <i>s.p.</i> in 1680.	LADY ANNA, in 1642, fourth daughter, was still unmarried in 1655.	LADY HENRIETTA, married James, Earl of Annandale, and had issue.	LADY LUCY, married Robert Earl of Nithsdale.
			LADY CATHERINE, married Sir William Ruthven of Dungleass.	LADY MARY, died unmarried before 1669.	
XI.—JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS. Succeeded his grandfather in 1660, though still under age. He died in February 1700. He married, first, in 1670, Barbara Erskine, daughter of John, Earl of Mar; and secondly, on 13th December 1692, Lady Mary Ker, daughter of Robert Marquis of Lothian, who survived him and died at Edinburgh, 21st January 1736. Issue, three sons and one daughter. Memoir, pp. 445-460.	ARCHIBALD, born May 1653. He was created EARL OF FORFAR. He had one son, Archibald, who succeeded as SECOND EARL OF FORFAR, but on his death <i>s.p.</i> the line became extinct. Memoir, pp. 443-444.	WILLIAM, born after his father's death, died before 1659.	Two daughters of first marriage perished at sea in a voyage to France, before 1653.	LADY MARGARET, married to Alexander Viscount of Kingston, without surviving issue.	
JAMES EARL OF ANGUS, a youth of excellent qualities, who was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August 1692, in the twenty-first year of his age, unmarried. Memoir, pp. 461-463.	WILLIAM EARL OF ANGUS, born 15th October 1693. Died 20th May 1694. Buried at Douglas.	XII.—1. ARCHIBALD, THIRD MARQUIS. Was born in 1694, and succeeded his father the second Marquis in 1700. He was created by Queen Anne, Duke of Douglas, Marquis of Angus and Abernethy, Viscount of Jedburgh Forest, and Lord Douglas of Boncle, Preston, and Robertson, by patent dated 18th April 1703. He married, on 1st March 1758, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas of Mains. He died without issue, 21st July 1761. The title of Duke became extinct, and the titles of Marquis of Douglas and Earl of Angus were claimed by the Duke of Hamilton as the heir-male. The title of Earl of Angus was also claimed by Archibald, Lord Douglas, as the heir of line. Memoir, pp. 464-472.	XII.—2. LADY JANE DOUGLAS. Born 17th March 1698, married, 4th August 1746, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, Bart., and had issue two sons. Lady Jane died at Edinburgh on 22d November 1753. Buried in Holyrood Chapel. Memoir, pp. 473-522.		

a

XIII.—ARCHIBALD JAMES EDWARD STEUART DOUGLAS, FIRST LORD DOUGLAS. Born 10th July 1748, twin with Sholto. He succeeded his maternal uncle, the Duke of Douglas, in the Douglas and Angus estates, and took the surname of Douglas. He was created LORD DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS, 9th July 1790. Died 26th December 1827. He married, first, 13th June 1771, Lady Lucy Graham, only daughter of William, second Duke of Montrose, who died 13th February 1780; secondly, 13th May 1783, Lady Frances Scott, sister of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch. Issue of first marriage, three sons and one daughter. Issue of second marriage, five sons and three daughters. Memoir, pp. 523-535.

SHOLTO THOMAS STEUART, born 10th July 1748, twin with Archibald, died in May 1753, in his fifth year.

XIV.—1. THE HON. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS. Born 25th March 1773. Succeeded his father as second Lord Douglas on 26th December 1827. Died unmarried in January 1844.

THE HON. WILLIAM DOUGLAS. Born 31st October 1777. Died young.

XIV.—3. THE HON. JAMES DOUGLAS. Born 9th July 1787. Succeeded his brother Charles as fourth Lord Douglas, 10th September 1848. Married, 18th May 1813, Wilhelmina, daughter of General the Honourable James Murray. Died *s.p.* 6th April 1857. Title extinct. The Douglas estates devolved on his sister, Jane Lady Montagu.

THE HON. GEORGE DOUGLAS. Born 21 August 1788, Captain, R.N. Died unmarried in 1838.

THE HON. HENRY DOUGLAS.

THE HON. JOHN DOUGLAS. Both died young.

XIV.—4. THE HON. JANE DOUGLAS. MARGARET DOUGLAS. Born 21st December 1779. Married, 23d November 1804, Henry James Lord Montagu of Boughton, second son of Henry, Duke of Buccleuch. She died 10th January 1859. Issue, four daughters.

THE HON. CAROLINE LUCY DOUGLAS. Born 16th February 1784. Married, 27th October 1807, Admiral Sir George Scott, K.C.B. She died 20th April 1857, without issue.

THE HON. FRANCES ELIZABETH DOUGLAS. Born 9th December 1790. Married, 1826, William Moray Stirling of Ardoch. Died 14th September 1854. No issue.

THE HON. MARY SIDNEY DOUGLAS. Born 16th July 1796. Married, in 1821, Robert Douglas of Strathendry. She died on 29th September 1882. Issue, one son, who died *v.p.*

XIV.—2. THE HON. CHARLES DOUGLAS. Born 26th October 1775. Succeeded his brother as third Lord Douglas in January 1844. Died unmarried, 10th September 1848, and was succeeded by his brother James as fourth Lord.

THE HON. SHOLTO SCOTT DOUGLAS. Born 17th September 1785. Died 1821, *s.p.*

XV.—HON. LUCY-ELIZABETH MONTAGU DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS. Born 1805. Married, 4th December 1832, Cospatrik Alexander Home, eleventh Earl of Home, who in 1875 was created a Baron of the United Kingdom as Baron Douglas of Douglas, and has had issue six sons and three daughters. The Countess of Home died on 15th May 1877, and was buried in St. Bride's Church, Douglas.

HON. MARY MARGARET MONTAGU. She married, in 1840, Lieutenant - Colonel Frederick Clinton, and died on 30th July 1885, leaving issue.

HON. JANE CAROLINE MONTAGU. Died unmarried, 16th June 1846.

HON. CAROLINE GEORGIANA MONTAGU. She married, in 1836, George William Hope of Luffness, and has issue.

XVI.—CHARLES ALEXANDER DOUGLAS-HOME, EARL OF HOME, BARON DOUGLAS. Born 11th April 1834. Lord-Lieutenant of Berwickshire. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Lanarkshire Yeomanry Cavalry. Succeeded his mother in the Douglas and Angus estates on 15th May 1877. Succeeded his father on 4th July 1881 as twelfth Earl of Home and second Baron Douglas. Married, 18th August 1870, Maria, only daughter of Captain Charles Conrad Grey, R.N. Issue.

THE HON. HENRY. Born 1835. Died 1836.

THE HON. JAMES ARCHIBALD HOME, Barrister-at-Law, Deputy-Lieutenant, county of Berwick. Born 20th January 1837.

THE HON. MONTAGU COSPATRICK HOME. Born 9th June 1840. Died 1st June 1859, unmarried.

THE HON. WILLIAM SHOLTO HOME. Born 25th February 1842. Major and Colonel Grenadier Guards.

THE HON. COSPATRICK HOME, Captain (retired), Rifle Brigade. Born 2d May 1848.

THE HON. GEORGE DOUGLAS HOME. Born 4th October 1853.

LADY ELIZABETH ELEANORA HOME. Born 12th July 1844.

LADY ADA HOME. Born 8th September 1846. Married, 10th April 1880, Hon. Henry Robert Scott, son of Henry Francis, fifth Lord Polwarth.

LADY CHARLOTTE LUCY HOME, born 23d February 1850.

CHARLES-COSPATRICK-ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS-HOME, LORD DOUGLAS. Born 29th December 1873.

LADY MARY ELIZABETH MARGARET DOUGLAS-HOME. Born 12th November 1871.

LADY BEATRIX LUCY DOUGLAS-HOME. Born 14th May 1876.

LADY MARGARET JANE DOUGLAS-HOME. Born 26th September 1880.

LADY ISOBEL CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS-HOME. Born 25th December 1882.

PEDIGREE OF THE DOUGLASES OF GLENBERVIE.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF GLENBERVIE, eldest son of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie. In 1588 he became **NINTH** and **Memoir**.

WILLIAM, TENTH EARL OF ANGUS, who by his father's desire made over Glenbervie to his brother Robert. For succession see Angus Pedigree.

SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, fourth son of William, ninth Earl of Angus. He had charters of Panlathie in 1579, of Petcoura in 1579, and of Glenbervie in 1592. He was knighted by King James the Sixth. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno, who was still alive in 1642. They had issue.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, who, in 1625, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia. He had charters of Glenbervie in 1622 and 1635, the latter being protested against by Archibald, Lord Angus, in 1641. He became involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and some of his lands were sold and wadset. He married Janet, daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum, and left issue. He was still alive in 1653.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, D. D., rector of Stepney, London. He had a charter of Glenbervie in 1638, on account of the indebtedness of his brother. He also purchased Ardit, in Fife. He married Cecily, fourth daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Drury of Rugham, in Essex, and left issue. She survived her husband, and married Patrick Scott of Ancrum.

ROBERT DOUGLAS of Inchmarlo. He acquired Inchmarlo and Arbeadie from his brother. He is frequently mentioned as a witness to charters. He died without issue.

JOHN DOUGLAS, who died *s.p.*

MR. ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, minister of the gospel. He left a daughter.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, eldest son, succeeded his father as second Baronet. In terms of an arrangement for extricating the estates from debt he married, in 1642, Anne, only daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Stony-path. He died before 1688, leaving issue.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

JAMES DOUGLAS. They were provided by their father to a sum of 5000 merks in succession before 1645.

MARIE.

ANNA.
HENRIETTA.
SOPHIA.

JANET. All mentioned in contract of 1642.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Ardit. He married Agnes, daughter of Patrick Scott of Ancrum, and died before 27th August 1666, leaving issue.

GEORGE.

ROBERT, who on 27th August 1666, was served tutor to the three children of his brother. He is described as a merchant burgess of Edinburgh.

JAMES. All three died *s.p.*

CAPTAIN SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, was served heir to his maternal grandfather in Glenbervie, etc., in 1674, and disposed the estates in 1675 to his brother-in-law, Robert Burnett. He chose a military life, and acted a very conspicuous part at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692, where he was slain. He left no issue.

CATHERINE, who married Robert Burnett, brother of Sir Alexander Burnett of Leyes. He acquired Glenbervie, and was ancestor of the Burnetts of Glenbervie.

ELIZABETH, who married Captain Livingstone.

JEAN, who married Gordon of Buckie.

PATRICK DOUGLAS. He was on 27th August 1666 served heir-general to his father. He died unmarried.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, succeeded as fifth Baronet in 1750. He was for many years Provost of St. Andrews. He married, in 1718, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Douglas of Garvald, who survived until 1777. Sir William died without issue, 23d July 1764, aged 73. He was succeeded by his brother Robert.

SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, sixth Baronet, succeeded to his brother in 1764. He was the author of the "Peerage and Baronage of Scotland." He married, first, Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Chester (of Chechely); secondly, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Macdonald; and thirdly, Anne, daughter of Alexander Hay of Huntingdon. He died in 1770, aged 77 years, and his widow only survived him a few months. He left issue.

ROBERT DOUGLAS, who died young.

SIR ALEXANDER DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, seventh Baronet, succeeded his father. He was physician to the troops in Scotland. He married, in 1775, Barbara, daughter of James Carnegie of Finhaven, by whom he had issue one son. Lady Douglas died 2d December 1816. Sir Alexander died on , without surviving issue, when his baronetcy became extinct.

ROBERT DOUGLAS, who predeceased his father in 1750, without issue.

EARL OF ANGUS. He was ancestor of the Marquis and Duke of Douglas. Among other children (*see* Angus Pedigree, pp. 368-378) he had

MR. GAVIN DOUGLAS of Bridgeford, in the Mearns. He is also called of Auchlytie and Easter Barras. He married Elizabeth Keith, and died before 1st October 1616, when his brother John was returned tutor to his son.

MR. JOHN DOUGLAS of Barras, also called of Corbat and of Tannachy. He had Wester Barras. He married Jean Fraser, and died at Barras, in the parish of Kinneff, Kincardineshire, on 15th March 1618.

MARGARET, who married in 1612, Sir Thomas Burnet of Leyes, and had issue.

JEAN, who married William Rait of Hallgreen.

ELIZABETH, who married — Irvine of Monboddo, and had issue.

ROBERT DOUGLAS of Bridgeford. He was frequently a member of the committee for war in Kincardineshire. He is mentioned as a witness in several Glenbervie papers. He died before 1670, and was succeeded by his son.

JEAN, who died before 11th January 1637, when her brother was returned her heir.

SIR JOHN DOUGLAS of Barras. He was knighted by King Charles I. in 1633, and was on the committee for war in Kincardineshire in 1647. He sold his portion of Barras to his brother-in-law Sir George Ogilvie. He married a daughter of Hay of Ury, and left issue.

GAVIN DOUGLAS,

ROBERT DOUGLAS,
WILLIAM DOUGLAS,

ARCHBALD DOUGLAS, one of whom left three daughters.

JEAN.

ELIZABETH, who married Sir George Ogilvie, who was governor of Dunnotter Castle during the Commonwealth, and had a chief hand in preserving the regalia of Scotland.

JEAN DOUGLAS, who, with consent of her aunt, Lady Monboddo, and her cousin, Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, married James Milne, merchant, Auchinblae.

ROBERT DOUGLAS of Bridgeford, who, on 15th May 1633, was served heir to his father. He married Margaret Gray, and had issue.

CAPTAIN JOHN DOUGLAS, son of Sir John Douglas of Barras. He died, *s.p.*, on 14th March 1674.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, mentioned in his brother's testament.

A daughter not named, also mentioned there.

MARY, HENRIETTA, and **MARGARET DOUGLAS**, mentioned as legatees of their cousin-german, Captain John Douglas of Barras.

SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS, fourth Baronet of Glenbervie, to which title he succeeded in 1692, and he then changed the name of his lands in Fifeshire from Ardit to Glenbervie. He married, first, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir William Ruthven of Dunglass; secondly, Janet Paterson, Lady Dunmure, by both of whom he had issue. He died in 1740, aged 87. His widow died in 1750, leaving alive 41 of 60 descendants.

CECILIA, who married Thomas Rutherford of Knowsouth, in Roxburghshire, and had issue.

JAMES DOUGLAS, who died *s.p.* His two sisters were served heirs-portioners to him on 7th October 1737.

ISOBEL, who married James Rait of Hallgreen. She married, secondly, Alexander Shank of Casterig, and dying in 1762 was "the last descendant of Gavin Douglas of Bridgeford."

MARJORY, who married John, sixth Viscount of Arbutnot, without issue. She and her sister were served heirs-portioners general to their father on 7th October 1737.

ANDREW DOUGLAS, who was a general inspector of manufactures in Scotland.

PATRICK DOUGLAS, who became a merchant. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Macleod, W. S., and had issue.

JOHN DOUGLAS, who became an eminent surgeon. He married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of David Campbell of Kinpont, and had issue.

AGNES, who married David Pitcairn of that ilk, and had issue.

CATHERINE, who died in infancy.

JANET, who married Thomas Spence of Lathallan, and had issue. She survived her husband, and died in 1774.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, who died in infancy.

JANET, who married Kenneth, second son of Donald Mackenzie of Kilcoy. They had issue. The baronetcy of Nova Scotia, which became extinct on the death of Sir Alexander Douglas, was, in 1831, restored in favour of her eldest son, Kenneth Mackenzie of Kilcoy, and the surname of Douglas has been assumed by the family. Sir Kenneth Mackenzie Douglas is descended of this marriage.

548 PEDIGREE OF SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, BARON GLENBERVIE, INCLUDING
THE DOUGLASES OF BRIGTON, IN KINCARDINESHIRE.

MR. JAMES DOUGLAS, second son of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie (*see* Angus Pedigree). He was parson of Glenbervie from 1591 to 1630. He received the lands of Nether Kilmonth from his father. He married Grissel, daughter of Irvine of Beltie, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters.

ROBERT DOUGLAS of Nether Kilmonth, eldest son of James Douglas, parson of Glenbervie. He married Margaret Sibbald, and left issue.

MR. JAMES DOUGLAS, for some time minister at Douglas, afterwards at Kirkwall and Ladykirk, Orkney.

ELIZABETH, who married — Lockhart in Park, Douglasdale.

JOHN, who is witness to a charter in 1634.

JEAN, who married — Inglis in Brigtondyke, Douglasdale.

MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS, Bishop of Dunblane, was born in 1625, educated at Aberdeen, and was successively minister at Laurencekirk, Bothwell, and Hamilton. In 1682 he was created Bishop of Brechin, in 1684 was Bishop of Dunblane, and was deprived at the Revolution. He died at Dundee, 23d September 1716, aged 92 years. He was twice married, first, to a daughter of Irvine of Drum; and secondly, to Elizabeth Laing, and left issue.

MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS, minister at Bothwell until 1688, then keeper of the Leightouian Library at Dunblane. He died on 13th March 1746, unmarried.

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS of White-rigs, in Kincardineshire, which he acquired by his marriage to Margaret, daughter of George Keith, Sheriff-depute of Kincardineshire. They left issue. He died before Whitsunday 1729.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, Provost of Forfar. He married a daughter of Gray of Invereighty, and left issue. He was grandfather of William Douglas of Brigton.

KATHERINE, who married Dr. George Rait, physician, Dundee, and had issue.

SUSAN, who married Charles White, merchant, Dundee, and had issue.

—, who married Provost Dixon of Forfar, and had issue.

GEORGE DOUGLAS of Skelmuir. He married a daughter of Scott of Logies, and had issue.

ROBERT DOUGLAS, who died abroad, and unmarried, about 1735.

JOHN DOUGLAS of Fechel, which title he obtained by marrying Margaret, daughter and co-heir of James Gordon of Fechel. He married, secondly, in 1754, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Forbes of Echt, and died in 1762, aged 48. He had issue.

ELIZABETH, who married Captain John Howe of Whitehaven, and had issue.

MARGARET, who married, in 1727, Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie, and had issue. She survived her husband, and died in 1754.

ROBERT DOUGLAS, eldest son of three (the other two dying unmarried), married — daughter of Mr. Hunter of Burnside, and had issue.

MARGARET, who married John Smith of Smithfield, and had issue. She survived her husband, and died in 1771.

MARGORY, who married — Ballingall, merchant, Dundee, and had issue.

KATHERINE, who married Captain M'Bean, of the 42d regiment, and had issue. She survived her husband, and died in 1757.

ROBERT DOUGLAS. JAMES DOUGLAS.

Both of whom died unmarried.

MARGARET, who married George Tower, merchant, Aberdeen, and had issue.

MARY, JEAN, both died unmarried.

ISABELLA, who married William Urquhart of Meldrum, and had issue. She died in 1775.

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, created BARON GLENBERVIE OF KINCARDINE, in the Peerage of Ireland. He was born 24th May 1743, and after a distinguished political career, was created a Peer of Ireland on 29th December 1800. He married, on 26th August 1789, Lady Catherine Anne North, eldest daughter of Frederick, Earl of Guildford, and left issue. Lady Douglas died 6th February 1817.

A daughter, who married Major Mercer of Sunnybank.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Brigton, probably son of Robert (*supra*). He built the town of Douglas-town, in the parish of Kinnettle in Forfarshire. He died on 28th September 1814. He married —, who died 15th November 1816, and left issue.

HON. FREDERICK SYLVESTER NORTH DOUGLAS. Born 3d February 1791. He married, 19th July 1819, Harriet, eldest daughter of William Wrightson of Casworth, but died on 21st October following, *s.p.*

ROBERT DOUGLAS of Brigton. He was served heir to his brother, Sir William, in 1819, in certain lands in the parish of Monifieth. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, K.C.B., major 91st regiment, when he died on 25th August 1818, *s.p.*

MARGARET, who married, on 21 June 1794, Captain David Hunter, younger of Burnside.

ANN, who married, on 24th June 1798, John Guthrie, younger of Guthrie.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Brigton, who died 10th February 1869, leaving issue. Another son, name unknown.

WILLIAM CHARLES DOUGLAS of Brigton, who was served heir to his father on 8th July 1875, in Brigton and other lands.

COLLECTED SEALS AND SIGNATURES.

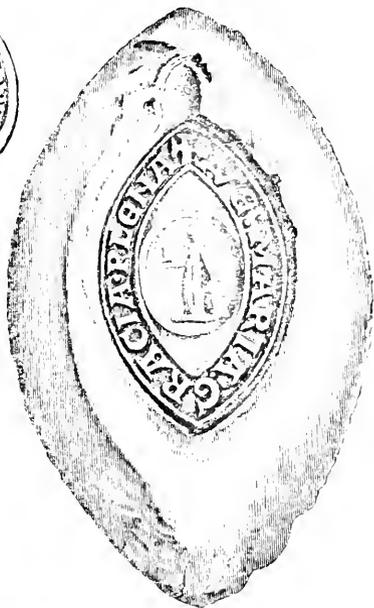
ARMORIAL SEALS OF THE DOUGLASES.



No. 2.



No. 1.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.

1. Sir William of Douglas (Le Hardi), 1296.
2. Brice of Douglas, Bishop of Moray, 1208.
3. Do., reverse side.

4. William, Lord of Douglas, c. 1332.
5. Matrix of same Seal.
6. Hugh of Douglas, a canon (1333-1342).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.

1. William, Lord of Douglas (1342-1384). 3. The same as Earl of Douglas and Mar.
 2. The same as Earl of Douglas. 4. Signet used by him.
 5. Isabella Douglas, Countess of Mar, c. 1460.





No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.

1. Sir Archibald of Douglas (The Grim) 1373.
2. and 3. The same as Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway (1389-1400).
- 4, 5, 6. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, first Duke of Touraine (1400-1424).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

1. William, third Duke of Touraine, sixth Earl of Douglas, etc. (1439-1440).
2. Justiciary Seal of James, seventh Earl of Douglas (1440-1443).
- 3, 4. William, eighth Earl of Douglas (1443-1452).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.

1. James, ninth Earl of Douglas (1452-1488).
2. James, Master of Douglas, *ante* 1452.
3. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

1. Malcolm, Earl of Angus (1214-1242).
2. Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Angus (1245-1307).
3. Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus (1353-1361).
4. Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus (1374-1418).



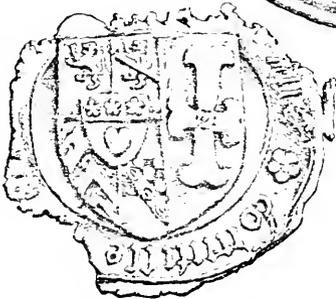
No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 5.



No. 4.



No. 6.

- 1, 2. William Douglas, second Earl of Angus (1402-1437).
 3. George Douglas, fourth Earl of Angus (1446-1463). 4. Small Signet of Do.
 5. Isabella Sibbald (Balgony), his Countess.
 [The Seal of James, third Earl of Angus, is similar to that of the fourth Earl. No. 3.]
 6. Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Angus (1463-1514).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 4.



No. 3.



No. 5.



No. 6.

1. Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus (1514-1556).

3, 4, 5. James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Regent.

2. Margaret Maxwell, his Countess.

6. Elizabeth Douglas, his Countess.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

1. 2. Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus (1557-1588).
3. William, ninth Earl of Angus (1588-1591).
4. William, tenth Earl of Angus (1591-1611).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

- 1, 2. William, eleventh Earl of Angus, first Marquis of Douglas (1611-1660).
3. George Douglas, first Earl of Dumbarton, 1686.
4. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1609-1655).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.

1. James, second Marquis of Douglas (1660-1700).
- 2, 3. Lady Mary Ker, his second wife (c. 1695).
4. James, Lord Angus, his son (1692).
5. Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1700-1761).



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.



No. 7.



No. 8.



No. 9.

1. Sir Archibald Douglas of Spot (1616).
2. Sir George Douglas of Lochleven (1560).
3. Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquharity (1439).
4. Sir Laurence de Abernethy (1160-1244).
5. Sir Alexander de Abernethy (1292).
- 6, 7. Sir George de Abernethy (c. 1360).
8. William, second Lord Saltoun (1460-1488).
9. Alexander, ninth Lord Saltoun (a. 1512).

SIGNATURES OF THE DOUGLASES.

B. di grā moravens̄ ep̄c.

No. 1.

James Earl of Douglas

No. 2.

George Earl of Angus

No. 3.

Archibald Earl of Angus

No. 4.

Archibald Earl of Angus

No. 5.

1. Opening words of charter by Brice Douglas, Bishop of Moray, 1208.
2. James, ninth Earl of Douglas, 1454.
3. George, fourth Earl of Angus (1457).
- 4, 5. Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, 1484, 1490.

George Douglas
Master of Angus
No. 1.

Gavin Douglas
Bishop of Dunkeld
No. 2.

Archibald Douglas
No. 3.

Margaret Douglas
Countess of Lennox
No. 4.

Margaret Douglas
Queen of Scotland
Nos. 5, 6.

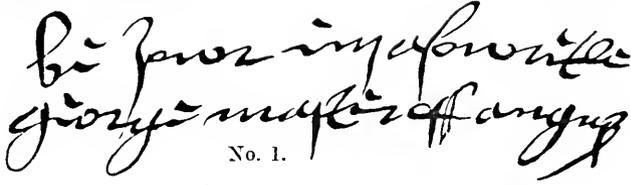
Margaret Douglas
Countess of Lennox and Angus
No. 7.

Margaret Douglas
Queen of Scotland
No. 8.

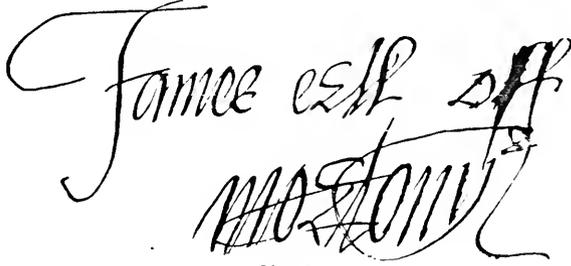
Matthew Douglas
Earl of Lennox
No. 9.

1. George Douglas, Master of Angus (1496).
2. Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1474-1522).
3. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie (1480-1540).
- 4, 6. Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, 1518.

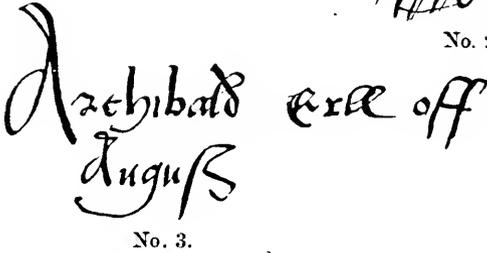
5. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, his wife, 1518.
7. Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox and Angus, c. 1565.
8. Holograph indorsation by her, 1565.
9. Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Regent, 1565.



 No. 1.



 No. 2.



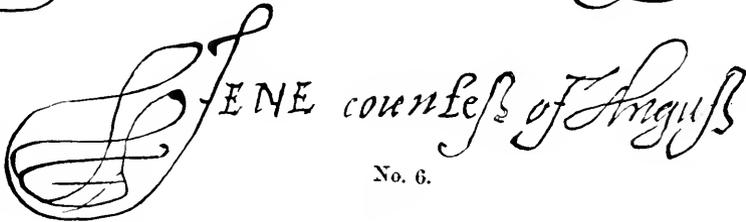
 No. 3.



 No. 4.



 No. 5.

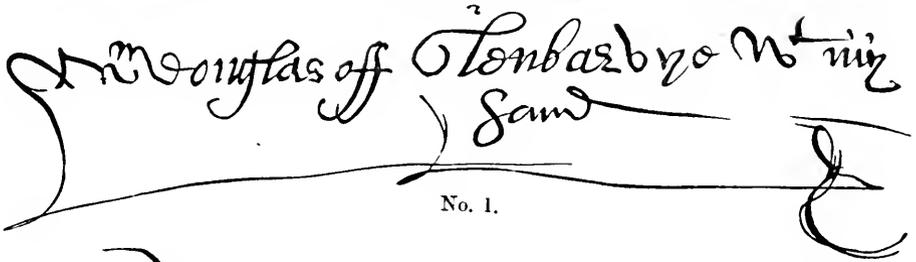


 No. 6.

1. Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, c. 1547.
2. James Douglas, Earl of Morton, 1565.
3. Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, 1565.

4. Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, c. 1576.
5. Margaret Leslie, his second Countess, 1586.
6. Jean Lyon, his third Countess, c. 1586.

W Douglas of Glenbervie ninth
Earl of Angus



No. 1.

W Douglas of
Glenbervie



No. 2.

W Douglas



No. 3.

W Douglas



No. 4.

Elizabeth Countess
of Angus



No. 5.

- 1, 2, 3. William Douglas of Glenbervie, ninth Earl of Angus (1570-1591).
4. William, tenth Earl of Angus, 1601. 5. Elizabeth Oliphant, his Countess.

Your Loving friend

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

No. 5.

Your affectionat friend

No. 6.

No. 7.

No. 8.

1. 2, 3. William, first Marquis of Douglas, 1611-1660.

4. Margaret Hamilton, his first wife.

5. Lady Mary Gordon, his second wife.

6. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, 1650.

7. Lady Jean Wemyss, his Countess, 1659.

8. Archibald Douglas, first Earl of Forfar, 1672.

A highly decorative cursive signature of 'Douglas' with elaborate flourishes and a large initial 'D'.

No. 1.

A cursive signature of 'B Douglas' with a large initial 'B' and a large initial 'D'.

No. 2.

A cursive signature of 'M Douglas' with a large initial 'M' and a large initial 'D'.

No. 3.

A cursive signature of 'J Douglas' with a large initial 'J' and a large initial 'D'.

No. 4.

1. James, second Marquis of Douglas, 1687.
2. Lady Barbara Erskine, his first Marchioness, 1681.
3. Lady Mary Ker, his second Marchioness, 1695.
4. James, Lord Angus, 1688.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.

1. Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1752).
2. Margaret Douglas, his Duchess (1764).
3. Lady Jane Douglas (1746-1753).
4. Archibald Stenart Douglas, Lord Douglas (1788).
5. Frances Scott, his second wife (1792).



James 20 F 2 Done

No. 1.

No. 2.

James

No. 3.

James

No. 4.

Margaret

No. 5.

1. King James the Second of Scotland (1449).
2. King Henry the Sixth of England (1462).
- 3, 4. King James the Third of Scotland (1483).
5. Princess Margaret, daughter of King Henry VII. of England, and Queen of James IV. of Scotland (c. 1510).

A highly stylized, cursive handwritten signature consisting of several large, sweeping loops and flourishes.

No. 1.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, with the word 'marie' in a smaller, more regular hand on the left and 'MAYIE' in larger, more decorative letters on the right.

No. 2.

No. 3.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'J. H. Darnley' followed by a large, decorative flourish.

No. 4.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Your very lovinge Cousin Elizabeth' with a large, decorative flourish at the bottom.

No. 5.

1. Mary of Guise, Queen of King James v. of Scotland (1555).
- 2, 3. Mary, Queen of Scots (1553, 1563).
4. Henry, Lord Darnley, her husband (1565).
5. Elizabeth, Queen of England (1584).

No. 1.

James R.

No. 2.

James R.

Ire bein borne amy

Anna. R.

No. 3.

James R.

for my intention is not nor never was to
 preuige him of any prouiledges that euer
 his predeceffouris bruk'ie or he be any
 riche can claime unto.

No. 4.

- 1, 2. King James the Sixth of Scotland (1578, 1580).
 3. Anne of Denmark, his Queen (1592). 4. King James VI. with four lines holograph, 1599.



No. 1.

No. 2.



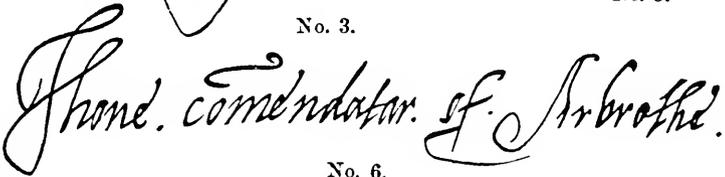
No. 3.



No. 4.



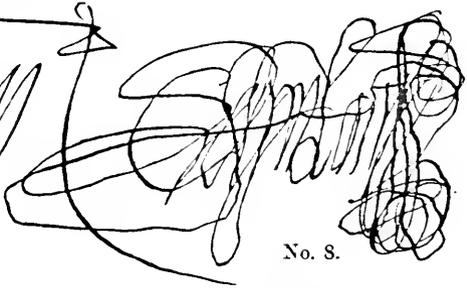
No. 5.



No. 6.



No. 7.



No. 8.

- 1, 2. James, Earl of Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, Governor of Scotland (1543, 1560).
- 3. James, Earl of Arran, his son (1560).
- 4. Alexander, Earl of Huntly (1461).

- 5. John, Lord Drummond (1488).
- 6. John, Commendator of Arbroath (1574).
- 7. James, fourth Earl of Morton (1578).
- 8. Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton (1578).

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

No. 5.

No. 6.

No. 7.

No. 8.

1. Thomas, Lord Dacre (1499).
2. James, fourth Earl of Morton, Regent.
3. Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll (1580).
4. Esme, Earl, afterwards Duke of Lennox (1580).

5. Sir John of Auchinleck of that ilk (1480).
6. Robert Graham of Fintry (1476).
- 7, 8. David Hume of Godscroft.

LANDS AND BARONIES OF THE EARLS OF DOUGLAS AND ANGUS.

THE history of the Earls of Douglas and Angus would be incomplete without some notice, however brief, of the extensive territories over which they held feudal sway, as well as of the ancient castles with which so much of the history of the Douglas family is associated. A recent historian has calculated that at one period the Douglases were lords of nearly two-thirds of the rich district of Scotland lying to the south of Edinburgh, while they had estates scattered here and there farther to the north.¹ Such vast possessions indicate the influence which centered in that House, and made the Douglases the rivals of royalty.

DOUGLASDALE AND CARMICHAEL IN LANARKSHIRE.

The earliest inheritance of the Douglases was Douglasdale, in the county of Lanark. In a charter granted in 1321 by King Robert the Bruce to his devoted friend and follower, Sir James of Douglas, of the lands of Douglasdale and Carmichael, the boundaries are thus given :—Beginning at the Karyn (Cairn) of Tintov, and descending by the Merburne to the moor of Thankariston, then across by that moor to the east part of Hokenedu until it reach Glaedburne, and so across Glaedburne, ascending by the rivulet on the east side of the Church of Kirkmichel ; thence from the head of that burn downwards by the middle of Cloucheburn bog to Chernesford (Sheriff-ford), and so downwards to the water of Cluyde ; and going down that water of Cluyde till it reach the place where the water of Duglas falls into the water of Cluyde, and so upwards by the water of Duglas to Polnelismouth [from which point the boundary between the modern parishes of Douglas and Carmichael runs southward to Tinto-end], thence by Polnele ascending to Cattedlouch, from Cattedlouch to Knokestillach, from Knokestilloch to Lenbukkislav, and from Lenbukkislav to the Kaerne (Cairn) of Kaerntabel, and so downwards by the ancient march of Duglas till it come to the Kaerne (Cairn) of Tintov.²

¹ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 417.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 354, 355.

The charter thus recited is the first bounding charter of the territory of Douglas which is known to exist, but the limits there given are evidently meant to define the ancient lordship or inheritance of the family. A recent learned writer remarks that the manor of Douglas was co-extensive with the parochial territory merely.¹ But there is no evidence to show that the ancient lordship was not identical with the lands described in the charter of 1321, which comprehends the two parishes of Douglas and Carmichael. In the description of the lands, the boundary betwixt the parochial divisions of the domain is wholly omitted, and the southern march is not defined otherwise than as the "old march of Douglas," as if it were well known. It extends to the cairn of Tinto, thus including the southern border of the parish of Carmichael as well as Douglas, while the eastern boundaries are, so far as can be traced, identical with those of the present parish of Carmichael.

The ecclesiastical boundaries of the territory were distinct from the civil. The church of Carmichael parish in 1179, if not before that date, was attached to the See of Glasgow.² The rectory of Douglas is named in Baiamond's Roll in 1275, as also in the diocese and chapter of Glasgow.³ The advowsons of both parish churches were at a later period in the hands of the Douglas family as lords of Douglasdale,⁴ and there is reason to believe that so early as the twelfth century, the whole territory of Douglasdale and Carmichael was held by the family of Douglas.

This is corroborated by the fact that at a period coincident with William of Douglas, the earliest member of the family named in any authentic record, and who lived in the twelfth century, all the lands and manors bordering on these two parishes can be shown to be in the possession of various other barons, while no land within the bounds of Douglas and Carmichael can be discovered in the hands of any family save that of Douglas. The Cartularies of the great monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, and others, contain evidence of grants made to and by many possessors of lands surrounding Douglasdale; but while these Cartularies frequently name members of the family of Douglas evidently in possession of that territory, no grant to them is extant. It cannot therefore be ascertained when the family obtained possession of the lands from which they took their name. No great abbey ever claimed lands within the two parishes which composed their ancient domain, nor is there any trace that it was held by the Crown, although the sudden appearance in history of the first known

¹ *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 155.

³ *Ibid.* p. lxiv.

² *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, p. 43.

⁴ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. i. p. 15, No. 77; *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 7.

Douglas may favour the view that he received the territory by a grant directly from King William the Lion.

THE MANORS SURROUNDING DOUGLASDALE.

The boundaries recited in the charter of 1321, as those of the territory or lordship of Douglas, are identical with those which separate the parish of Douglas from Lesmahagow on the north, and the parish of Carmichael from the adjoining parishes of Pettinain, Covington and Thankerton, Symington, Wiston and Robertson, which lie to the eastward, between Carmichael and the Clyde. Along the whole southern boundary of the parishes of Douglas and Robertson, lie the parish and barony of Crawfordjohn, while the western limit is marked by the mountain of Cairntable, which is on the boundary between the counties of Lanark and Ayr. It is proposed, without entering into minute details, to state briefly what has been gleaned regarding the possessors of these parishes or baronies in the twelfth century, with a view to illustrate what has been said as to the Douglas territory.

On the north, the parish of Lesmahagow was, in 1144, in the hands of King David the First, who granted the church and territory to the monks of Kelso,¹ and they exercised their rights as superiors by making many grants of lands to vassals. One of these grants has given rise to some discussion as affecting the origin of the family of Douglas. Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, who held that office from 1147 to 1160, bestowed upon Theobald, a Fleming, and his heirs, land upon Douglas "from the source of Polnele to the water of Douglas, and from the source of Polnele beyond the broad moss to the long 'fau,' thence to Hirdlaw, thence to Thevisford in Mosminin (and) Corroc (Corehouse), and so to the long black ford and so as the way lies to Crossford."² Chalmers, the learned author of "Caledonia," has claimed Theobald as the true ancestor of the family of Douglas. That claim has been already discussed in this work, and there is ample evidence that the charter to Theobald related solely to lands in Lesmahagow parish, of which the Douglas Water was the southern boundary, and which, as defined by a local historian, extended along that water "from the march of Corehouse to the mouth of the Polnele, and stretching backwards into the interior of the parish for a considerable distance."³ The boundaries of the neighbouring lands of Corroc or Corehouse as given in a charter dated between 1180 and 1203, show that Douglas Water, from Poneil Burn to the

¹ Liber de Calchou, vol. i. p. 9.

² *Ibid.* pp. 78, 84.

³ Mr. G. V. Irving in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, 1864, vol. ii. p. 225.

Clyde, was the southern limit of the ecclesiastical barony of Lesmahagow.¹ It was also, according to the charter of 1321, part of the northern march of the territory of Douglas, being a portion of the northern boundary of the parish of Carmichael.

From the mouth of the Douglas Water, going up the Clyde, that river for a short distance forms part of the northern boundary of Carmichael. Between the Clyde and the eastern limit of Carmichael lie the two parishes of Pettinain and Covington. Of the former, trace is found at an early period. Pettinain was in the hands of the Crown in the time of King David the First, and more than one grant to the canons of Dryburgh show that the lands were still a possession of the Crown at a later date.²

Covington or Colbanstown, which adjoins Pettinain on the south, was, during the reign of King William the Lion, or from 1170 to 1214, in possession of a family who took their designation from their lands. Thomas of Colbanstown was alive between 1187 and 1189, and was thus contemporary with William of Douglas, the first of the Douglas family on record; and Hugh of Douglas, son of that William, was witness along with a William of Colbanston, to a charter by Hugh's brother, Brice Douglas, Bishop of Moray, between 1203 and 1222.³

Thankerton, formerly a separate parish, but now united to Covington, is the next adjacent manor. The original name was Tancard's Town, from Tancard, who lived in the time of King Malcolm the Fourth [1152-1165], and whose son Thomas was contemporary with the first William of Douglas.⁴

Immediately adjoining the manor of Thankerton on the south, were situated the lands of Simon Locard or Lockhart, who also gave his name to his barony—Simon's town, now the modern parish of Symington. Simon Locard and his descendants were lords of that manor from the time of King William the Lion until about 1300.⁵

The manor of Wiston or Wice's Town, which gives name to a parish bounding the lands of Carmichael on the south, was, during the reign of King Malcolm the Fourth, and subsequently, in the hands of a family of the name of Wice, afterwards Wiston. Robert, son of Lambin, was, about 1160, lord of the adjoining manor of Robertstoun or Robertson, which was probably co-extensive with the parochial territory.⁶ This parish forms part of the boundary of the parish of Douglas

¹ Liber de Calchou, vol. i. p. 82.

² Liber de Dryburgh, pp. 36-39, 179, 199.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, p. 65; Registrum Moraviense, p. 61.

⁴ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, p. 69.

⁵ Liber de Calchou, pp. 267, 269.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 270-2.



on the east, while on the south the neighbouring manor of Crawfordjohn was between 1214 and 1232 in possession of John, son of Reginald Crawford. The proprietors of both territories were contemporary with the first known possessors of Douglasdale.¹

On the west the Douglas territory extended to Cairntable, on the boundary between the parish and territory of Douglas and the modern parish of Muirkirk, and which is also the boundary at that place between the counties of Lanark and Ayr. There is little information regarding Muirkirk, but Walter Fitz Alan, High Steward of Scotland, who died in 1177,² granted to the monks of Melrose, among other lands in Ayrshire, the pasture of his forest as far as the confines of Douglas, Lesmahagow and Glengavel, which sufficiently indicates that he was the nearest neighbour of the lords of Douglas on the west. In a later charter, by his grandson, also named Walter Fitz Alan, who flourished from 1204 to 1241,³ the summit of Cairntable is defined as the boundary.⁴

While it will be evident from the foregoing summary that the monastic cartularies give ample testimony as to the possessors of the lands and manors which surround the modern parishes of Douglas and Carmichael on all sides, no mention whatever is made of the territory within their bounds. This is the more remarkable because William of Douglas, the first known member of that family, who lived between 1174 and 1215, and his son Archibald (called also Arkembald and Henkenbald) were frequently witnesses to charters affecting persons or lands in the vicinity of their own domain. It may therefore be concluded that the early lords of Douglas ruled over the whole of Douglasdale, with the parish of Carmichael, extending from the heights of Cairntable on the west, to the lofty hill of Tinto on the east.

Before dwelling at length upon the large accession of territory which the Douglas family received in the time of the Good Sir James, notice may be taken of some earlier grants, which, however, were of less importance, and did not long remain in possession of the grantees.

THE LANDS OF HAILES AND OTHERS, ACQUIRED BY THE DOUGLASES AT AN EARLY PERIOD.

The lands first recorded as in possession of any of the surname of Douglas, other than Douglasdale, appear to be the lands of Hailes, in the county of Midlothian.

¹ Liber de Calchou, p. 153; Registrum de Neubotle, p. 104.

² Chron. de Mailros, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.* p. 151.

⁴ Liber de Melros, vol. i. pp. 55, 65.

These lands belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline, and are mentioned in the earliest charters of King David the First as having been granted to the monastery by his brother Ethelred, which statement is repeated in subsequent royal confirmations down to the time of King Alexander the Third.¹ The lands must therefore have been in the hands of the church from before the year 1098. A hundred years afterwards the abbot and convent declare that of goodwill, by the advice of his friends and for a sum of money, Archibald, the son of William of Douglas, quitclaims all right he had in the Abbey's lands of Hailes which he held of them, and gives up the title-deeds of the same.² This transaction must have taken place in or before 1198, as Archibald, the presiding abbot, died in that year.³ There is no clue as to how Archibald of Douglas obtained these lands, but he was evidently in possession only as a vassal of the church, and after his resignation the lands were granted to Thomas of Lestalric (Restalrig) for six silver marks. They were still in the fee of the lords of Restalrig for the same rent in the time of King James the Second.⁴

The same Archibald of Douglas, a few years later, received from Malcolm, Earl of Fife, a charter of the Earl's lands of Livingston in the county of Linlithgow, and Hermiston in Midlothian, which grant is confirmed by King Alexander the Second before the year 1226.⁵ These lands were conveyed by Archibald to Andrew of Douglas, who is believed to have been his younger son, and were confirmed to Andrew's son, William of Douglas, in 1277, by King Alexander the Third.

Archibald of Douglas, above referred to, accompanied or followed his brother Erice to the northern diocese of Moray, of which the latter was elected Bishop. But there is no proof that Archibald of Douglas ever held or received any grant of lands in the north. Various good things seem to have fallen to the lot of the younger brothers, Alexander, Hugh, Henry and Freskin of Douglas, as laymen or ecclesiastics. But of their elder brother, Archibald, little is known, save that he appears as a witness to numerous charters granted in various parts of Scotland, and that he resided for many years in Morayshire during the lifetime of his brother Erice. It may also be remarked in passing, that no member of the Douglas family seems to have inherited any possession from their uncle Freskin of Kerdal, although, so far as appears, he was represented only by a daughter, who, before 1234, married Sir Alexander Stirling.⁶

¹ Registrum de Dunfermelyn, pp. 3, 5, 28, 40, 46.

² *Ibid.* p. 190.

³ Chron. de Mailros, p. 103.

⁴ Registrum de Dunfermelyn, p. 287.

⁵ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.

⁶ Registrum Moraviense, p. 99.

THE MANOR OF FAWDON, IN NORTHUMBERLAND, AND OTHER
POSSESSIONS IN ENGLAND.

William Douglas, son of Archibald, and grandson of the first known William of Douglas, in addition to his lands in Scotland, held also the manor of Fawdon and other lands in Northumberland. It has been asserted that Fawdon was a gift to William Douglas from Prince Edward of England, but this view has been shown to be a mistake, as the manor was acquired either by purchase or marriage.¹ Warentham or Warndon also belonged to William Douglas, but apparently did not remain long in the family. In the next generation William "Le Hardi" had considerable possessions in England, which he acquired by his marriage with Eleanor of Lovain. The lands also which he held in the counties of Wigtown, Berwick, Ayr, Dumfries, Fife and Edinburgh,² seem to have come to him through her. The English manors were forfeited during the wars of the succession, but Fawdon was restored to William's son, the Good Sir James, in the year 1329.³ After that date there is no evidence of continued possession of the place by Sir James Douglas or his successors.

LANDS GRANTED TO THE GOOD SIR JAMES DOUGLAS.
POLBUTHY IN MOFFATDALE.

The lands granted to Sir James Douglas were situated chiefly in the south of Scotland. The earliest in point of date was the land of Polbuthy, in Moffatdale,⁴ which was granted in the year 1318, about four years after the battle of Bannockburn, when the government of the realm of Scotland was settled, and the royal authority of King Robert the Bruce firmly established. The lands of Polbuthy were, between the years 1333 and 1342, conveyed by the brother of Sir James, Hugh of Douglas, designing himself Lord of the Forest of Jedburgh, in favour of Sir William Douglas of Lothian, better known as the "Knight of Liddesdale."⁵ These lands, now called Polmoody, are part of the extensive estates of Mr. Hope Johnstone of Annandale, and form one of his largest pastoral farms in Moffatdale.

STAPLEGORTON IN ESKDALE.

The lands of Staplegorton, in Eskdale, were apparently the next granted to Sir James of Douglas. The only charter of these lands now extant among the Douglas

¹ Vol. i. of this work, pp. 61-63.

² Vol. iv. of this work, pp. 3, 4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 9.

⁵ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. ii.
p. 91.

muniments is not dated, but must have been granted about 1320.¹ They were, on 14th March in that year, resigned into the hands of King Robert the Bruce by John Lyndesay, a canon of Glasgow, son and heir of Sir Philip of Lyndesay, and were shortly afterwards bestowed on Sir James Douglas.² The lands of Staplegorton, however, were also among those conveyed by Hugh of Douglas to the Knight of Liddesdale, and the history of the lands is therefore to be found in the Cartulary of the Earls of Morton. They are valued, in a rental of 1376, at a sum amounting to nearly £80.³ Though conveyed to Sir William Douglas of Lothian as stated, the lands seem to have reverted, for a time at least, to the Earls of Douglas, as on 8th November 1388, King Robert the Second granted to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith the ward of these lands, which are declared to be in the king's hands through the decease of James, second Earl of Douglas.⁴

WESTERKIRK AND JEDBURGH.

On 20th April 1321, King Robert the Bruce granted to Sir James Douglas a moiety of the lands of Watstirker or Westerkirk, which had been forfeited by Sir William Soulis. This moiety or half of the lands of Westerkirk was of the value of about £70, and was conveyed, along with Staplegorton, by Hugh of Douglas to Sir William Douglas of Lothian.⁵

On 6th May, in the same year, Sir James Douglas received a large grant of Crown territory, embracing the market town of Jedburgh, with the place and tower of the castle of Jedburgh, the town of Bonjedworth, and the forest of Jedburgh, in free forestry, etc., reserving to the king the services to be rendered at Roxburgh for the lands of Hassendean, Newland, Lessudden, and Altoun, when these fell due.⁶ The large tract of land included in this grant, comprehending several parishes, constituted a regality, or was erected into such before 2d July 1439.⁷ While still a lordship, the territory passed into the hands of that branch of the Douglas family who became Earls of Angus. The lordship of Jedburgh did not form part of the territory resigned by Hugh of Douglas, in 1342, in favour of his nephew, William of Douglas, afterwards first Earl,⁸ nor was it included among the lands claimed, on 7th April 1389, by Archibald, third Earl, under the entail contained in the charter following on such resignation.⁹ William,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

² *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. ii. pp.

17 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. lxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 161.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. lxxv. ; vol. ii. p. 89.

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 355, 356.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 357-359.

⁹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 557.

first Earl of Douglas, possessed the lordship of Jedburgh Forest, as also did James, second Earl of Douglas, on whose decease the lands passed into the hands of his sister, Isabella Douglas, sometimes styled Countess of Mar, and were the subject of arrangement between Sir James Sandilands of Calder, her heir-apparent, and George Douglas, first Earl of Angus of that name. The agreement between the Earl of Angus and Sir James Sandilands was confirmed by King Robert the Third on 9th November 1397.¹ The territory of Jedburgh Forest continued to be the property of the Earls of Angus, and still forms part of the Angus inheritance of the Earl of Home, their heir-of-line.

This grant to Sir James Douglas has a special interest, as it was no doubt made in acknowledgment of his active service against the English invaders, whose armies and garrisons he drove out of Teviotdale and the greater part of the south of Scotland. The battle gained by him at Lintalee, in Jedburgh Forest, has already been narrated in his memoir, and Lintalee became the principal messuage of the family of Douglas in that neighbourhood. A recent writer in describing the place and its natural capabilities for defence refers to it as the "first dwelling of the Douglas in the south of Scotland." This is doubtful, but the same writer is probably correct when he adds, "It must have been a place of note long previous to that day; at least its British name—the fort or manor place at the pool or lyn—would indicate that it had been."²

LAUDERDALE AND ETRICK FOREST.

About the same time that he became lord of the Forest of Jedburgh, Sir James Douglas received a charter from King Robert of the Constabulary of Lauder. The charter is not dated, and the actual date has not been ascertained.³ The eighth Earl of Douglas was the first to quarter the arms appropriate to Lauderdale in his seal.

Between the years 1321 and 1324 also, King Robert further bestowed upon his faithful follower the forests of Selkirk, Etrick, and Traquair in free barony.⁴ This territory, known as the Forest, corresponded nearly to the modern county of Selkirk, excluding the town of Selkirk and some lands near it.⁵ The Forest of Selkirk was included in the charter of 1342, and entailed with the ancient inheritance of Douglas, Lauderdale, and other lands, upon William Douglas, afterwards first Earl of Douglas, nephew of the Good Sir James. By virtue of this entail, the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 40.

² History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire, by Alexander Jeffrey, vol. ii. p. 224.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 3, No. 2.

⁴ Robertson's Index, p. 10, No. 24.

⁵ The town of Selkirk and the lands immediately surrounding it were granted to George Douglas, first Earl of Angus, in 1397, and continued in the hands of his successors, Earls of Angus. Cf. vol. iii. of this work, pp. 36, 48.

lands came into possession of Sir James's son, Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, and his heirs held them until the forfeiture of the ninth Earl of Douglas in 1455, when they passed into the hands of the Crown. From the accounts rendered to Exchequer after that date, it would appear that the territory of the Forest was divided into three wards, the ward of Ettrick, the ward of Yarrow, and the ward of Tweed, the latter including Galashiels, and the valley of the Tweed up to Traquair. The rental of the Forest alone, as rendered to the Crown, amounted to £519, 13s. 4d.¹

The principal messuage or stronghold in the Forest, according to a grant made in 1473 by King James the Third to his bride, the Princess Margaret of Denmark, was the castle of Newark,² well known from the lines by Sir Walter Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," who

" ———passed where Newark's stately tower
Looks out from Yarrow's birchen bower."

Newark, however, was not the earliest residence of the Douglasses in the Forest. The castle was built sometime before 1423, when it is referred to by Archibald, Earl of Wigtown, afterwards fifth Earl of Douglas, as the New-werk.³ It succeeded an older building, known so far back as 1321, as Etybredcheles or Edybredshelis, which was a hunting seat or manor of the Good Sir James, and was much used by his successors.⁴ It seems to have stood at a spot called in later times Auldward, to distinguish it from Newark.⁵ Edybredschelis was still in use as a residence in 1434, but after that date Newark is chiefly referred to as the seat of the Earls of Douglas in Ettrick Forest.⁶ After 1455, Newark became a frequent resort of the Court, and in 1467 considerable repairs were made upon the fabric. At this or a later period, the Royal Arms of Scotland were inserted in the masonry, and are still to be seen in the centre of the west wall of the tower.⁷

James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas, designed himself on his seal of arms, in addition to his other titles, "Lord of Galloway, Lauderdale, and the Forest," the last designation evidently relating to Ettrick Forest, as the Forest of Jedburgh was then in possession of the Earls of Angus. It is, doubtless, in reference to this Forest that the

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. p. cxvi.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 1143.

³ *Ibid.* No. 59.

⁴ Vol. iv. of this work, p. 53.

⁵ "Auldward *alias* Cartermauch." The

Scotts of Buccleuch, by William Fraser, vol. ii. p. 463.

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 420, 421.

⁷ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vii. pp. 452, 477, 478, 501. The Scotts of Buccleuch, vol. i. p. lxi.

Earl's seal bears in the fourth quarter six stakes.¹ It is not improbable that for a similar reason in regard to Jedburgh Forest, the sixth Earl of Angus assumed five stakes in the third quarter of his seal of arms, in addition to the compartment of interwoven branches borne by his ancestors, of which the seal of George, fourth Earl of Angus, is a beautiful example.² The five stakes were borne in succession by the eighth, ninth and tenth Earls of Angus, while the eleventh Earl or first Marquis had four on his seal.³ The second Marquis blazoned only three stakes, which, perhaps, led to the stakes being confounded with the three piles borne by the Wishart family, a view devoid of historical foundation.⁴

THE EMERALD CHARTER OF BRUCE TO DOUGLAS.

The barony of Douglas, the King's Forest of Selkirk, the constabulary of Lauder, the forest of Jedburgh, with Bonjedburgh, the barony of Bethocrule (Bedrule, in Teviotdale), the baronies of Westerkirk, Staplegorton, and Romanno (in Peeblesshire), are all enumerated in the celebrated charter known as the "Emerald Charter," granted to Sir James Douglas by King Robert the Bruce on 18th November 1324. That name was given to it because the king gave personal infektment in the rights of jurisdiction conferred by the charter, by placing an emerald ring from his own finger upon the hand of Sir James Douglas.⁵ This charter has been described as a confirmation of his lands to Sir James Douglas, but it was really a grant of judicial authority within the territory. Though there was thus no additional confirmation of the lands already conferred, the naming of them in one charter aids in estimating their great extent.

THE LANDS OF BUITTLE IN GALLOWAY.

Notwithstanding the extensive territories already bestowed on the Good Sir James, King Robert in the following year (1325) added the barony of Botil or Buittle, in Galloway, comprehending the parish of that name.⁶ These lands were resigned by Hugh of Douglas, the brother and successor of Sir James, in 1342, and were among those which were entailed upon Sir James's natural son, Archibald, afterwards third Earl of

¹ Vol. i. of this work, p. 496.

² Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 65, 288. The seal of Earl George is exactly similar to that used by his brother, James, third Earl of Angus [attached to an original charter in the Inverquharie Charter-chest, but not engraved]. The earlier seal shows the same

beautiful workmanship.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 367, 379, 380, 426.

⁴ Three piles or nails appear in some seals of the Abernethies, Lords of Saltoun, after 1460, and this may have misled later heralds.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 12.

Douglas.¹ The lands of Buittle were the earliest possessions of the Douglasses in Galloway, but at a later date they possessed the whole of that turbulent part of Scotland.

Besides the lands enumerated many smaller baronies were bestowed on Sir James Douglas. They are referred to in a charter to William, first Earl of Douglas, who, as the son of Sir Archibald Douglas, Regent of Scotland, and nephew of the Good Sir James, inherited the whole lands which they possessed at their decease. That charter shows at a glance the large extent of territory which this double heirship conferred on the first Earl of Douglas.²

The lands belonging to Sir James, Lord of Douglas, at the time of his death, were these:—The lands of the vale of Douglas, in Lanarkshire; Lauderdale and the lands pertaining to the constabulary of the same, lying throughout the kingdom; the vale of Esk; the forests of Ettrick, Selkirk, Yarrow, and Tweed, according to their ancient boundaries; the town of Jedburgh, with the castle and forest of the same; the barony of Bethokroule (Bedrule), in Roxburghshire; the barony of Romanno, in Peeblesshire; the barony of Buittle, in Galloway; the lands of the Ferme of Rutherglen; the lands of the Eastwood, in Lanarkshire; Hughston of Strabrock, in Linlithgowshire; Familton and Bondington, in the barony of North Berwick; Scotteraw and Agnestown, in the barony of Glencrosk; and the lands of Polbuthy, in the vale of Moffat. The possessions of Sir James's brother, Sir Archibald, were:—The lands of the valley of Liddell, with castle; the barony of Kirkandrews, in Dumfriesshire; the lands of Heriotmure; Rattray, in Buchan; the barony of O'Neil and Coule, in Aberdeenshire; the half-land of Logyathry, in Perthshire; the barony of Cavers, in Roxburghshire; the barony of Drumlanrig and of Terregles, in Dumfriesshire; the barony of West Calder, in Edinburghshire; and the lands of Graydon, in Berwickshire.

At what time Sir Archibald Douglas, the brother of Sir James, acquired the numerous baronies of which he died possessed, has not been ascertained. No record of any grants to him remains save those of the lands of Morebattle in Roxburghshire, and Kirkandrews in Dumfriesshire.³ The question raised in Parliament in 1342, as to his possession of Liddesdale, has already been referred to,⁴ and by the charter just quoted this territory was secured to his son. William, Earl of Douglas, in a grant to the monks of Melrose, about 1360, of the church of Cavers, styles himself Lord of Liddes-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 357-359.

³ Robertson's Index of missing Charters, p. 11, No. 50; p. 12, No. 64; p. 20, No. 7.

² *Ibid.* pp. 360, 361.

⁴ Vol. i. of this work, pp. 224-227.

dale,¹ and his son James, afterwards second Earl of Douglas and Mar, during his father's lifetime, bore the territorial designation "of Liddesdale," and "Lord of Liddesdale."² After the second Earl's decease, the lordship of Liddesdale, with other unentailed estates, was inherited by his sister Isabella Douglas, styled Countess of Mar, and was by her disposed to her half-brother, George Douglas, Earl of Angus.³

Besides the lands enumerated in the charter of 1354, Sir Archibald Douglas, brother of the Good Sir James, had an interest in other lands not named in that writ. On 11th September 1333, an inquest held at Aberdeen by Sir Robert Lauder, Chamberlain of Scotland, in reference to the second teinds of the bishopric in the sheriffdom of Banff, found that of the lordship of Conveth (in Inverkeithny parish), one part was in the hands of the Earl of Moray, another belonged to Sir Archibald Douglas, and a third to Sir Walter Ogilvie.⁴ Sir Archibald also held lands in the parish of Crimond,—the lands of Rattray, with its port, the land of Crimond in which the church is situated, Crimond Nagorth and Crimond Bellie, with mill, the port of Kindoloss, Cairnglass, Rothmathie and Tullykerath, all of which were bestowed upon him by King Robert the Bruce on 29th February 1324.⁵

THE EARLDOM OF MAR AND LORDSHIP OF GARIOCH.

In addition to the lands recited in the charter of 1354, which in 1357-8 were erected into an earldom, William, first Earl of Douglas, after the death of his brother-in-law, Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar, the last heir-male of that ancient race, obtained the great northern earldom of Mar and lordship of Garioch. The circumstances under which William, Earl of Douglas, succeeded to his brother-in-law, have already been fully related in his memoir.⁶ These territories did not long remain in the hands of the Douglas family.

THE LORDSHIP OF GALLOWAY AND EARLDOM OF WIGTOWN.

The extensive territories inherited or acquired by the Good Sir James Douglas and his immediate successors were largely augmented in the year 1369. In that year King David the Second conferred upon Sir Archibald Douglas, called the "Grim," son

¹ Liber de Melros, vol. ii. p. 429.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. pp. 144, 145.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 35, 40, 44.

⁴ Registrum Aberdonense, vol. i. p. 58.

⁵ Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. pp. 394, 395.

⁶ Vol. i. of this work, p. 270-274.

of Sir James, the lordship of Galloway, or the whole lands lying betwixt the Nith and the Cree.¹ These boundaries include the county of Kirkcudbright and part of Dumfriesshire, and were granted by the king in return for the good services of Sir Archibald. He and his successors, Earls of Douglas, continued in possession of Galloway until 1455, when it was forfeited to the Crown, and from that date it was administered by officers appointed by the king. The county of Wigton was not included in the royal grant to Sir Archibald Douglas in 1369; but in 1372 it also was added to his possessions. This was done by an arrangement with Thomas Fleming, and the transaction was confirmed by King Robert the Second, who styles Fleming "some-time Earl of Wigton." The addition included all Galloway west of the Cree.²

Thus by rapid strides, the family of Douglas rose within one generation from the Good Sir James to be the owners and rulers of the greater part of the south of Scotland, as well as of considerable estates in the north. They bore undisputed sway over a large portion of the shires of Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, parts of Berwickshire and Dumfriesshire, with the whole of Galloway. To this territory was added, for a time, the earldom of Mar and lordship of Garioch. When it is further considered that either nominally on behalf of the king, or in their own right, the Lords of Douglas possessed or garrisoned the strong castles of Kildrummy in Mar, Jedburgh in Teviotdale, the Hermitage in Liddesdale, the Thrieve in Galloway, Tantallon in East Lothian, Lochmaben in Annandale, as well as their native fortress in Douglasdale, it will be more easily understood how the members of this one family were able to maintain a more than royal state, and their power became dangerous to the throne itself.

THE LORDSHIPS OF ANNANDALE AND DUNBAR.

In the time of the later Earls of Douglas, this immense territory was added to rather than diminished. The earldom of Mar passed from the Douglasses after two generations to Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, and afterwards to the Crown; and the lands of Liddesdale, Jedburgh Forest, and others, went to a younger branch of the family, the Earls of Angus. Yet the fourth Earl of Douglas added to his style the title of lord of Dunbar, and to his territory, at least for several years, the lands forfeited by George, Earl of March. Annandale was one of that Earl's lordships, and on his restoration, in 1409, it was granted to the Earl of Douglas.³ It lapsed to the Crown on the death of this Earl's grandson, William, sixth Earl of Douglas, in 1440.⁴

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. i. p. 69.

² *Ibid.* p. 114.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. i. p. 241.

⁴ Vol. i. of this work, pp. 429, 430.

THE DUKEDOM OF TOURAINE AND EARLDOM OF LONGUEVILLE
IN FRANCE.

In 1424 Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, obtained the Duchy of Touraine from King Charles the Seventh of France, on the occasion of his passing over to that country as the French king's ally. The circumstances of the grant, and the entry of the duke into his duchy have already been narrated in his memoir. His son, the fifth Earl of Douglas, assumed the title of Duke of Touraine, and so did his grandson, the sixth Earl. Much has been written on this point by historians who have enlarged on the magnificence of the Douglasses, their rank as peers of France, and their possession of one of the richest principalities of that kingdom. The title of Duke of Touraine is also conferred by Godscroft upon the seventh and later Earls of Douglas. But as shown in the memoirs, neither the fifth Earl nor any succeeding Earl of Douglas ever actually possessed the Duchy of Touraine, nor any land in France.¹ King Charles the Seventh, within a few months after the battle of Verneuil, on 17th August 1424, when the first Duke of Touraine was killed, granted the duchy to Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily. The fifth and sixth Earls of Douglas, therefore, held only the empty title of Duke, and the right to bear that ceased in 1440, when the sixth Earl was beheaded in Edinburgh Castle.

It may be of interest to note that the Duchy of Touraine was one of the oldest in France. In 1044, Thibaud, third Earl of that name, Earl of Champagne, Brie, Blois, Chartres and Tours, being taken prisoner by Geoffrey Martel, Earl of Anjou, ceded Tours to his captor as the price of his ransom. It was possessed by Geoffrey's descendants, Earls of Anjou and Kings of England, and continued with them till forfeited by King John (Lackland), in 1203, for his murder of his nephew Arthur. The territory remained in possession of the royal family of France, and was erected into a peerage duchy in 1360, in favour of Philip of France, fourth son of King John. It continued to be a royal duchy until conferred upon the fourth Earl of Douglas. After his death it was resumed by the royal family of France, and in 1558 formed part of the jointure of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, when she married the Dauphin of France. It would appear that the Queen afterwards exchanged Touraine for Vermandois, and got much the worst of the transaction.²

About the same time, Archibald, Earl of Wigtown, afterwards fifth Earl of Douglas and second Duke of Touraine, received from the French king the earldom of

¹ Vol. i. of this work, pp. 396, 397, 409, 425, 463; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 374-379.

² P. Anselme, vol. iii. p. 229; Historical Commissioners' Report vi. p. 639.

Longueville and the lordship of Dun-la-roy in France. He bore the titles belonging to both these domains, but the lands themselves shared a fate similar to that of the Duchy of Touraine.

BALVANY, ABERCORN, ABERDOUR, AND AVONDALE.

James Douglas of Balvany, who became seventh Earl of Douglas upon the death of his nephew, the sixth Earl, in 1440, is less known to fame than his predecessors. But even he possessed in his own right, independently of the Douglas territories proper, Balvany, Aberdour, and other estates in the north of Scotland, with the castle of Abercorn and others in the south, including Avondale (or Strathavon), which was erected into an earldom in his favour. Under his son William, the eighth Earl, the power of the Earls of Douglas, and the extent of their territories in Scotland, reached their climax. In 1451 he resigned all his lands into the hands of King James the Second, and received charters of Ettrick Forest and Galloway on both sides of the Cree, in free regality, with Lauderdale, all the Douglas lands, a great part of Lanarkshire, and large territories in Ayrshire.

THE EARLDOMS OF MORAY AND ORMOND.

Three of the brothers of the eighth Earl became earls of Douglas, Moray, and Ormond respectively. Each of the two latter possessed large territories. Archibald Douglas, by his marriage with Elizabeth Dunbar, obtained the extensive earldom of Moray, with its castles of Darnaway, Lochindorb, and others. Hugh Douglas was provided with lands by his eldest brother, and obtained the title of Earl of Ormond. But in 1455, after the battle of Arkinholm, these were all forfeited, when James, the ninth Earl of Douglas, was driven an exile into England, and his brothers were slain.

The main line of the great family of Douglas thus came to a sudden and violent termination, for although the ninth Earl of Douglas survived until the year 1488, it was latterly as a prisoner in the Abbey of Lindores, where he died without issue.

The great possessions of the ancient house of Douglas did not, however, entirely pass away from the representatives of that family, though for a short time forfeited to the Crown. George Douglas, fourth Earl of Angus, aided the king against the insurrection of his chief, the ninth Earl of Douglas. The king rewarded Angus by a grant of the forfeited estate of Douglas,¹ which was thenceforward held along with the Earldom of Angus.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 84, 86.

THE EARLDOM OF ANGUS.

From such evidents as have survived the ravages of time, it would appear that, at a very early period, the Earls of Angus were in possession of the barony of Kirriemuir. Malcolm, the last of the Celtic Earls of Angus, between 1214 and 1226, granted to the monks of Arbroath certain lands in his territory of Kirriemuir. His daughter Matilda also, about 1242, confirmed her father's grant and a grant by her great-grandfather, Earl Gilchrist, of Portinerag (near Dundee), with fishings, also land near Monifeith.¹ These grants, taken in conjunction with later charters, show that the lands of the Earls of Angus lay chiefly round Kirriemuir, at least as far to the north as the South Esk, including Glenprosen, and on the south half-way between Kirriemuir and Glamis. The Earls also possessed a broad strip of land on the coast, from Mains to Monifeith, comprehending the modern parishes of Monifeith, Murroes, part of Dundee, Mains and Strathmartine, and portions of Tealing and Monikie. Other lands in the county also belonged to the earldom.

The residence of the old Earls of Angus is believed to have been at Mains, near Dundee, from that district being formerly known as Earl Strathdichty. A charter by Gilbert Umfraville, second Earl of Angus of that name, requires the grantee to make payment of a pound of pepper at Strathdichty.² The exact site of the old castle, however, is unknown. It was apparently dismantled, or abandoned as a residence before 1454, when George Douglas, fourth Earl of Angus, received permission to build a castle on the rock of Broughty.³ This fortress, however, does not appear to have remained long in the hands of the Earls of Angus, and their principal residence was either at Tantallon, or, after 1457, at Douglas.

At Kirriemuir, the principal messuage of the Douglas earldom of Angus, there does not appear to have been a castle. No trace of such a building is known, nor is any such referred to in writs relating to Kirriemuir, which was erected into a burgh of barony in 1459. In 1510 the town is described as itself the principal messuage of the territory around it. The courts of the lords of the manor, or their baron-bailie, were held not within a castle, but upon a large artificial mound to the west of the

¹ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, pp. 98, 116.
80-82.

² Charter [1262-1285] by Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Angus, to Duncan, the king's dempster, vol. iii. of this work, p. 4; cf. pp.

³ *Ibid.* p. 81. This stronghold Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, was afterwards compelled by King James IV. to surrender. [Vol. ii. of this work, p. 278.]

town. This mound was known as the Court-hillock, and a pool of water at its base was called the Witch-pool. After the abolition in 1748 of heritable jurisdictions, the hillock and pool fell into disuse for the dispensing of justice, and in 1768 Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquhararty petitioned Mr. Douglas of Douglas that he might be allowed to make use of the hillock and pool in connection with his corn-mill. Sir John in his memorial states that the hillock was then known as the "happy hillock," and it and the pool were surrounded by his lands of the meikle mill of Kirriemuir, from which by the title-deeds the hillock was reserved.¹

Matilda, Countess of Angus, married Sir Gilbert de Umfraville, and their descendants held the earldom until the time of King Robert the Bruce, by whom it was conferred, about 1327, upon Sir John Stewart of Boncle. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander of Abernethy, by which marriage there was added to the earldom of Angus the lordship of Abernethy in Perthshire.

His great-grandson, George Douglas, first Earl of Angus of that name, came into possession of large estates in Forfarshire, with the lordships of Abernethy in Perthshire, and Boncle and Preston in Berwickshire. He also held the strong fortress of Tantallon. He was the son of William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, by Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus, bearing the former title by marriage and the latter in her own right. She was the daughter of Thomas Stewart, last Earl of Angus of that family, and was married to Thomas, thirteenth and last Earl of Mar. Early in 1397, George Douglas was known as lord of Angus, and by an arrangement between his mother and King Robert the Third, whose daughter, the Princess Mary, he married, he received a grant of his mother's lands. On 9th November 1397, the king also confirmed to his son-in-law, now designed Earl of Angus, the lands of Liddesdale and other Douglas lands in the occupancy of the Earl's half-sister, Isabella Douglas, styled Countess of Mar.

The first of the Douglas Earls of Angus to take a leading position was George, the fourth Earl. In 1452 he received from King James the Second a charter of the barony of Tantallon. Two years afterwards he obtained permission from the same monarch to build a castle on the rock of Bruchty or Broughty, in Forfarshire. In 1456 he received a charter of the lands of Ewesdale, adjoining Liddesdale, and in 1457 the king conferred upon him the ancient inheritance of his family in Douglasdale, which had been forfeited to the Crown by James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas, for his rebellion in 1455.²

¹ Memorial, dated 12th October 1768, in Douglas Charter-chest. The answer given to this memorial is not recorded.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 79, 81, 84, 86.

During the life of Archibald, fifth Earl, known popularly as "Bell the Cat," the power of the Douglas Earls of Angus reached its height. Galloway indeed was no longer in their possession, but in Forfarshire, Perthshire, Lanarkshire, Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire, Berwickshire, and East Lothian, large territories owned their sway. This Earl also held Newark castle, with adjoining lands. In 1492, he was obliged by the king to surrender the lordship of Liddesdale, but received in exchange the barony of Bothwell, which included not only the place of that name in Lanarkshire, but other lands in the same county, with lands in Berwickshire. In 1495, in addition to all his other lands, the king conferred upon him the extensive barony of Crawford-Lindsay, thereafter called Crawford-Douglas, with the smaller barony of Braidwood, both in the county of Lanark.¹

After the decease of the fifth Earl, the territorial possessions of the Douglas Earls of Angus received no additions of importance, except in the case of Archibald, the eighth Earl, who held for a time the earldom of Morton. On his decease that earldom passed to the Douglasses of Lochleven, but the lands and baronies of Kirriemuir, Jedburgh, Douglas, Bothwell, Crawford, Boncle and others, were still retained in possession. Except Crawford, which was given to Lord William Douglas, who afterwards became Duke of Hamilton, these lands descended to James, second Marquis of Douglas, in 1660. On the forfeiture, about 1690, of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, the Marquis of Douglas received a gift of his lands in Forfarshire, including Glen Ogilvie, the ancient territory of the Ogilvies. The son and heir of the second Marquis was, in 1704, created Duke of Douglas, and obtained an erection of his estates into the *DUKEDOM OF DOUGLAS*. The Duke added to his estates the castle of Craignethan, the lands of Fockerston, and others in the parish of Lesmahagow. In 1761 he entailed his estates, and under this entail the whole territories of the Douglas family were inherited by Archibald James Edward Steuart, son of the Duke's sister, Lady Jane Douglas, and her husband, Sir John Steuart of Grandtully. Archibald Steuart became Archibald Douglas of Douglas, and he was by patent dated 8th July 1790 created Baron Douglas of Douglas, in the county of Lanark, to hold to him and the heirs-male of his body, who failed in the death of the fourth Baron Douglas. As heir-of-line and representative of Archibald, first Baron Douglas, his great-grandson, Charles Alexander, twelfth Earl of Home, has inherited his large estates. He has also inherited from his father the title of Baron Douglas of Douglas, which was created in his favour by patent dated 11th June 1875.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 115, 134, 152, 164.

CASTLES AND MANSIONS OF THE EARLS OF DOUGLAS AND ANGUS.

THE CASTLE OF DOUGLAS.

OF the many castles which at various times were possessed by the family of Douglas, the most interesting, and probably the most ancient, was the baronial stronghold of their territory of Douglasdale. Many of the exploits of the Good Sir James of Douglas, celebrated in song and story, took place in connection with his ancestral castle. It was situated on a mound on the south bank of the Douglas Water, near the site of the modern mansion. This fact was accidentally discovered during some alterations upon the mound, when an embankment, stakes, etc., were found at the base, put in to prevent the water from encroaching. The river Douglas is now diverted from the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, but in former times it seems to have been one of its defences, flowing past or around a large part of the mound, while the rest was guarded by a moat and wall.¹ The alteration of the course of the stream left a morass of several acres in the immediate vicinity of the Castle; but this by recent improvements has been transformed into ornamental lakes.

The date of the original building of the old castle of Douglas has not been ascertained, and it has been destroyed and restored so frequently that the single portion of it which survived the fire of 1758 is comparatively modern in appearance. The first mention of the castle in authentic record is in the year 1293, when Sir William of Douglas, "Le Hardi," the father of Sir James, was accused in Parliament of deforcing the royal bailiffs and confining them in his castle.² But no doubt it was in existence before that time, as in 1288 Sir Hugh Abernethy, for taking part in the murder of Duncan, Earl of Fife, was thrown into the prison of Sir William Douglas, and the chroniclers state that he was confined in the castle of Douglas.³

The next mention of the castle of Douglas is in the complaint, in 1294, by the

¹ Notes regarding the parish of Douglas, by J. H., written about 1860, in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. pp. 160, 161; New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 487.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 448.

³ Fordun, edition 1871, vol. i. p. 320; Wyntown's Cronykil, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

monks of Melrose of being molested by the baron and his retainers when they used the highway which passed before the park of the castle. But the best known historical references to the building are during the struggles of Bruce and Sir James Douglas for Scottish independence. It is referred to in the pages of Barbour as "the adventurous castell of Douglas that to kep sa peralous was."¹ The incidents which earned for it this title are fully narrated elsewhere in the memoir of the Good Sir James. The facts recorded as to the condition of the castle are all that need be noted here.

After relating the attack made on the garrison on Palm Sunday (19th March) 1307, and the incident of the "Douglas Lardner," Barbour states that Sir James of Douglas burned everything except the stone, by which is meant that the walls of the castle were left standing. Douglas, we are told, burned his fortress because he could not hold it, and he probably had not time to demolish the walls. Godscroft also tells the same story, that the walls were left standing, though scorched. Both writers state that after this burning the castle was rebuilt by Sir Robert Clifford, who had a grant of Douglasdale from King Edward the First. Clifford, it is said, came in person to Douglas, and repaired and fortified the castle, making it very strong. Godscroft also states that Clifford added a tower to the stronghold, which in his day was still standing, and was called "Harrie's Tower," after its builder.² The restored building was placed in charge of Thirlwall, an English knight, who was attacked and slain by Douglas, but on this occasion the castle remained intact. At a later date, however, a third attack was made on the fortress and its guardians, who, their leader being slain, surrendered their trust, and this time Douglas demolished the whole edifice, that it might no longer be held by the English. In Barbour's words—

". . . Sa besaly wrocht he
That he all tumlit down the wall,
And distroyit the housis all."³

This statement, which is also repeated by Godscroft, is inconsistent with his reference to "Harrie's Tower," which he says was so called in his own day. But apart from the untrustworthiness of popular tradition, it is possible that Sir James Douglas

¹ Barbour's Bruce, Spalding Club, 1856, p. 191.

² *Ibid.* p. 119; Houses of Douglas and Angus, ed. 1644, p. 28. There is apparently some confusion in the name thus given by popular tradition. The name of the Cliffords

who had grants of Douglasdale in 1307 and in 1332 was in each case Robert. There was a Henry Clifford in the time of Edward III., but he is not known to have had connection with Douglasdale.

³ Barbour's Bruce, p. 191.

left standing a portion of the tower in question, which may have received its popular name at a later date.

From the time of its demolition by Sir James Douglas, the castle virtually disappears from history until a much later period. It is doubtful if it was rebuilt or occupied during the remainder of the reign of King Robert the Bruce. Sir James Douglas, on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, made a grant of his lands of Kilmad to the Abbey of Newbattle, and dated the writ at the "Park of Douglas,"¹ a place which will be again referred to. As Wyntown, who was a contemporary, asserts that William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, died at his own castle of Douglas in 1384,² the place must then have been habitable. The Earl himself, who was in possession of Douglasdale for nearly forty years, may have been the rebuilder or restorer of the edifice. It is mentioned in 1419, as under the charge of William of Symington, as keeper.³

The Earls of Douglas, however, do not seem to have resided much at their ancestral castle. A careful examination of all available charters granted by them from 1360 to 1455, and these are very numerous, show documents dated at "Edybredechelie," Bothwell, Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, the Thrieve, and elsewhere, and only a few at the castle of Douglas. William, eighth Earl of Douglas, who was one of the most powerful barons of his family, apparently resided occasionally at Douglas Castle, as also did his aunt, Margaret, Duchess of Touraine, widow of Archibald, first Duke of Touraine.

Boece, followed by Godscroft, states that in 1450, Douglas Castle was razed to the ground. It was, however, in 1455, that King James the Second, after taking the castle of Abercorn, is said to have wasted Douglasdale and the neighbourhood, and he himself records that Douglas Castle was then surrendered, and levelled with the ground.⁴ As a consequence, when the lands of Douglas were, in 1457, granted to George, fourth Earl of Angus, the castle is not referred to in the charter.⁵ Nor does it appear that infeftment was given at the castle. It is described as taking place at the true messuage of the lordship of Douglasdale, where the usual ceremonies were performed.⁶ The next infeftment which is recorded is that of George Douglas, Master of Angus, in whose favour his father, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, resigned the lordships of Tantallon, Douglas, Liddesdale and others. In terms of this resignation, King James the Fourth granted a charter to George Douglas of these lordships, and in this writ the castles of

¹ Registrum de Neubotle, p. 100.

² Wyntown's Cronykil, B. ix. c. v.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 413.

⁴ Letter to Charles VII. of France. Pinker-

ton, vol. i. p. 486.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 86.

⁶ Instrument of Sasine, dated 16th June

1457, in Douglas Charter Chest.

Tantallon and Douglas are specially named.¹ Infertment was given by the notary at the castle of Douglas, "infra dominium de Douglas, et ibidem, apud castrum eiusdem."² Contrasting this with the formula used in the sasine of 1457, the latter is corroborative of the statement that in 1455 the castle was dismantled.

The building, however, though ruinous in 1457, must soon have been restored, as it is referred to in a royal grant five years later. In the beginning of 1464, while the fifth Earl of Angus was still a minor, King James the Third granted to William Douglas of Cluny the wardship of the lordships of Douglas and Tantallon, with the custody of the castles, which were in the king's hands through the decease, in March 1463, of George, fourth Earl of Angus.³

From 1488 downwards, no further vicissitudes of historical importance befell the castle of Douglas, and it is referred to as an existing building in the retours and other writs of the family of Douglas, down to the time of Archibald, third Marquis, and first Duke of Douglas, who succeeded to the family estates in 1700. The estates of the Earl of Angus were indeed forfeited in 1528, but were restored by Parliament in 1543, and with this exception, the castle of Douglas remained in the hands of its noble owners until 1758, when it was finally destroyed by an accidental fire. Hamilton of Wishaw, in his Description of the Sheriffdom of Lanark, written about 1700, speaks of the Marquis of Douglas's residence as "a very considerable great house called the castle of Douglas."⁴ According to the public journals of that time, the burning of the old building took place on 11th December 1758, though some writers say it was 1760. The fire commenced in a small room adjoining the Duchess's bedroom, and all her ladyship's jewels, with the whole of the furniture in the upper part of the house, were completely destroyed.⁵

The old castle of the Douglasses, though repeatedly destroyed by fire, always rose "from its ashes in greater strength and stateliness."⁶ But "a single ruined tower, embosomed in ash trees apparently as old as itself, is all that now remains of a fortress which must ever remain a household word with all Scotsmen."⁷ These ash trees are the oldest and largest trees in the parish. When, thirty years ago, one was blown down, and sawn across near the root, 600 rings were counted, indicating the age of

¹ 31st January 1488 ; vol. iii. of this work, p. 121.

² Original sasine, dated 4th June 1489, in Douglas Charter-chest.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 165, No. 774 ; 12th January 1464 ; cf. vol. iii. of this work, p. 98.

⁴ Hamilton's Lanark, etc., 1831, p. 65.

⁵ Edinburgh Courant, 14th December 1758.

⁶ New Statistical Account, Lanarkshire, p. 481.

⁷ A. M. in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 145.

the tree.¹ One tree called the Doom Tree stood until 13th October 1861, when it was blown down. A sideboard and several other pieces of furniture were manufactured from the wood. The branch in which the hook was fixed to which the executioner made fast his rope was previously broken off, and part of it containing the hook is preserved at Douglas Castle.

The present Douglas Castle owes its origin to the Duke of Douglas. He employed the celebrated architect, Adam, to construct an edifice becoming his rank and position. The design was that of a main building with two spacious wings, and had it been carried out, Douglas Castle would have been one of the most imposing and magnificent mansions in Scotland. But before one of the wings had been completed the Duke died. His nephew, Archibald Lord Douglas, completed the wing, but no further progress has since been made towards the completion of the design. Pennant visited Douglasdale in 1772, and among some observations on the old and modern castles, gives the inscription on the foundation stone of the latter. It is as follows :—

Hoc latus
Hujus munitissimi Prædii
Familiæ DE DOUGLAS
Ter solo æquati
Et semel atque iterum instaurati
Imperantibus
EDUARDO primo *Angliæ*
Et apud *Scotos* ROBERTO
Primum sic dicto
Tandem surgere cæpit
Novis munitionibus firmatum
Jussu et sumptibus
Serenissimi et potentissimi *Archibaldi*
Ducis de Douglas, etc. etc.
Principis familiæ ejus nominis
In *Scotia* antiquissimæ
Et maxime notabilis
Anno Christi
M DCC LVII.²

¹ Paper by Rev. J. Jamieson, in *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, vol. iii. p. 171.

² Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (1774), vol.

ii. p. 117. If the date is correctly given by Pennant, the erection of the new mansion must have been begun before the destruction of the old castle.

In the grounds around the castle, says the statistical writer, the spirit of improvement has been for a number of years in active and successful operation. The place is every year exhibiting new beauties. An unseemly morass of several acres, in the immediate vicinity of the castle, has been transformed into a large lake ornamented with finely wooded islands. Extensive plantations have been formed in judicious adaptation to the grounds, and in accordance with the older woods. Roads have been made and new lodges built, and great numbers of workpeople are constantly employed in carrying out extensive plans, by which the place is daily improving in value and in beauty.¹

The neighbourhood of Douglas Castle, says the same writer, "has lately acquired a classical though melancholy interest, as being the scene of the last historical romance of Sir Walter Scott," the town and castle of Douglas being the last places he visited, or perhaps intended to visit with a view to publication.² The great novelist, who was then in very feeble health, walked with difficulty, leaning on his staff and his servant as he went slowly from place to place. He wished to depict the scene of Castle Dangerous; and he made such inquiries of the old inhabitants as he was able to visit. A record of the feelings with which it inspired him forms a fitting close to its romantic history. Sir Walter travelled by Yair, Innerleithen, Peebles, and Drochil Castle on to Douglas, to see the ancient stronghold of the race, "whose coronet so often counterpoised the Crown." There, it is said while looking on the ruined castle, "a thousand memories rushed on his brain, and in tears he broke forth in the words of the dying Douglas at Otterburn, feeling perhaps that the soldier's case was his own :

"My wound is deep, I fain would sleep;
Take thou the vanguard of the three,
And hide me by the bracken bush
That grows on yonder lilye lee.

"O bury me by the bracken bush,
Beneath the blooming brier,
Let never living mortal ken
That e'er a kindly Scot lies here."³

OTHER FORTALICES IN DOUGLASDALE.

Beside the "aventurous castell" of Douglas, several other fortresses were scattered throughout the district, to each of which history or tradition attaches some interest. At Parishholm, or Parrockholm, near Cairntable, and not far from the head of the

¹ New Statistical Account, vol. vi. pp. 487, 488, written in 1836.

² *Ibid.* p. 481.

³ History and Poetry of the Scottish Border, by Professor Veitch, pp. 393, 394.

Douglas Water, are the traces of a stronghold, no doubt intended as a protection of the western approaches to Douglasdale. The writer of the statistical account of the parish conjectures that this was probably a fortress of the Douglasses, and suggests that it was here that "the good Sir James lay with his faithful vassals when he so often took occasion to surprise the English garrison at the castle of Douglas."¹ This may have been so, if Sir James felt as his successor, the sixth Earl of Angus, felt, when he exclaimed, "Little knows King Henry the skirts of Kirnetaile; I can keep myself there from all his English hoste."² This was said in 1544, and Cairntable would be even more inaccessible in the days of the Good Sir James.

The statistical writer further states, "About a mile and a half south from Douglas Castle, near the great road to England, are the vestiges of a fort bearing the name of Tothorl Castle. This name appears to be a corruption for Thirlwall Castle, and was probably built as an outpost by Sir Richard de Thurswall or Thirlwall, Lieutenant-governor of Douglas Castle under Sir Robert de Clifford." The same writer says, "A mound still called Boncastle, within the great park to the east of the castle, was probably the site of a similar post of observation."³ About 1780, when Lord Douglas was desirous to get the town of Douglas transferred to Millholm near the base of Boncastle, that mound was fixed on for the site of the parish church, but this project was not carried out.⁴

Another place in the neighbourhood is memorable as the site of the last residence in Scotland of the Good Sir James Douglas, the castle of Douglas being probably then a ruin. It was at the Park of Douglas on St. Bride's Day (1st February) 1330 that the hero, before setting out for the Holy Land, granted certain lands to the monks of Newbattle, for the benefit of his soul.⁵ The "park of Douglas" named in the charter is probably identical with a building, the remains of which are still to be seen a little above Castlemains, on the opposite side of the Park Burn. Foundations can be traced on a plateau measuring sixty yards in length by thirty in breadth. The site is steep on the north-west and south but accessible on the east, and the entrance by a steep way up from the Park Burn is tolerably distinct. There are several very old ash and plane trees on the plateau where the foundations are. The later history of this fort has not been ascertained.

¹ New Statistical Account, vol. vi. p. 484.

² History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, edition 1644, p. 270.

³ Statistical Account, vol. vi. p. 484.

⁴ Cf. Notes by Rev. J. Jamieson, in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. p. 186.

⁵ Registrum de Neubotle, pp. 100, 101.

THE CASTLE OF BUTTLE, IN THE PARISH OF BUTTLE AND STEWARTRY
OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

The well-known antiquary, Captain Grose, visited the remains of this castle in 1789, and has given a drawing of it as it appeared in his day. He thus describes the place: "This ruin was the baronial castle of Butel, built out of the materials of a very ancient castle of the same name. The ancient building, from whose remains this was erected, stood at very small distance. The mount, some scattered fragments of walls, a draw-well, and the surrounding fosse all overgrown with trees, shrubs, and bushes, are the sole remains of this fortress, said to have been considerable when Galloway was an independent state, and afterwards to have been the favourite residence of John Baliol, sometime King of Scotland."¹

In the old Statistical Account of the parish of Buittle it is stated that "The Castle of Buittle is assuredly the most considerable remains of antiquity in the parish. Some have affirmed that it was formerly called the Castle of *Knare, Nare, or Bar-nare*, and was the chief residence of the Reguli of Galloway. . . . Certain it is, however, that the ruins of Buittle Castle denote it to have been a place of strength and even magnificence. The vaults and ditches are all that remain of this proud structure."²

A later writer refers to the building delineated by Grose, as having more of the outline of a strong house than a castle, conveying no appearance of being ancient.³ The same writer states that Buittle Castle is supposed to have been a place of large dimensions and great magnificence, but though the present building does not present such an appearance, the original stronghold may have done so. The original building is described as being situated on rising ground, which looks as if it were artificial, but probably is only a mass of debris covered with earth and turf, the accumulation of years. All that remains in some degree entire, is an archway which may have led to some vaults or an outlet. The ditch is also to be seen. The site is circular in shape, and has been estimated as about 160 to 170 yards round the outside base. The length of time that the castle has been in ruins, is to some extent shown by the timber (principally ash trees) growing among the debris.⁴

This fortress, the ruins of which are now so meagre, and the barony of Buittle, became the property of the Good Sir James Douglas about the year 1325, when they

¹ Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 182. The old castle of Buittle was not far from the great Moat of Urr, which was the principal place of justice for Galloway.

² New Statistical Account, p. 203.

³ Lands and their Owners in Galloway, by P. H. M'Kerlie, vol. iii. p. 239.

⁴ *Ibid. ut supra*, vol. iii. pp. 239-240.

were bestowed by King Robert Bruce upon his faithful follower. The previous history of the castle is obscure. It was at Buittle that Devorgilla, wife of John Baliol of Bernard Castle, resided when in Galloway, and there she signed the regulations for her foundation of Baliol College, Oxford.¹ The fortress was inherited by her as descendant of the lords of Galloway, and it is probable that they were the original founders of the edifice. This is corroborated by a writ issued in 1348 by King Edward the Third, securing to Edward Baliol the quiet possession of Buittle and other lands, which are described as belonging to Baliol's ancestors from King Alexander's days, no memory existing of any other owners of the lands.² Devorgilla's son, the unfortunate King John Baliol, succeeded at his mother's death on 28th January 1290, to Buittle and other possessions in Galloway. His occupation of these, however, was short and unquiet, as he was deprived of his kingdom and his lands in 1296 by the English king, became a captive in the Tower of London, and never returned to Scotland. During that brief space, and while the Maid of Norway was still alive, Galloway was for a short time the scene of civil war, of which no historian takes note, but in which the castle of Buittle was involved. Bruce the competitor, and the Earl of Carrick, his son, after swearing fealty to the Maid of Norway, attacked the castle of Dumfries and expelled the garrison. They then marched to Buittle, where they caused a proclamation to be made within the bailey of the castle, the result of which was that good subjects quitted the land or were banished therefrom. The Bruces also took Wigtown Castle and did other mischief, which was afterwards charged against them by Baliol in his pleadings before King Edward the First.³

In September 1296, after the lands of Baliol were seized by the English king, Henry Percy was appointed warden of Galloway and of the castles of Ayr, Wigtown, Cruggleton, and Buittle.⁴ This arrangement, however, did not long subsist in its integrity, as after the battle of Falkirk in 1298 the unfortunate Baliol's Galloway lands, including Buittle, were granted to Sir John St. John. The country, however, was in such a state of disorder that Sir John could obtain no rent, and in September

¹ *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, by P. H. M'Kerlie, vol. iii. p. 237.

² *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 715. It may have been in Devorgilla's time, which was probably the most flourishing period of the castle's history, that the figure described as dug up near the ruins in 1839, ornamented the old fortress. In that year a labourer working near the site, laid bare "a large

block of red sandstone, on which the figure of a regularly formed female countenance surrounded by ornamental wreaths in bas-relief, is exquisitely carved." [*New Statistical Account*, Buittle parish, p. 209, note.]

³ *Palgrave's Historical Documents*, pp. lxxx, 42.

⁴ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 225.

1300 he received a grant of one thousand marks of land in England to hold till he obtained possession of his Scottish territory.¹ A month later he was ordered to provision the castle, and to give no truce, but to attack the enemy strongly, although this order was probably modified by a treaty made in the end of October.² Sir John was succeeded in 1302 by his son of the same name, who was still constable of Buittle in 1309. He was in charge when, according to Barbour, Sir Ingram de Umfraville and Sir Aymer de Valence, with their men, retreated before the impetuous prowess of Edward Bruce, the brother of King Robert, and took refuge in the castle of Buittle. Bruce did not attack the fortress, but from the battlements the defeated Englishmen watched the victorious Scots triumphantly drive off the cattle of the neighbourhood.³ Other authorities make St. John himself one of the discomfited leaders.⁴

It has been asserted on the authority of Fordun that Buittle was in 1313 taken by King Robert Bruce, and, along with Dalswinton and Dumfries, razed to the ground.⁵ This statement, however, is founded on a mistaken reading, as neither Fordun nor his continuator refer to Buittle, but state that Dalswinton, Dumfries, and Buth or Bute were the fortresses demolished by the king.⁶ The historians add, however, that many other fortalices were so treated, and Buittle may have been partially dismantled, as it is not mentioned in the grant of the barony made to Sir James Douglas in 1325, which is the next recorded reference to the territory in which the castle was situated. The charter gives the boundaries of the barony, which nearly correspond to those of the modern parish of Buittle.⁷

A few years later, after the deaths of King Robert Bruce and of Sir James Douglas, the English king, Edward the Third, again renewed the attack upon the liberties of Scotland, and with his assistance Edward Baliol occupied for a short time the Scottish throne. During this period Baliol made many grants of lands to his adherents, and to the King of England he surrendered Berwick, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, the castles and counties of Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, with other extensive territories, including the whole south-east of Scotland. From this large concession, however, were excepted his own private domains, and a few days after the surrender referred to, Baliol received on 18th July 1334, a letter confirming his possession of the lands of Buittle, Kenmore and Kirkandrews, described as the heritage

¹ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. ii. Nos. 1153, 1615, 1630.

² *Ibid.* Nos. 1164, 1165.

³ Barbour's Bruce, Spalding Club, p. 211.

⁴ Cf. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. i.

p. 249.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 264.

⁶ Fordun, edition 1871, vol. i. p. 346; Fordun, & Goodall, vol. ii. p. 245.

⁷ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 12; cf. Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24.

of Baliol and not of the Crown of Scotland, and they were not comprised in the lands surrendered to the English monarch. But neither in this grant nor in the charter to Sir James Douglas, already quoted, is there any reference to the castle of Buittle.

Twenty years later, the Douglasses were again in possession of the barony of Buittle. About 1348, William, Lord of Douglas (afterwards first Earl), granted to his godfather, William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, the lands of Knokys, Sevenkirks, Kenmore, Logan, and Colenknauc, in the barony of Buittle, in Galloway.¹ Passing over some minor grants, Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, bestowed, in 1406, the lands of the baronies of Buittle and others upon Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, in free regality. Sasine of the lands is to be given at the "chief place of the barony of Buittle," a phrase which seems to imply that the fortress was either demolished or then in ruins. It is referred to, however, in 1441 as the castle of Buittle, and it may have been re-erected or repaired by the Douglasses of Dalkeith, who then held the lands.² From that family, afterwards Earls of Morton, the possession of the lands and barony of Buittle passed under a royal charter in 1535 to Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, and Agnes Stewart, his wife.³ Lord Maxwell, at the time of his death in 1546, resided at the house of Logan, within the barony of Buittle.⁴

The time at which the modern house of Buittle, as existing in Grose's day, was built, has therefore not been ascertained. It may have been erected by the Maxwells, who continued in possession of the lands around the castle, which is now the property of Wellwood-Herries-Maxwell, Esquire of Munches. His predecessor, John Maxwell of Terraughty, who was for a time heir-male and representative of the Earls of Nithsdale, was born there in the year 1720. He was the "old Terraughty" celebrated by Burns in a well-known address to him on his 71st birthday. He died at the patriarchal age of 94.

¹ Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. p. 10. The editor of that work has inadvertently misplaced this writ, as if it were granted by the father of the Good Sir James, but it must have been granted by his nephew about the date named.

² Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. ii. pp. 203-205, 210.

³ Original charter in Lord Herries' Charter-chest.

⁴ The Book of Carlaverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 208.

THRIEVE CASTLE, IN THE PARISH OF BALMAGHIE, AND STEWARTRY
OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

If the history of the castle of Buittle is obscure, it is otherwise with the fortress now to be described. Built by a Douglas, Thrieve Castle was a prominent residence of the family. After the downfall of the Douglases it was held as one of the royal castles, and was in use at a comparatively recent date.

Captain Grose describes the castle as standing upon an island of sixteen Scots acres, formed in the river Dee in Galloway, and consisting of a large square tower built with a small slate-like stone, surrounded at a short distance by an envelope with four round towers, and having a strong gate.¹ A later authority writes:—"The ruins consist of a square tower nearly seventy feet in height, the wall in thickness being eight feet, with part of another outer wall, and three round towers. These were outside the main building."² The islet on which the castle is situated is said to contain about twenty acres, and is ten miles above the estuary of the Dee, or "at the point where the parishes of Balmaghie, Crossmichael, and Kelton meet, one and a half mile west of Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire."³ The square tower which constituted the castle consisted of two upper stories for the family, with an under portion more distinctly defensive in character. The building, besides being on the islet, was also surrounded by a deep moat, with draw-bridge. The door was on a level with the second floor and secured in addition with a portcullis. Above the principal entrance is a stone which projects, used it is understood as a gibbet.⁴ This description shows that the castle was a place of great strength, erected in the simplest style of such fortresses, and well calculated to stand a siege.

This fortalice is said to have been erected by Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, surnamed the Grim, afterwards third Earl of Douglas. There is, so far as has been ascertained, no precise evidence to support this theory, but it is highly probable. Tradition states that the present fortress was the successor of a former castle erected on the isle by the Lords of Galloway, Fergus and his descendants, who in their turn built upon the ruins of an earlier pile. Whether this be so or not, the fortress is not mentioned in history before the time of Sir Archibald Douglas, upon whom, in 1369, King

¹ Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 175, 177.

² *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. iii. p. 147.

³ *Gazetteer of Scotland*, 1851, vol. ii. p. 752, Art. THRIEVE.

⁴ *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. iii. pp. 147, 148.

David the Second bestowed the portion of Galloway from the Nith to the Cree, and who was thenceforth known as the Lord of Galloway.¹ Three years later he purchased from the Earl of Wigtown the remainder of Galloway west of the Cree, called Wigtown, and became lord of the whole territory.² A recent writer states that Sir Archibald Douglas "rebuilt and lived at the castle of Threave, and set to work systematically to reduce all the Galloway barons to a state of vassalage to himself." This has been referred to in the memoir of the third Earl of Douglas.

The same writer alleges that the new over-lord required the landowners to "pay him black-mail in return for his protection. As a part of this system every parish in the province was required to furnish him with a yearly fat heifer for killing and salting at Martinmas, as winter provision for the garrison of Threave. Imprisonment and death were threatened in default."³ This assertion is too sweepingly expressed. The exaction of cattle was customary as a payment for the protection afforded by the castle, and the furnishing of "Lardner mart kine," as they were called, was continued to the various keepers of the castle until 1747, when heritable jurisdictions were abolished.⁴ But it may be doubted whether it was not the Crown who imposed the dues in question as part of the fee for keeping up the castle. In any case the tax was levied by the Crown after 1455, down to 1523, when the family of Maxwell became hereditary keepers of the fortress. They in turn levied the cattle down to the year 1747, as already stated. Other castles in the south of Scotland, including Lochmaben, received larder mart kine towards their maintenance.

Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, was residing at Thrieve when he died in 1400. This castle was also the favourite residence of his daughter-in-law, the Princess Margaret, Duchess of Touraine. After the death of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, she received from her brother, King James the First, in 1426, a grant for her lifetime of the lordship of Galloway, as held by her late husband and father-in-law.⁵ Proceeding to her new territory, the Duchess, it is said, "took up her residence with feudal pomp at the old castle of Threave."⁶ Here she kept her state for many years, granting charters of lands to vassals and others, all dated from "Le Treif."⁷ Under this lady's sway, the fortress on the islet probably wore a more peaceful aspect than during any

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. i. p. 69, pp. 176, 177.
No. 233.

² *Ibid.* p. 114, No. 5.

³ *The Agnews of Lochnaw*, by Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., M.P., 1864, pp. 49, 51.

⁴ *Grose's Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. ii.

⁵ 3d May 1426, *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. p. 9, No. 47.

⁶ *The Agnews of Lochnaw*, p. 56.

⁷ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. Nos. 86, 87, 133, 183, 235.

earlier portion of its history. The Duchess survived until about 1450. In 1440, after the deaths of the sixth Earl of Douglas and his brother, the lordship of Galloway was inherited by their sister, Margaret Douglas, known as the "Fair Maid of Galloway," who was heir of line. This girl, then little more than a child, was wedded in 1444 to her second cousin William, eighth Earl of Douglas, who, through his wife, became Lord of Galloway, and the castle of Thrieve passed under a sterner sway than that of the Duchess. According to tradition, the "gallows knob" now rarely lacked its "tassel," and the castle on the isle, so far from the seat of government, witnessed, it is alleged, more than one act of contempt for the royal authority, as well as of conspiracy against the Crown. Not only the meaner class of plunderers suffered from the Earl's vengeance, but even men of baronial rank. Sir John Herries of Terregles, a neighbouring laird, was hanged as a common thief, notwithstanding royal intercession on his behalf. It is stated that having made an inroad with his followers upon the lands of Douglas in revenge for some depredations, the Earl routed his party and took Herries prisoner at a place still called "Herries' slaughter," near Kirkeudbright, on the old road to Dumfries.¹ Other high-handed acts of a similar nature have been alleged against the eighth Earl of Douglas which have been referred to in his memoir. It may here be repeated, however, that he was lieutenant-general, and so responsible for the peace of the south of Scotland.

The castle of Thrieve entered on another phase of its existence in the year 1455, when it came into the hands of the Crown on the forfeiture of the Earls of Douglas. It was the last of their fortresses which held out against the royal forces. The traditional account of the military operations at the Thrieve is given at considerable length in the statistical account of the parish of Kelton. It is stated that King James the Second, having resolved to conduct the siege of this place in person, marched into Galloway with a large army, took up a position at "the Three Horns of the Carlinwark," near Castle Douglas, and commenced the siege. Observing that the royal artillery made little impression on the castle, a neighbouring blacksmith, named M·Kim or M·Minn offered, if supplied with material, to construct a more efficient piece of ordnance. The king accepted his proposal, and the smith and his sons soon produced the famous cannon known as *Mons Mey*. When completed, this formidable engine, described as weighing six tons and a half, "was dragged to a commanding position, since called *Knockcannon*, right in front of Threave Castle. . . . It was discharged with such effect that the first shot produced the greatest consternation among the inmates of the castle, and the second shot went through the

¹ Statistical Account of Kirkeudbright, p. 12.

thick walls, and carried away the right hand of the countess, the celebrated Fair Maid of Galloway, as she sat at table within the banqueting hall and was about to raise the wine-cup to her lips. The castle immediately surrendered."

The writer of this account supports the accuracy of his narrative by three proofs—the first ball from Meg, which was picked out of the castle wall towards the end of last century, the second ball, found in 1841, in clearing out the draw-well of the fortress, and lastly, a massive gold ring, found when the castle was being prepared for the reception of French prisoners. This ring was inscribed "Margaret de Douglas," and was supposed to have been on the Fair Maid of Galloway's hand when it was blown off at the siege. The writer further asserts that the ball which made the hole in the wall of Thrieve Castle, and those which are shown in the castle of Edinburgh, as pertaining to Mons Meg, are of Galloway granite, and that they were hewn from the granite of Bennan hill in the parish of Kells, and not far from Thrieve, while the gun was in process of forging.¹

The true history of the siege of Thrieve Castle, so far as can be gathered from authentic sources, does not bear out the traditional narrative in all points, and certainly throws much doubt on the popular tale of Mons Meg and her Galloway origin. As narrated in the memoir of the ninth Earl of Douglas, King James the Second, about the first week of April 1455, commenced a siege of Abercorn Castle, which after a month's stout resistance was taken by escalade, and dismantled. The castles of Douglas and Strathavon then surrendered at the king's mercy. He was occupied with a meeting of Parliament on 9th June, and he wrote to the king of France, on 8th July, that the siege of Thrieve was then being prosecuted by the royal forces.²

The king, therefore, could not have been present during the early part of the siege, but he took command in person at a later date, fixing his residence, for a time at least, at the Abbey of Tongland.³ The siege began previous to the meeting of Parliament, and was still progressing when the king wrote in July. The details of the attack on the castle cannot be gathered from any record now extant, but the Exchequer rolls show that in his attacks on the Douglas strongholds, the king used very heavy artillery.

¹ Statistical Account of Kirkcudbrightshire, pp. 157-159. Another writer confirms the account of the finding of the ball in 1841, and also of a gold ring. The ball is stated to be about 19 inches in diameter, which agrees with the calibre of "Mons Meg." Nothing is said of an inscription on the ring [*Ibid.* pp. 182, 183]. Cf. The Agnews of Lochnaw, p. 82.

² Letter, King James II. to Charles VII. of France, Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 486.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. p. 208. He probably made the Abbey his head-quarters, though a small tent, paid for by the customars of Edinburgh, to be used at the siege of Thrieve, was set apart for the king's occupancy on the field.



The traditional narrative of the forging of "Mons Meg" is discredited by the fact that large siege guns were known and used in Scotland long before this date, one at least of immense size, imported from Flanders in 1430, being known as the "Lion."¹ Other heavy guns or "bombards" were also obtained from the same source.² In 1452, the tower of Haltoun or Hatton in Midlothian belonging to William Lauder, an adherent of William, eighth Earl of Douglas, was besieged by King James the Second, and among other warlike engines used was "the king's great bombard," which required four carriages for its transport, with stones for ball.³ According to the Auchinleck Chronicle, a "great gun" was used to batter down the towers of Abercorn.⁴

The same or similar heavy ordnance was brought to bear upon the Thrieve, and so important was the enterprise of transporting the artillery that the Earl of Orkney, then Chancellor of Scotland, himself accompanied the "great bombard" on its journey from Linlithgow to Thrieve. John Weir, burgess of Linlithgow, and Friar Andrew Lisours, the king's carpenter, also had charge of it and the other ordnance, with their necessary apparatus, including iron, gun-stones, etc.⁵ Whether or not the large cannon thus conveyed with so much labour to Thrieve was "Mons" cannot be stated with certainty, but there is much probability in a suggestion which has been made that they were identical. "Mons" appears for the first time under that name in 1489, as being on its way to the siege of Dumbarton or Duchal, and from that date onwards is more than once referred to in various official documents.⁶ If, as the writer of the statistical account asserts, the balls shown as those pertaining to Mons Meg are really of Galloway granite, this adds to the probability that the great bombard which was carried to Thrieve, was actually "Mons," as there is an entry of so much paid for "gun-stones," which were probably supplied from the neighbourhood. The "great bombard" after being in use at Thrieve was brought back to Linlithgow.⁷ There is, however, no authentic evidence to show what effect the great bombard had upon the walls of Thrieve. Perhaps the place capitulated under persuasions more gentle than those of the artillery, as the accounts of the king's Chamberlain for the year following the

¹ Fordun, à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 490. According to Bower this piece of ordnance was of brass, and cannot therefore be identified with Mons Meg.

² Exchequer Rolls, vol. iv. pp. 677, 681.

³ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 606.

⁴ Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i., Preface, p. cxcix.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. pp. 200-202. "The recorded payments directly connected with the bombards, including their conveyance to and from the siege, exceed £110." [*Ibid.* Preface, p. xxxiv.]

⁶ Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. ccxxii, 115.

⁷ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. p. 200.

siege, show various payments or allowances made to the steward of Thrieve Castle, and other persons therein at the time of its delivery.¹

Immediately on its surrender, the king committed the castle to Sir Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll, to be held for the Crown, and it was one of those fortresses inalienably annexed to the royal patrimony in August 1455.² Sir Alexander Boyd was succeeded or superseded in his office of Constable of Thrieve, by William Edmonstone, a cousin of the king, during whose term of office the arsenal or "house of artillery" was repaired and "bombards" forwarded from Kirkcubright to the Thrieve, probably to be used in defence of the fortress.³ Captain Grose, in his account of the ruins, states that the curtains of the outer wall or envelope of the castle were pierced for guns, but this may have been the work of a later period.⁴

The castle of Thrieve, with the lordship of Galloway, formed part of the jointure of successive Queens of Scotland from 1473, when it was conferred on Margaret of Denmark, Queen of King James the Third.⁵ On 26th November 1513, Queen Margaret, widow of King James the Fourth, conferred on Robert, Lord Maxwell, tutor to the young king, a grant for nineteen years of the custody of the castle, conjoined with the office of Steward of Kirkcubright.⁶ Some years later, in 1526, these offices were confirmed to him and his heirs, and the Lords Maxwell, afterwards Earls of Nithsdale, thus became hereditary keepers of the island stronghold.⁷

In 1542, after the defeat of the Scots at Solway, and the capture of Lord Maxwell and other nobles, King Henry the Eighth obtained from his prisoners a promise to acknowledge him as Lord Superior of the kingdom of Scotland, and to put certain castles into his hands. The English king had a special desire to possess the fortresses under Lord Maxwell's care—Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrieve. But the Scottish government compelled Lord Maxwell's son Robert, Master of Maxwell, to bind himself to keep those houses for the Queen of Scots. Lord Maxwell, however, surrendered Carlaverock to the English, but on 21st November 1545, the Governor of Scotland

¹ Exchequer Rolls, pp. 199, 203, 204.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 42.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. vi. pp. 203, 208, 455, 456.

⁴ Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 177.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 233, No. 1143.

⁶ Original in Lord Herries' Charter-chest.

In a MS. History of the Maxwells it is stated that Lord Maxwell was admiral of a fleet passing to France, and being driven to the coast of Kirkcubright by stress of weather, the second day after Flodden, hearing of that disaster, he seized the castles of Thrieve and Lochmaben in the king's name. [Book of Carlaverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 173.]

⁷ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 391.

and other lords, mustered their forces at Dumfries, and laid siege to Lochmaben and Thrieve, which were held by Lord Maxwell's sons. The castles surrendered in a few days, and were placed under new custodiers, the Laird of Garlies being made Captain of Thrieve.¹

From this date the castle changed hands several times, being now in the hands of the Crown, and again in possession of its hereditary keepers, until the year 1638, when, with other castles, it was held by Robert, Earl of Nithsdale, a steady supporter of King Charles the First in that monarch's dispute with his Scottish subjects. In January 1639, the Earl supplied the Thrieve with arms and ammunition, and garrisoned it with seventy men. A year later, in March 1640, upon a hint from the king, the Earl again furnished it and his other castles with men, arms, and provisions, the garrison now numbering one hundred soldiers. This was no sooner done than a body of troops was sent by the Scottish Committee of Estates to besiege the fortress. The commander of this force was Lieutenant-colonel John Home, who brought powerful batteries to bear upon both the castles held by the Earl, Carlaverock and Thrieve. Notwithstanding the vigour with which the siege was prosecuted, the defenders held out bravely for thirteen weeks, and only capitulated after the Earl of Nithsdale received two letters from King Charles, authorising surrender of both castles.²

The Covenanters then placed a garrison in Thrieve, but, for strategic purposes, soon afterwards resolved to dismantle the building, that it might not again be garrisoned against them. A neighbouring proprietor, the Laird of Balmaghie, was instructed to carry out the work of demolition. The slate roof of the house, and the battlements were to be taken down, with the lofting, doors, and windows; the whole ironwork was to be taken out, and the vault was to be stopped up. The timber, stones, and iron-work were to be disposed of for the use of the public. It is stated that Thrieve Castle was repaired in the beginning of the present century as a barrack for French prisoners.

According to a local antiquary, an interesting relic of this ancient fortress was in existence at a very recent date. It may be described in his own words. "The only relic of the family of Douglas in Galloway that has reached our times, so far as my information extends, is part of an oaken bedstead, well authenticated to have been the principal one in the castle of Thrieve, and said to have been that of Black Douglas

¹ The Book of Carlaverock, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. 187, 197, 202.

² *Ibid.* pp. 353-357. "Eight small stone balls, four of them $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. each, four about

1 lb. each, and a gold ring, were found in the castle of Threave, in the summer of 1843, by some labourers." [Statistical Account of Kirkeudbrightshire, p. 182.]

(Archibald the Grim) himself. It is one of the old closet kind of beds to be seen yet in some remote farm houses in Galloway. The back and ends are of wood, and it seems to have had sliding doors in front, but they are gone. The parts that remain are entirely covered with carved figures of men and beasts, so rudely executed, as to bespeak its high antiquity. Busts of the various Earls of the family in their robes and coronets are placed in the foreground, and surmounted by troopers caparisoned agreeable to the Act of James I., Parliament 9, cap. 122 [with action, basnet and gloves, spear and sword].

“The infantry are evidently equipped in strict accordance with the Act James IV., Parliament 6, cap. 87,¹ [a good spear or a good bow with a sheaf (24) of arrows]. . . The dragoons are mounted on weasel-like chargers, each man in full panoply, and all performing different evolutions,—one is in the act of shouldering his spear, another drawing his claymore, and a third cutting down the enemy. The first foot soldier bears the *handsengie* (standard), to which is attached a forked streamer with a St. Andrew’s Cross. The national banner is supported by a sturdy billman,—next comes an archer with his bow bent, and carrying in his belt his sheaf of arrows—and their various *Rant*-men and *Gillies*. The piper is a conspicuous person in this motley group by the size of his cheeks, which appear extended to an extraordinary size, by pressing wind into his instrument. He is accompanied by a Paganini-like personage playing on a one-stringed fiddle. The drummer, too, is a person of distinction—he is represented as on a march, his drum being unbraced and slung over his shoulder by a belt; but a variety of sword and morris dancers seem more actively employed, being represented in all the zany buffoon attitudes of such performers.” The writer concludes: “Although this ancient bed cannot be, with any degree of certainty, traced back for a longer period than 386 years, its rude workmanship is indicative of higher antiquity. The figures are as rudely executed as the effigies on the coin of Alexander III., but the framework carving by which they are surrounded, and the ornamental panels below, are done in better taste and with more regularity.”²

¹ The quotations given have not been found in the Acts of Parliament at the dates indicated, but the description of the arms of horse and foot corresponds word for word with the provisions of an Act of King Robert Bruce in 1318. Similar, but not identical Acts were passed in the reigns of King James I. in 1425, and of King James IV. in 1491.

[Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 473; vol. ii. pp. 10, 226.]

² Communicated by Mr. Joseph Train of Castle Douglas, in whose possession the bed was, to the Statistical Account of the parish of Balmaghie. Statistical Account of Kirkcudbrightshire, pp. 183, 184, note.

BOTHWELL CASTLE, IN THE PARISH OF BOTHWELL, LANARKSHIRE.

This stronghold did not come into the possession of the family of Douglas until about 1365, but it was then a fortress of considerable antiquity, and had prominently figured in Scottish history. The remains of the fortress have been described as "perhaps the most magnificent ruin in Scotland." The castle is of an oblong form, the front wall extending about two hundred and thirty-four feet along the summit of the bank of the Clyde, upon which it stands, and terminated at each end by a lofty tower, while the breadth of the building is ninety-nine feet.¹ The founder and age have not been ascertained, but the barony of Bothwell was in possession of Walter Olifard, justiciar of Lothian, who died in the year 1242.² He, or one of his predecessors, who were prominent barons in the time of Kings David the First and William the Lion, may have been the founder.

The barony then passed by marriage into the family of Moray, and was possessed by Sir William Moray, Panetarius of Scotland, who died in the year 1300 while a prisoner on parole in England. During the struggle between King Edward the First and the Scots, Bothwell Castle was for a time held by an English garrison, under Stephen Brampton. About 1299 the place was besieged by the Scots for about fourteen months, and only surrendered to assault after the defenders were reduced to starvation and most of them slain. It was then held by the Scots until September 1301, when King Edward himself invested it with a large force, and the fortress was given up to him. He then granted the castle and barony of Bothwell to Sir Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; and from the king's writ it is evident that the castle was in existence some time previous to 1296. Sir Aymer garrisoned it with a small force, and it was in English custody in May 1306.³ Part of the building is still called the Valence tower, and is traditionally attributed to Aymer de Valence during his occupancy. Another tower is called the Douglas tower.

According to Barbour, Bothwell Castle was in 1314 held on behalf of the English king by Sir Walter Fitz Gilbert, ancestor of the family of Hamilton, who was one of those who swore fealty in 1296. After the defeat of the English army at Bannockburn, the Earl of Hereford, retreating from the field with his detachment, sought

¹ Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 788.

² Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, vol. i. p. 148.

³ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. ii. Nos. 1093, 1214, 1224, 1235, 1324, 1337, 1768, 1867.

refuge in the castle, which was one of the strongest in English hands. Only the Earl himself, however, and fifty of his men were admitted, and not long after, when Sir Edward Bruce appeared with a strong force to besiege the fortress, it was surrendered to him with the prisoners and all its contents.¹ After the battle of Halidon in 1333, when Scotland was overrun by King Edward the Third, the castle of Bothwell again fell into English hands, and the king himself resided there from 18th November to 16th December 1336 ;² but in the following March it was retaken by the Scots under Sir Andrew Moray, and dismantled.

From that time the castle disappears from history until it came into possession of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, by his marriage with Joanna Moray, heiress of Bothwell. He probably rebuilt or added to the castle of Bothwell, which was his favourite residence.

The castle of Bothwell remained in possession of the Earls of Douglas until 1455, when James, ninth Earl, was forfeited by Parliament. It was afterwards granted by the Crown to the second Lord Crichton, then to John Ramsay of Terrinzean, who was created Lord Bothwell, and later to Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, who was created Earl of Bothwell. Subsequently, in the time of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, and as narrated in his memoir, the castle and barony of Bothwell returned to the family of Douglas.³ Various armorial stones have been found among the ruins, some bearing the stars and heart (uncrowned) of Douglas, others the stars of Moray, and others showing the lion of Galloway. It is said that a great part of the ruin was taken down by Archibald, Earl of Forfar, who possessed the barony for a time, and utilised the stones in building the adjacent modern mansion, which was afterwards improved and partly rebuilt by the first Lord Douglas, and is now inherited by the Earl of Home.

¹ Barbour's Bruce, edition 1820, book 9.

² *Fædera*, vol. ii. pp. 951-955.

³ Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 92, 93.

TANTALLON CASTLE, IN THE PARISH OF NORTH BERWICK,
HADDINGTONSHIRE.

The date of erection of this stronghold, which has by Sir Walter Scott been so indissolubly linked with the Earls of Angus, is unknown. As the Earls of Fife, about 1153, were the founders and chief patrons of the nunnery of North Berwick, as well as the owners of the barony of that name, it has been supposed that they were also the founders of the neighbouring fortress of Tantallon. No reference to it has been found on record earlier than 1374, when it was in possession of William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar. His residence there from that date until the close of his life was frequent, and he was succeeded in the ownership of the castle and barony of North Berwick by his son, James, second Earl of Douglas and Mar.

From the proceedings which followed on the death of Earl James at Otterburn, we learn that the Douglases held Tantallon and the neighbouring barony under Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife, as their superior, which corroborates the supposition that the Earls of Fife were the original builders of the castle. After the death of the second Earl of Douglas, Tantallon did not pass to his successor the third Earl, but remained in the hands of the Earl of Fife, who granted permission to Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus, to reside in the place as long as she pleased. She appears to have made Tantallon her chief residence during her widowhood as Countess of Mar and Angus, and her descendants, the Earls of Angus, seem to have retained possession of the stronghold. The first extant Crown charter granting to them the castle and barony of Tantallon is dated in 1452,¹ but Bower implies that the Earls of Angus were castellans of Tantallon in 1425 and 1427.² They were wardens of the eastern marches of Scotland, and Tantallon was their most convenient fortress.

This castle remained with the Earls of Angus and was linked with their varied fortunes, as detailed in their memoirs. In 1528, after an ineffectual siege on the part of King James the Fifth, the sixth Earl of Angus surrendered the stronghold to the Crown. After the death of that king, and the restoration of the Douglases in 1543, the castle returned to its former owners. It was when Tantallon was still in its full strength, and in possession of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, that the famous interview between him and Marmion is supposed to have taken place. As the castle is described it appears in all its ancient splendour.

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. ii. No. 584.

² *Fordun, à Goodall*, vol. ii. pp. 483, 488.

“. . . Tantallon vast,
 Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
 And held impregnable in war.
 On a projecting rock it rose,
 And round three sides the ocean flows,
 The fourth did battled walls enclose,
 And double mound and fosse;
 By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
 Through studded gates, an entrance long,
 To the main court they cross.
 It was a wide and stately square,
 Around were lodgings fit and fair,
 And towers of various form,
 Which on the coast projected far
 And broke its lines quadrangular;
 Here was square keep, there turret high,
 Or pinnacle that sought the sky,
 Whence oft the warder could descry
 The gathering ocean-storm.”¹

The sixth Earl of Angus died at Tantallon, and the eighth Earl resided there occasionally; but, from the time of the ninth Earl, the fortress was disused as a residence. This result was partly brought about by the union of the Crowns, which led to peace on the Borders, and the later Earls of Angus and Marquises of Douglas preferred to reside at the castle of Douglas.

It has been asserted that Tantallon was attacked and garrisoned by the Covenanters in 1639 because the Marquis of Douglas was a royalist. But this statement seems to apply only to Douglas Castle; Tantallon was at that time in the hands of Archibald Lord Angus, who was a Covenanter. It was in February 1651 that Tantallon was invested by an English force, and surrendered only after a twelve days' siege and bombardment by heavy artillery. The governor was Captain Alexander Seton, who defended the fortress gallantly. The besiegers succeeded in making a wide breach, and filled a dry fosse with the battered wall. They then entered by storm, but Seton and his men retired to the keep, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Their opponents, however, respected their bravery, and offered quarter, which was accepted.² The castle, however, was plundered, which accounts for the meagre furniture found in it in the year 1670.³

¹ Marmion, Canto v., Stanza 33.

² Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 249. The surrender took place at 4 P.M. on 21st February 1651. Cromwell himself is said to

have commanded the besieging force, but this is not certain.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 343; cf. vol. ii. p. 439.

The building was never repaired, but it remained in a habitable condition until the sale of the barony, in 1699, to Lord President Sir Hew Dalrymple, when it was allowed finally to become a ruin. Its remains are still massive, but the sea has effected great inroads upon it. In 1839 when less injured by the elements, it is thus described—"Its form is an irregular hexagon. The outward structure is comparatively entire; the walls are of enormous thickness. The only approach is from the west, which was defended by towers of a very massive construction, and two ditches intervened—the inner one of uncommon depth. The entrance was over a drawbridge. Above the entrance there still remains sculptured on a stone shield, though now much effaced, the memorable emblem of the bloody heart, the well-known ensign of the Douglasses. The interior exhibits a labyrinth of inaccessible chambers and broken staircases; the walls of the buildings remain all unroofed, of great size and extent, and arched gloomy vaults beneath them. There are several dismal subterraneous dungeons;" one of these being "outside the castle at the north-west angle, and only recently discovered; it is conjectured to have been the dungeon-keep of the guard-house."¹

Besides the five great castles now noticed, which appear most prominently in the history of the Douglas family, they held the fortresses of Hermitage, in Liddesdale,² Abercorn in Linlithgow, and Aberdour or Dundarg in Buchan, while Rutherglen, Bedrule, and other towers dominated some of their smaller baronies.

¹ New Statistical Account, vol. ii., Haddingtonshire, p. 329.

² As shown in the memoir of the fifth Earl of Angus, Hermitage passed from the

Douglasses in 1491, and now belongs to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch. [It is described in *The Scotts of Buccleuch*, by William Fraser, vol. i. pp. lviii, lix.]

ST. BRIDE'S CHURCH OF DOUGLAS.

A memorial of the ancestral stronghold of the family of Douglas would be incomplete without a reference to the church under whose roof their remains repose. The church of Douglas is mentioned so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was then a free benefice in the patronage of the Lords of Douglasdale. Freskin of Douglas was appointed parson of Douglas between 1203 and 1222, when his brother Brice was Bishop of Moray. The benefice is enumerated in Baiamund's Roll in 1275 as one of those in the diocese of Glasgow within the jurisdiction of the Cathedral chapter, and is described as the rectory of Douglas, valued at xiiij lib. vi s. viij d.¹ Another statement of its value, some years later, is found in a letter written to King Edward the First from Berwick on 24th July 1297. The writer, whose name is unknown, after a short summary of the state of affairs in Scotland, recommends that the church of Douglas be conferred upon Hugh of Cressingham, then acting as Treasurer in Scotland for the English king.² The church, says the writer, "is well worth 200 merks, as I have heard"—an estimate which shows that the benefice was a desirable one.

Archdeacon Barbour, in his account of that memorable Palm Sunday, when Sir James Douglas made his first attempt to regain his ancestral castle from the English, states that the church of Douglas was dedicated to St. Bride—or Bridget—who thus became the patron saint of the Douglasses. A more reliable authority is a charter by Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, dated at Douglas, 7th March 1484, where the church is described as the parochial church of St. Bride of Douglas.³ Sir Walter Scott in his novel "Castle Dangerous," describes the church of Douglas as an "ancient Gothic pile raised on an eminence in the centre of the town, and even then extremely ruinous." Sir Walter also refers to the Abbot of St. Bride's and a small convent of monks and nuns presided over by him. These personages, however, had no existence save in the imagination of the novelist. No evidence can be found of any conventual institution. The church of Douglas was, as stated, only a parsonage or rectory in the diocese of Glasgow.⁴

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, preface, p. lxiv.

² Stevenson's Historical Documents, vol. ii. p. 205.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 1568.

⁴ It is stated that about the middle of the

fifteenth century a proposal was made to erect the parish church of Douglas into a collegiate church, and that a petition to that effect was presented to the Roman See, but that though the Pope's consent was obtained, the proposal was never carried out. This

The rectory of Douglas, between 1401 and 1432, was erected into a prebend of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. It is not named among the prebends enumerated as attached to that church in 1401, but in 1432, special regulations were made as to divine worship in the choir, and the prebend of Douglas was taxed £5 yearly towards defraying expenses. It was also provided that any canon evading payment of the sum exacted should have no vote or place in the chapter, nor the use of his stall in the choir during divine service, neither should he have honour among the brethren, with other penalties. Besides this each canon was to have a fit vicar or *stallarius*, to whom he should pay an annual salary—the vicar of the prebendary of Douglas receiving eleven merks yearly.¹ From a visitation of the chapter of Glasgow in the year 1501, it would appear that the canon then holding the prebend of Douglas duly kept his residence.²

During the fifteenth century, at least two chaplainries were endowed within the church of Douglas. A recent writer refers to a charter dated in 1460, in which a parish chaplain of Douglas appears as a witness, proving that at that date such an appointment existed.³ Later evidence shows that there were at least two altars within the church before which masses were said. On 7th March 1484, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, granted two oxgangs of land in the Scrogtoun of Douglas, in pure alms, for one chaplain to celebrate divine service at the altar of the Virgin Mary, on the north side of the parish church of St. Bride of Douglas.⁴ William Purdie seems then to have held the office, and was also chaplain on 16th June 1506, when the same Earl added another oxgang to those already given.⁵ In the year 1536, while Douglasdale and other estates of the Earl of Angus were forfeited to King James the Fifth, his Majesty presented John Purves as chaplain to the altar of St. Thomas, in the church of Douglas, in room of the former chaplain, John Inglis, deceased. These altars, of St. Thomas and St. Mary, stood, it is believed, respectively on the south and north sides of the church, most probably at the end of the aisles.⁶

statement, however, seems to refer, not to Douglas, but to the collegiate church of Dunglas which was erected about that time. In a charter dated in 1489, and another dated in 1499, the church of Douglas is referred to as a Provostry, but in no later writ, and no other indications of its collegiate character have been found. [Origines Parochiales, vol. i. 153; Priory of Coldingham (Surtees Society), p. 236; Vol. iii. of

this work, pp. 121, 169.]

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, pp. 299, 345-347. ² *Ibid.* p. 612.

³ G. V. I., in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, ii. p. 39.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 333, No. 1586.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 632, No. 2974.

⁶ The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 39.

Of the appearance of the ancient church of St. Bride of Douglas, no very accurate idea can be formed, as, like the castle, it has more than once been rebuilt or restored. Pennant, who visited the church in 1772, says nothing of its appearance. Blore, who included some of the tombs at Douglas in his work on sepulchral monuments in 1826, thus writes:—"Little remains of the old church of Douglas except an aisle, which appears to have been built about the middle of the fourteenth century as a burial place for the ancient family of Douglas." There is also, he adds, a small adjoining belfry.¹ Another and recent writer also expresses the opinion that "the architectural style of the existent portions of the church is decidedly that of the latter part of the fourteenth century." The same author, while admitting that there is unquestionable historical evidence that the site was occupied by a church much older than the existing remains, a small piece of its wall being still visible at the base of the tower, suggests that the church was rebuilt by Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, about 1390.²

This suggestion is corroborated by both history and tradition. Barbour states that Sir James Douglas was interred with much care in the church of Douglas, and that his son, Sir Archibald, afterwards caused a tomb of alabaster to be erected over his remains. Barbour does not say when this was done, but it must have been before his own death, which took place about 13th March 1395.³ Sir Archibald Douglas succeeded to the Douglas estates in 1389, and probably raised the monument to his father sometime between these two dates. It is not improbable that, to protect the tomb, he also repaired or restored the church. Tradition states that the masons who were employed on the building went thence to assist in finishing the cathedral of Glasgow,⁴ the spire of which had been destroyed by a conflagration about 1388, and preparations for its restoration were begun before Bishop Matthew's death in 1408.⁵ Without laying too much weight on the tradition, it is known that Sir Archibald Douglas founded the collegiate church of Bothwell, added to the abbey of Lincluden, and showed his zeal for the church in other ways. These facts render it not unlikely that as he erected his father's monument so he also restored the church in which it stood.

Hamilton of Wishaw, writing about 1700, states that the town of Douglas "heth

¹ Monumental Remains, by Edward Blore, F.S.A., 1826, No. 5.

² G. V. I. in Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55. These remarks were written about 1863, before the restora-

tion of the church.

³ Barbour's Bruce, Spalding Club, p. 457, and preface.

⁴ Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. p. 54.

⁵ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, p. xl.

ane handsome church," and a writer already quoted, one who lived long in the district, contributes some particulars to the later history of the edifice. He says, "After the Reformation, two-thirds of St. Bride's Church was appropriated to the service of the Protestant religion, and continued to be the parish church till 1781, when a new church was ordered on an eminence on the east side of the village. A part of the ruins was converted into the Baron jail and court-house, after the Kirkton of Douglas had been made a burgh of barony, sometime before 1668.¹ The heaviest stroke fell upon St. Bride's church after it ceased to be a place of worship. Much of it was pulled down to raise the walls of the parish church. . . . If the chancel had not contained sepulchral monuments belonging to the house of Douglas, the whole of the building would have been swept away. . . . There are some very old houses on the south of St. Bride's church. The lower storey of some of them is arched. These houses were connected with the church."²

The remains of St. Bride's church consist of the choir or chancel, which has been recently restored, and the south aisle, which is in ruins. The choir is forty feet long and seventeen feet six inches broad; the aisle being thirty-five feet six inches long and thirteen feet six inches broad, with two pointed arches on the nave side, and lighted by lancet windows. No remains of the nave exist, but it is believed to have been seventy-three feet six inches long, by twenty feet broad. Various indications of Norman architecture are to be found among the stones in the neighbourhood of the building. The architecture of the south aisle belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century, and that of the choir to the early part of the fourteenth century.³

Besides the mother church of St. Bride, the parish of Douglas possessed several chapels. There was one at Parishholm, where was the fortress already referred to, and the chaplain serving the cure had a grant of the adjoining lands. Various other chapels are known to have existed in the district, as at Andershaw, and elsewhere in Douglas. In Carmichael parish also, there are indications of more than one religious foundation. Little, however, is known of these, and the traditions in some cases are doubtful.⁴

¹ This is somewhat indefinite, as Douglas was erected, along with Kirriemuir and Abernethy, into a burgh of barony in 1458. The use of the building referred to may have been during the Commonwealth.

² Paper by Rev. J. Jamieson in Upper

Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. iii. p. 189.

³ Notes furnished by R. Rowand Anderson, LL.D., architect.

⁴ Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, vol. ii. pp. 8, 55, 56.

DOUGLAS TOMBS AND MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCH
OF ST. BRIDE'S, DOUGLAS.

Around the walls in the interior of this chancel are several monuments, which in their pristine beauty must have been objects of great admiration. But time's "corroding tooth," and what is more to be lamented, the vandalism of wanton or thoughtless persons, have defaced and mutilated these splendid memorials. The chief cause of the dilapidation is said to have been the mischievous violence of the soldiers of the Commonwealth, or at least of the English soldiery who for some time garrisoned Douglas Castle. The remains, however, have been identified, as far as possible, with the following results.

The earliest monument is the effigy of a female in a recumbent posture on the south wall of the aisle, between the altar and the priest's door. The costume is representative of the thirteenth century, and the figure is supposed to be an effigy of Marjory of Abernethy, the wife of Hugh of Douglas, in the year 1259.

The next recorded burial was that of the bones of the good Sir James, which were brought from Spain, and, as Barbour relates, interred in St. Bride's with befitting honours.

" And the banis richt honorabilly
Intill the Kirk of Douglas war
Erdit with dule and mekill car.
Schir Archebald his sone gert syn
Of alabast bath far and fyn
Ordane ane tumb full richly,
As it behufit to sa worthy."¹

The monument in St. Bride's assigned to Sir James Douglas is on the north wall of the aisle. It is the only one corresponding to the character of Sir James. But it is not composed of alabaster. It has already been described in the memoir of Sir James Douglas, where also a representation of it is given.² The heart of Sir James was also buried here, and portions of a leaden case in which it is said to have been enclosed are still preserved in the chancel.

Another monument, situated also on the north side of the aisle, to the east of that of Sir James Douglas, is that of Archibald, second Duke of Touraine, and fifth Earl of Douglas, who flourished from about 1390 to 1439. The monument has already been described, and a representation of it given.³ It consists of a large and

¹ Barbour's Bruce, p. 487.

² Vol. i. of this work, pp. 181, 182.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 419, 420.

richly ornamented arch, adorned with the armorial bearings of the deceased, whose effigy reposes on a large slab at the base of the structure. Around the margin of the slab is the following inscription :—

Hic · jacet · Dominus · Archibaldus · Douglas · Dux ·
 Thronie · Comes · de · Douglas · et · Tongebille · Dominus ·
 Gallovidie · et · Wigton · et · Annandie · locum · tenens ·
 Regis · Scotie · obiit · xxvi · die · mensis · ibnii · anno ·
 Domini · millesimo · quadringentesimo · trigesimo · octavo · [nono]

A fourth monument is that erected to James, seventh Earl of Douglas, and his Countess, on the south side of the aisle, and to the west of the priest's entrance. It is of exquisite workmanship, and presents effigies not only of the Earl and Beatrix Sinclair, his Countess, but also relieves of their ten children. This tomb has already been referred to, and a representation given.¹ The following inscriptions are upon this monument :—

Hic jacet magnus et potens princeps Dominus Jacobus de Douglas, Dux Tourenie et Comes de Douglas, Dominus Annandie, Gallovidie, Liddalie, Jedburgh-Forestie, et Dominus de Dalvenie, magnus wardanus regni Scotie versus Angliam, etc., qui obiit 24 die mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio.

Hic jacet Domina Beatrix de Sinclair (filia Domini Henrici Comitiss Orcadam, Domini de Sinclair, etc.) Comitissa de Douglas et Avenie Domina Gallovidie.

On another stone is the following inscription, containing the names of their children :—

Elli sunt proles inter predictos Dominum et Dominam generati Dominus Villelmus primogenitus et heres dicti Domini Jacobi succedens ad totalem hereditatem predictam—Jacobus secundus genitus Magister de Douglas, Archbaldus tercius genitus comes Morrabe, Hugo quartus genitus comes Ormundie, Johannes quintus genitus Dominus de Dalbanii, Henricus sextus genitus—Margreta, vxor domini de Dalkapet, Beatrix uxor Domini de la Hays,

¹ Vol. i. of this work, p. 443.

Constabularii Scotic, Fouca uxore Domini de Gugar et de Comernald, Elizabeth de Douglas quarta filia erat.¹

In a vault at the east end of the church are a number of lead coffins on which are inscriptions and armorial bearings, as follows:—

1. Margaret Hamilton, Angusiæ Comitissa, obiit 38 anno ætatis suæ, 11 Septembris 1623.

The paternal coat of Hamilton, charged with a label of three points, and surmounted by an Earl's coronet.

2. Hic situm est corpus Gulielmi, Marchionis Douglassiæ, eo titulo primi, qui ex diversis et mutuis thalamis Hamiltoniorum et Gordoniorum gente, suam progeniem continuatam Hamiltoniorum vero instauratam reliquit. Obiit ii Cal. Mart. anno 1660, ætatis vero 71.

The paternal coat of Douglas surmounted by the coronet of a Marquis.

3. Maria Gordon, filia Georgii primi Marchionis de Huntly, quam Gulielmus, primus Marchio de Douglas in uxorem secundo duxit, quæque anno suæ ætatis sexagesimo quarto, salutis humanæ 1644 (1674) mortem obiit.

The arms of Douglas and those of Huntly, surmounted by coronets of a Marquis, are also upon the coffin.

4. Archibaldus Angusiæ comes, patre superstite et relicta Ioanna de Wymes, conjuge, tribusque ex illa liberis Archibaldo et Margareta, ex priore vero Anna Lennoxæ, unico Jacobo, obiit Januarij 16 anno 1655, ætatis 45.

5. Anna Stuarta, Ducis Lennoxie et Richmondie filia, Archibaldo Angusiæ Comiti, per xviii annos nupta, obiit xvi die Augusti anno MDCXLVI. Ætata xxxi.

The arms are—Douglas and Lennox impaled, with an Earl's coronet on both.

6. Hic positum est corpus Margaretæ filiæ primogenitæ Gulielmi Marchionis de Douglas, relictis ex matrimonio cum Margarita, Katharina, conjuge Domini de Torphichen, item Joanna et Gulielmo Alexandri, Comite de Sterlin, obiit 1 Januarij 1660. ætatis 49.

The inscription is surmounted by the letters D. O. M., but there are no arms.

¹ The stone containing the above inscription was built into the wall immediately to the east of the monument itself and above the

priest's door. The stone was removed and placed in the centre of the west gable on the occasion of the repair of the aisle about ten years ago.

7. The coffin of James, second Marquis of Douglas. It bears the simple inscription J^M D, ætatis 54, obiit 25th February 1700, with a heart and coronet of a Marquis twice repeated.
8. Gulielmus Angusiæ Dominus ex Jacobo Marchione Douglasiæ et Domina Maria Kerr, filia Comitissæ Lothianæ, conjuge, primogenitus, natus 15 Octobris 1693, obiit 20 Maij 1694.
- On one side of the coffin is the paternal coat of Douglas, and on the other, the sun, a coat of augmentation for Lothian.
9. There is also a lead coffin without any inscription, said to contain the remains of Captain John Ker.

Two small heart-shaped leaden caskets which were formerly in this vault are now preserved in a case of stone and glass at the foot of the altar step in the chancel. One of these caskets is reputed to have contained the heart of the good Sir James Douglas, but it is more probable that both are of a later date. They may have been the repositories of the hearts of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, and of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, both of which are said to have been buried at Douglas.

On a marble tablet in the vault in St. Bride's Church, Douglas, is the following inscription :—

Beneath this vault are interred the remains of

William, 1st Marquis of Douglas, died 1660.

Margaret, Countess of Angus, 1st wife of William, Marquis of Douglas, daughter of Claud, Lord Paisley, and sister of James, 1st Earl of Abercorn, died 1623.

Mary, 2d wife of William, first Marquis of Douglas, daughter of George, 1st Marquis of Huntly, died in the 64th year of her age.

Margaret, eldest daughter of William, 1st Marquis of Douglas, wife of William, 1st Earl of Stirling,¹ died 1660.

Anne, daughter of Esme, 3d Duke of Lennox, wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus, eldest son of William, first Marquis of Douglas, died 1646.

William, Earl of Angus, eldest son of James, 2d Marquis of Douglas, born 1693, died 1694.

The old vault becoming full of coffins, a new one was constructed to the north side

¹ This is a mistake for William, son of the first Earl of Stirling.

of the new parish church of Douglas, where the following remains repose, as enumerated on a marble tablet in the church :—

In the vault beneath are interred—

Archibald, Duke of Douglas, died July 21st, 1761.

Margaret, Duchess of Douglas.

Archibald, first Baron Douglas, born 10th July 1748, died December 26, 1827.

His first wife, Lady Lucy Graham, daughter of William, second Duke of Montrose, died February 13th, 1780.

His second wife, Lady Frances Scott, daughter of Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, died May 1817.

Archibald, second Baron Douglas, born 25th March 1773, died 27th January 1844.

Charles, third Baron Douglas, born 26th October 1775, died 11th September 1848.

James, fourth Baron Douglas, born 9th July 1787, died April 6, 1857.

His wife, Williamina, daughter of Lieutenant-General the Hon. James Murray, died 25th February 1866.

Sholto Douglas, fourth son of first Baron Douglas, born 17th September 1785, died October 30, 1821.

George Douglas, Captain R.N., fifth son of first Baron Douglas, born 2d August 1788, died August 30, 1838.

In the Douglas Aisle there is also a monument to the memory of the Countess of Home, with the following inscription :—

Lucy Elizabeth Douglas of Douglas, Countess of Home, wife of Cospatrick Alexander, xi Earl of Home, born 14 November 1805, died 15 May 1877.

The Duke of Douglas died at Queensberry House, Edinburgh, on 21st July 1761, and his funeral obsequies were publicly celebrated in that city. The burial was to take place at Douglas, and on the day appointed for the removal of the body, Monday, 3d August, the procession left Queensberry House between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and, amidst the continued tolling of the bells, passed through the city, preceded by a detachment of the city guard with muskets reversed, in the following order :—

Undertaker.

Eight men in long mourning cloaks with staves, two and two.

The pencil of honour.

One crest.

One Trumpet, flag displayed.

Large Standard.

Great Gumphion.

A groom.

Large Standard of the Duke's entire atchievement.

Little gumphion.

First led horse, decked with arms, crests, etc., led by two lacqueys.

One crest.

One crest.

One Trumpet, flag displayed.

A groom.

Sand-glass and wings.

One crest.

Gauntlet and spurs.

Helmet and crest.

Shield and coronet.

Surcoat.

One man with a baton.

One baton man.

Duke's horse, richly caparisoned and decked, led by two grooms.

One man with a baton.

One man with a baton.

One trumpet, flag displayed.

One trumpet, flag displayed.

Sword of State carried by a gentleman.

One banner of silk with arms.

One banner of silk with arms.

Another.

Another.

Another.

Another.

The crown, on a crimson-velvet cushion, richly ornamented.

One silk banner with family arms.

One silk banner with family arms.

The hearse, richly adorned, drawn by six horses, ornamented with arms, crests, etc.

The Duke's coach in mourning.

Three grooms on horseback.

Eight mourning coaches, each drawn by six horses.

Twelve coaches belonging to noblemen and gentlemen.

The cortege reached Hamilton that night, and at Mr. Murray's there the corpse lay in state all night. Next morning, the gentlemen of Clydesdale and of the county of Renfrew, who had arrived in response to burial letters signed by Mr. Archibald Douglas, the Duke's nephew and heir, convoyed the body to Douglas, and were joined near Lesmahagow by the late Duke's tenantry. The procession then extended about a mile in length.¹ On its arrival in Douglas, the remains of the Duke were deposited in

¹ The Scots Magazine, vol. xxiii., 1761, pp. 391, 392.

a vault under the castle, where it lay till the new vault in the parish church was finished.

In addition to the tombs of the Douglasses in St. Bride's Church, Douglas, there are others in other parts of Scotland, and in France. William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar, and his son James, second Earl of Douglas and Mar, are both buried within the Abbey of Melrose. Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, lies at Bothwell. The first Duke of Touraine and his younger son were interred at Tours in France, while his Duchess, the Princess Margaret Stewart, lies in Lincluden Abbey. William, eighth Earl of Douglas, who was slain by King James the Second, is said to be buried at Stirling, and his brother James, ninth Earl, lies within the precincts of Lindores.

Abernethy is reputed the burial-place of several of the earlier Douglas Earls of Angus ; but the fifth Earl, Bell the Cat, lies at Whithorn ; the ninth Earl, with his immediate ancestors and others, at Glenbervie ; and the tenth, with two of his grandsons, in the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris. Other distinguished members of the family are interred in Holyrood Abbey, while not a few, who died abroad or at a distance from their native land, repose in graves now forgotten and obscure.

3344

